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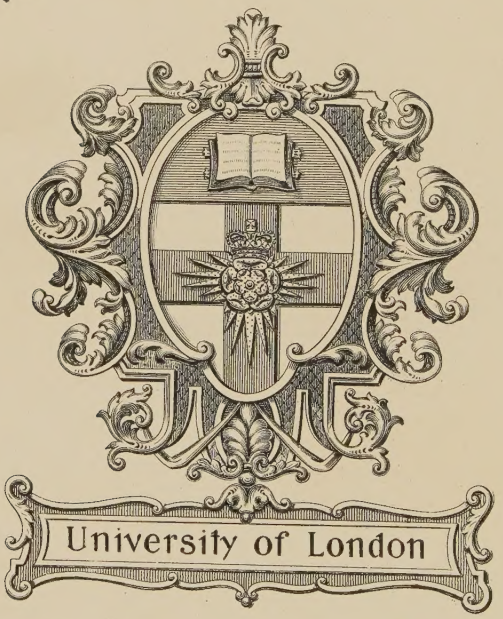

EARLY SOURCES OF SCOTTISH HISTORY

A.D. 500 TO 1286

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EARLY SOURCES OF SCOTTISH HISTORY

A.D. 500 TO 1286

COLLECTED AND TRANSLATED BY

ALAN ORR ANDERSON

AUTHOR OF

Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers

VOLUME ONE

OLIVER AND BOYD

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BIBL.
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UNIV.

PREFACE

THE chronicles tell of events; but they show also the successive influences that were at work upon Scotland—Irish, Scandinavian, English, and Norman.

From the time of the Norman conquest, foreign influences prevailed at the Scottish court. The kings were partly of English blood; the queens were English or French; the nobles were imported from northern France. French manners were cultivated. There was little national spirit, as opposed to tribal or local patriotism, until after the events that followed the competition for the crown. Then the experience of true feudal inferiority galled the people, and diverse native and foreign elements combined to throw off the yoke. Thenceforward the common desire to remain independent was a generally unifying influence among the Scottish peoples; and national spirit arose.

The sphere of the present work is the period of foreign settlements, foreign encroachments, foreign influence, and intermittent submissions to a foreign power: the period also of assimilation of peoples, centralization of government, and, in the end, unification of territory, by which the way to complete independence was prepared.

It is not the period of Scotland's greatest importance, although the part she played in English politics was not a negligible one. Nevertheless, it is a period of more than local interest: since it includes the formation of a state, out of a group of small and antagonistic nationalities; and shows on a small scale a phase of development through which many other countries have passed.

At the beginning of our period, Scotland was in a semi-

barbarous condition. We follow the advance of ideas in this country from the misty dawn, to the noon, of medieval civilization. We must watch with understanding the policy, whether humane or harsh, by which life was regulated upon paths less free, but more secure, leading a long stage forward upon the way to modern civilization. At the end of our period, it was possible for a Scottish noblewoman to found a college at Oxford.

Evidences of this gradual change appear in the chronicles; but unfortunately the native chronicles that have survived are few. The architecture and the writing of the thirteenth century show a perfection of the medieval spirit that was not accidental or isolated. Other phases of human effort showed the same completeness of achievement.

The feudal system was an organization of stability in the state, and made these developments possible; but its results contained the germs of its decay. The nobles grew more powerful in prosperity, and by claiming a voice in the government diminished the power of their suzerain, and weakened the whole structure. This tendency followed different lines in Scotland and in England. The Scottish parliament was not established until forty years after the close of the period included in this book.

In *Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers* (London, 1908), my purpose was to translate from chronicles written in England or by Englishmen, before the year 1291, all passages that had immediate bearing upon the history of Scotland, within the period A.D. 500 to 1286. The present work is intended to be a similar collection from chronicles of other nationalities; and in addition, from chronicles that are later than the year 1291, when they appear to draw information from previously existing writings, or from strong traditions. I have also referred in the notes to charters and other documents, in so far as available time and space allowed.

In defence of the translation of historical materials, I would

say that these collections are intended to be a guide to the sources, rather than a substitute for them. For special points the historical worker will not trust to a translation; neither will he be content with extracts removed from their context. The purpose of a book of translated selections is to give a primary interpretation of the principal materials; to be a convenient book of reference for the worker; and at the same time, to bring before those who are unfamiliar with foreign tongues, or who have no large library within their reach, the sources from which history is drawn.

In translating, I have endeavoured to give as literal a rendering as I could; not forsaking the style of the originals, except with a view to avoid obscurity. I have translated historic present by past tense; have divided sentences; and have sometimes made changes in order, and occasionally in mood, when otherwise the meaning would not have been clear. I have supplied within square brackets words that are needed to complete the interpretation of the text.

The rule of the schools, that classical Latin words should not be translated by their derivatives in English, is reversed in the translation of medieval Latin; because the changes in meaning that are apparent between the usages of classical and modern times have, to a great extent, already taken place in medieval times. In some cases where the medieval and modern usages differ it is necessary to retain a word in its medieval sense, in order to convey a medieval idea.

The editions of many of the Scottish, and some of the Irish sources, are lamentably inaccurate. Although I have checked some of these editions, it has been impossible for me to examine the originals of all.

With regard to emendations of the text, I have noted emendations that are not absolutely obvious. When a passage can be translated as it stands, it must not be altered without sufficient proof that correction is required. When the reading is in doubt, the passage can hardly be accepted as evidence.

Ingenious emendations cannot produce evidence, unless they are supported by other writings.

Contemporary documents, such as letters, grants of various kinds, proclamations, and treaties, are the bed-rock of history, and by them the trustworthiness of chronicles is to be tested. The present collection is primarily a compilation of chronicles. Documentary evidence, before the 12th century, is scarce; and insufficient to provide a continuous narrative, throughout the early middle age. Chronicles are in general of a traditional nature; but they have value as evidence when the tradition is not remote, or when it is of events that were within the common knowledge of the people. There is great divergence in value among the authorities collected here.

We must distinguish between (*a*) authorities of highest rank (accounts written within the life-time and under the influence of men who remembered the events; also works that faithfully represent these accounts); (*b*) the earliest writers of less immediate tradition; and (*c*) later writers who use works of either of the preceding classes, but do not exactly reproduce the works they use. The last class may be valuable for the interpretation of history, but does not give historical evidence.

Few of the facts of history are related by eye-witnesses; many have a half-legendary setting. Unless an account has been written down soon after the event described, it has little value as evidence.

The faculty of memory, however, was in the middle ages more cultivated than it is now. Local or family traditions were often preserved with scrupulous care. Nevertheless, oral tradition was literary in character; it required as its motive some central figure, or heroic event. This bias must be allowed for, when we use written versions of tradition, such as the Icelandic literature. Also the mental atmosphere of written tradition is that of the writer, rather than that of the time described.

The contents of a work give some indication of its historical value. Anachronisms may prove it to be unauthentic or late. Allowance may have to be made for bias, or (as in Adamnan) for credulity in marvellous episodes: but these tendencies do not necessarily discredit a writer's work in parts where they are absent. Balance of judgement and clear sense legitimately claim, as in the case of Bede, belief; sometimes, however, they may plausibly cover the absence of knowledge.

Apart from statements that are obviously biassed or absurd (and their boundary-line is less clearly defined than might be thought), we must not reject the account of a good authority, except when it is contradicted by an equally good authority, or when it is inconsistent in itself. And here is the proper place of conjecture in history:—to reconcile apparently conflicting statements. Wherever two divergent statements can be reconciled by simple conjecture, such as arises naturally from other evidence, we are not justified in rejecting one of them on the ground that it is apparently contradictory of the other. On the other hand, our acceptance of a statement that is not confirmed by another independent witness must always be provisional. It is scarcely critical to be most certain of the facts of history in those periods for our knowledge of which we rely upon accounts derived from one authority only.

In questions of fact, if two authorities differ, and neither account is supported by other evidence, the evidence of the earlier writer must be preferred, notwithstanding that the later account may have been written on purpose to correct the earlier: except in those cases where the later writer has obtained information from an earlier source, or from a more immediate tradition.

The more closely a later writer represents the work of an earlier writer, the greater value he has as a witness. The Irish annals are remarkable for their fidelity to their sources. Fordun lived a century earlier than the compiler of the

Annals of Ulster; but Fordun has practically no value for early times, for which the value of the Ulster annals is extremely high.

The relation between events cannot be established unless the order of events is known; that is to say, unless they can be dated with relative accuracy.

When an earlier and a later chronicle differ in dating an event, the earlier account must be preferred, if it is consistent, and not opposed by other evidence. Unsupported dates can never be relied upon. But even if the chronicle errs in numbering the years, it may yet be right in the order of events. The only utility of dates is to establish the order of events: if we accept the dates of the oldest chronicles, we may be wrong in detail, and yet right in the general view.

The works of later chroniclers, such as Fordun, Bower, Wyntoun, are to be consulted in conjunction with the earlier and more authoritative works used here; and for Irish affairs, Geoffrey Keating's *History of Ireland.*

The invaluable collections made by Haddan and Stubbs, Lawrie, Bain, Bliss, Theiner, should also be used. For kings, and for the history of the royal family, Dunbar's *Scottish Kings* must be consulted; for nobles, the *Scots Peerage,* and the *Complete Peerage* (G.E.C.); for ecclesiastical history, Dowden's *Bishops of Scotland,* and Keith's *Historical Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops;* for abbots of Iona, and heads of the Columban order, Reeves's *Vita S. Columbae* (B.Cl. **103**, 369-413; partly also in Skene's edition, 334-342). For popes, see Jaffé's and Potthast's *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum.*

For persons, the indexes of the editions and calendars of the public records should be consulted; and for persons and places, the chartularies and registers of monasteries and bishoprics, published by the Scottish historical book-clubs. The dating and indexing of these charters are, for this period, unsatisfactory. Since the datable charters are of special value for the building of history, and for the accumulation

of evidence with which to date other charters, a separate index of these would be a useful aid to historical work. Such an index I have made, but too late to have its much-needed assistance in this work. Other valuable indexes are those of Bouquet's *Recueil*, the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Petrie and Sharpe's *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, Langebek's *Scriptores Rerum Danicarum*, and Hennessy and MacCarthy's *Annals of Ulster*. The indexes to the volumes of the Rolls Series are useful; among them may be mentioned the index to Matthew Paris.

I have seldom given references to modern histories, except when they cite original sources. The student will consult, stage by stage, such works as the histories of the late Professor Hume Brown, Andrew Lang, Hill Burton, Hailes, and Skene. Skene's work must be used with caution. Although it contains many valuable suggestions and theories, they are not always very soundly based.

There are many other works that should be consulted; among them the various county histories of Scotland and England.

Of special value among bibliographies are the works of C. Gross, A. Potthast, and Professor C. Sanford Terry. See also the lists of authorities in the works of Professor Hume Brown, and Sir Archibald H. Dunbar. For Irish subjects, see the *Bibliography of Irish Printed Books*, by Mr R. I. Best (Dublin, 1913).

A collection of sources is not easily made; and compilation is only a small part of the labours it involves. As in the collection from English Chroniclers, I have tried to make the chroniclers speak for themselves: but even the arrangement of material is part of the work of history.

The work should have been done by a specialist in all the languages, and in the history of all the countries, and of all the different periods, with which it is concerned. Since such a person has not undertaken the task, I hope that the

faults that specialists will find in the book may not very greatly interfere with its general usefulness.

The materials have not been chosen for their interest. But the reader may be encouraged with the assurance that in these pages he will find, among the necessarily dull building material, some brighter fragments of history, adventure, and romance, reflecting the life of other days.

I have pleasure in acknowledging occasional assistance received:—in translations from Berchan's Prophecy, from various courteous Dublin scholars, including Professor Bergin and Miss E. Knott; in translations from Welsh sources, from Mr H. J. Bell; in some points of Latin, from Mr E. C. W. Hannan; in translation from Old-French sources, from Miss E. Ower, of Edinburgh. Dr Stefánsson has helped me over several obstacles in the Icelandic sagas. I have benefited from discussion of various questions with Professor W. J. Watson, with Miss E. Hull, and with Miss M. F. Moore. To all these I am indebted for the elimination of some errors. The index has been kept within the smallest bounds compatible with the inclusion of all proper names. The indexing of the second volume has been done by Mrs M. A. Preston of Edinburgh, to whom my thanks are due for her care in the tedious task.

Impeded by my defective sight, the work has occupied me for more than seven years, not counting the time of seeing it through the press: a still longer time might with advantage have been spent upon it. It has been made possible by grants received from the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland, for whose generosity I express my gratitude. The Carnegie Trust has also contributed a large grant towards the cost of publication.

A. O. A.

St Andrews, 1922.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A-I . .	see Bibliographical Notes, under Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.
A-N . .	see ibid., under Chronicles of the Kings.
A-P . .	see ibid., under Icelandic Annals.
a-h . .	after page nos., indicate columns in the page.
a. . .	abbot (of).
A.B. . .	Annals of Boyle.
A.C. . .	Annales Cambriae.
A C. . .	followed by a number, *annus* (*anno*) *Christi* "(in the) year of Christ." See Calendar Notes.
A.Cl. . .	Abbotsford Club.
A.D. . .	*annus* (*anno*) *Domini*, "(in the) Dionysian year."
A.E. . .	Ramsay's Angevin Empire.
A.I. . .	Annals of Innisfallen.
A.K. . .	Miss Norgate's England under the Angevin Kings.
a.l. . .	*ad locum* "at the corresponding place."
A.L.C. .	Annals of Loch Cé.
A M. . .	*annus* (*anno*) *mundi* "(in the) year of the Creation."
A.N.G. .	Liebermann's Ungedruckte anglonormannische Geschichtsquellen.
A.N.S.B. .	Altnordische Sagabibliothek.
A.P. . .	*annus* (*anno*) *Passionis* "(in the) year of the Crucifixion."
A.R. . .	Ailred of Rievaulx.
A.S. . .	Bollandists' Acta Sanctorum.
A.S.C. .	Anglo-Saxon Chronicle(s).
A.U. . .	Annals of Ulster.
A.U.C. .	*ab urbe condita* "from the foundation of Rome."
B. . .	Bodleian Version of the Verse Chronicle.
b. . .	bishop (of).
B.Cl. . .	Bannatyne Club.
B.P. . .	Benedict of Peterborough.
B.R. . .	Bouquet's Recueil.
br. . .	brother (of).
B.S. . .	Brut y Saesson.
B.T. . .	Brut y Tywyssogion.
c. . .	count (of).
c., cc. .	chapter, chapters.
ca. . .	*circa* "about," "approximately."
C A.N. .	Michel's Chroniques Anglo-normandes.
C.C. . .	Chalmers, Caledonia (1887).

cf.	*confer* "compare."
C.H.	Chronicle of Holyrood.
C.L.	Chronicle of Lanercost.
C.M.	Chronicle of Melrose.
Contin.	Continuation of.
C.S.	Chronicon Scotorum.
d.	duke (of).
D.A.I.	Dublin Annals of Innisfallen.
dau.	daughter of.
D.B.	Dowden's Bishops of Scotland.
D.K.	Dunbar's Scottish Kings.
d.l.	dominical letter(s).
D.M.	Dugdale's Monasticon.
D.M.F.	Duald Mac-Firbis.
D.N.B.	Dictionary of National Biography.
E.	Eirspennill.
E., N., S., W.	east, north, south, west.
e.	epact.
e.	earl (of).
E.C.	Anderson's Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers.
ed.	editor, edited (by), edition (of).
E.E.T.S.	Early-English Text Society.
e.g.	*exempli gratia* "for instance."
E.H.R.	English Historical Review.
E.H.S.	English History Society.
F.	Fagrskinna.
f.	father of.
F.A.B.W.	Skene's Four Ancient Books of Wales.
ff.	"and following pages."
Fl.	Flateyiarbók.
fl.	*floruit* "was of middle age (in)."
F.H.	Flores Historiarum.
F.M.	Four Masters.
f.n.	ferial number.
fo., fos.	folio, folios.
Fr.	Frisbók.
fr.	Arna-Magnæan MS. fragment, 325, fascicle 10.
F.S.	Fornmanna Sögur.
F.W.	Florence of Worcester.
G.C.	Gervase of Canterbury.
G.E.C.	Cokayne's Complete Peerage.
gf.	grandfather of.
G.P.R.	Gesta Pontificum Romanorum.
gs.	grandson of.
H.	Snorri's Heimskringla.
H. & S.	Haddan and Stubbs, Ecclesiastical Councils.
H.H.	Henry of Huntingdon.

H.N.S.	Duchesne's Historiae Normannorum Scriptores.
i.a.	*inter alia* (*alios*) "among other works (or writers)."
ibid.	*ibidem* "in the same work (or writer)."
i.e.	*id est* "that is to say."
J.B.A.A.	Journal of British Archaeological Association.
J.H.	John of Hexham.
J.S.	Jónsson's Skjaldedigtning.
J.W.	John of Worcester.
K.B.	Keith's Catalogue of Scottish Bishops.
K.S.	Unger's Konunga Sögur.
l., ll.	line, lines.
L.A.	Lawrie's Annals of Malcolm and William.
L.B.	Lebar Brecc.
L.C.	Lawrie's Early Scottish Charters.
l.c.	*loco citato* "in the place referred to."
L.H.	Bernard and Atkinson's Liber Hymnorum.
L.L.	Lebar Laigen, Book of Leinster.
L.U.	Lebar na hUidre.
M.	Morkinskinna.
M.A.	Jones etc., Myvyrian Archaiology.
M.Cl.	Maitland Club.
M.G.H.	Pertz etc., Monumenta Germaniae Historica.
M.H.B.	Petrie's Monumenta Historica Britannica.
M.P.	Matthew Paris.
n.	note.
N.C.	Freeman's Norman Conquest.
N.S.	New Series.
O.S.	Orkneyinga Saga.
O.V.	Ordericus Vitalis.
P.	Proceedings (of).
p., pp.	page, pages.
P. & S.	Skene's Chronicles of the Picts and Scots.
P.L.	Migne's Patrologia Latina.
p.l.	paschal letter.
q.v.	*quod vide* "which see."
R.B.H.	Evans's Red Book of Hergest.
R.C.	Revue Celtique.
R.D.	Ralph de Diceto.
R.H.	Richard of Hexham.
R.I.A.	Royal Irish Academy.
R.S.	Rolls Series: Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland.
R.T.	Robert of Torigni.
R.W.	Roger of Wendover.
s.	son of.
s., ss.	section, sections.
s.a., s.aa.	*sub anno, sub annis* "under the year(s) . . ."

S.A.S.	Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.
S.C.S.	Skene's Celtic Scotland.
S.D.	Simeon of Durham.
s.f.	*sub fine* "near the end."
S.H.F.	Société de l'Histoire de France.
S.H.R.	Scottish Historical Review.
S.H.S.	Scottish History Society.
sis.	sister of.
Sk.	Skálholtsbók.
s.l.	*sic lege* "so read."
S.P.	Paul etc., Scots Peerage.
S.S.	Surtees Society.
St.	Stockholm MS. 20.
s.v., s.vv.	*sub voce*, *sub vocibus* "under the word(s) or name(s)."
T.	Tigernach.
Tr.	Transactions (of).
tr.	translated (by), translation (of).
u.s.	*ut supra* "as above."
v.	*vide* "see."
V.C.H.	Victoria County History of . . .
v.l.	*varia lectio* "another reading (is)."
w.	wife of.
W.C.	Walter of Coventry.
W.J.	William of Jumièges.
W.M.	William of Malmesbury.
W.N.	William of Newburgh.
Y.B.L.	Yellow Book of Lecan (facsimile).

†	"died (in)," "who died in . . . "; "the death of," "his death in."
-	between dates, "from . . . to . . ."
×	between dates, "not earlier than . . . and not later than . . ."
	between pages, "between."
	after a date, "not earlier than."
	before a date, "not later than."
?	before a date, indicates that the date has been deduced from incomplete evidence.
=	between dates implies that the first number is given in a chronicle, but the second is the number of the year intended by the chronicler.
/	between dates, "or less probably."
∴	"therefore."
*	before a word, "a conjectural or pre-literary form."
>	"gives origin to the later form . . ."

Small Roman numerals are used to indicate volumes. Numerals in black type indicate divisions of a volume, either separately published, or with independent pagination; also the numbers of works published in a

series. Large Roman numerals followed by Arabic numerals indicate books and chapters of a work ; chapters and verses of books in the Bible ; fragments and pages of D.M.F. Arabic numerals not preceded by a large Roman numeral are either the numbers of pages (or columns, or folios, when these are numbered in the edition), or else the A.D. numbers of years. An Arabic numeral placed before the name of a king or pope indicates the number of a year of his reign.

Chartularies, Registers, and Martyrologies, are referred to by the distinguishing name of their title. E.g. "Oengus" means "Calendar" or "Martyrology of Oengus"; "Kelso" means Liber S. Marie de Calchou ; "Dunfermline" means Registrum de Dunfermelyn.

In the following Bibliographical Notes, works are entered under the names by which they are commonly referred to here. It has not been my intention to include in the list all works that are referred to once only, nor all works that are already entered in the Table of Reference in E.C.

This is primarily a list of editions referred to, and is not a complete list of works used or consulted. Still less is it a complete bibliography of works relating to the subject of this book.

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Aberdeen, see Breviary of.

Achery, see D'Achery.

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Adamnan († 704): Life of St Columba. Edited by Dr. W. Reeves for the Irish Archaeological Society, and the Bannatyne Club (no. 103: Vita Sancti Columbae. Dublin, 1857). Re-edited by W. F. Skene, in altered form, in vol. vi of the Historians of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1874), with a translation by Bishop Forbes. An excellent and convenient edition is that of J. T. Fowler (Oxford, 1894), with translation (London, 1895). I refer to Reeves's chapters, which will be found also in Fowler's edition.

The Life is in the Bollandists' Acta Sanctorum, June, vol. ii, from p. 195 onwards (1867): also in Colgan's Trias Thaumaturga; Pinkerton's Vitae; Metcalfe's Lives, i, 73-209. For MSS. and editions see Fowler's ed., pp. viii-x. The proper names have been published, with their context, in Stokes and Strachan's Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus, ii, 272-280.

The earliest MS. (in Schaffhausen public library) is said to date from the beginning of the 8th century. It is believed to have been written by Dorbene, abbot of Iona († 713), to whom it is apparently attributed in the colophon.

It seems probable that Adamnan finished the work in the year 691. See below, years 679, 688, 691, notes.

Adamnan was in the direct line of the tradition that he has preserved.

But tradition has selected for memory principally such episodes as might appear to be miraculous. Few facts of historical importance are given; but much light is thrown upon the life of Adamnan's time, and the time immediately preceding it. A collection of deducible facts will be found in Reeves's Introduction. Here I can include only such passages as have more definite relation to events, persons, or places.

Other Lives of Columba are to a great extent derived from Adamnan's, and are in other respects untrustworthy.

Of his authorities, Adamnan speaks thus, in his Secunda Praefatio (Reeves, 8; Fowler, 5):—"Let none esteem that I shall write either what is false, concerning this man so worthy of renown, or anything that might be doubtful or uncertain; but let him know that I shall relate, and shall write without any ambiguity, the things that have been handed down in the concordant narrative of the elders and the faithful men who knew about them [*expertorum*]; and either from what we have been able to find committed to writing before our time, or from what we have learned orally, by very diligent inquiry, from the unhesitating narration of certain faithful and aged men, who knew the facts [*expertis*]."

In part, Adamnan relied upon a Life written by Cummine, abbot of Iona (ca. 657-669). This was probably not the work now associated with Cummine's name (see below: Cummine).

Adamnan. Cáin Adamnáin ("Adamnan's Law"), edited and translated by Kuno Meyer, primarily from MS. Rawlinson B 512; Anecdota Oxoniensia, Oxford, 1905. This tract is assigned by its editor to probably the ninth century (p. viii), although the law may be attributable to Adamnan.

Æthelweard († ? 998): Chronica (to 975), ed. Petrie, in M.H.B., 499-521. Previously ed. in Savile's Scriptores. Tr. by Giles, in Six Old English Chronicles (1848), 1-40; and by Stevenson, Church Historians, ii, 2 (1854), 407-440. This represents a lost version of A.S.C., with some additions (from 892 onwards).

Ágrip af Nóregs Konúnga-sögum. Edited in Fornmanna Sögur, x, 377-421: and diplomatically by V. Dahlerup, in the Samfund (Copenhagen, 1880).

This work was written in the end of the 12th century (probably by a Norwegian in Iceland, about 1190), at a time when few of the sagas had yet been committed to writing. See Dahlerup's ed., p. xxxii. Ari and Theoderic are among its sources.

Ailred of Rievaulx (abbot of Rievaulx; † 1167, q.v.): Eulogy of St David. Pinkerton's Vitae, 439-456; Metcalfe's Lives, ii, 269-285.

The Life of Margaret attributed to him is in Pinkerton's Vitae, 373-383; Metcalfe's Lives, ii, 199-209.

His Life of Ninian is in Pinkerton; Metcalfe, i, 9-39; Historians of Scotland, v, 137-157.

Alberic of Trois Fontaines († 1252×): Chronica [1-1241]. Edited by P. Scheffer-Boichorst in M.G.H., Scriptores, xxiii (1874), 674-950. Parts are in B.R., ix-xi, xiii, xviii, xxi.

Alexander Malfe or Maufe: see Maufe.

Altnordische Sagabibliothek, ed. Cederschiold etc. (Halle). This is a well-edited series of Icelandic texts.

Amiens, Guy of. See De Bello.

Amra Coluimchille. This is a eulogy upon Columba, attributed to Dallan Forgaill, or Eochaid, son of Colla, son of Ercus; and said to have been composed at the time of Columba's death.

The *Amra Coluimchille* (primarily from Trinity College, Dublin, MS. E. 4. 2) with the glossators' commentary upon it is edited by Bernard and Atkinson, Liber Hymnorum, i, 167-183; and is translated by Atkinson, ibid., ii, 60-80; and by Stokes (as below). It is too obscure to be given here in full. Although it is an early work, it was written some centuries later than the period to which its composer assigned it.

The version from Lebar na h-Uidre was published by J. O'Beirne Crowe (Amra Choluim Chilli of Dallan Forgaill, Dublin, 1871). A version is contained in Rawlinson B 502 (facsimile); ed. Stokes, R.C., xx, 30 × 473.

Anderson, A. O.: Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers (500-1286). London, 1908. A collection of translations from chronicles of English origin, and written before 1291. Late works were generally excluded for the period before 1000.

Anderson, James: Selectus Diplomatum Thesaurus (Edinburgh, 1739).

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Edited by B. Thorpe, R.S. 23 (1861); versions ABCDEF printed in parallel columns, with translation and indices (cf. J. Ingram's Saxon Chronicle, London, 1823). Versions A and E are the basis of C. Plummer's Two Saxon Chronicles Parallel (Oxford, 1892-1899; cf. J. Earle, Two of the Saxon Chronicles, Oxford, 1865). Plummer's edition has very valuable notes. See his Introduction (in vol. ii) for an account of the manuscripts.

Starting from a common origin, the chronicle was continued in various monasteries. Information was conveyed from one house to the others; nevertheless the versions tended to differentiate. These versions are distinguished by letters.

A (MS. C.C.C.C. 173) was written by one hand down to 891; and continued more or less contemporaneously, at Winchester, to 1001. Continuations were written, much later, at Canterbury, for the years 1001-1066, 1066-1070, 1070. There are some gaps and interpolations. Version W (Cottonian MS. Otho B XI) was copied from A.

B (Cot. MS. Tiberius A VI), to 977, was probably written ca. 1100.

C (Cot. MS. Tib. B I), to 1066, was written by various hands; probably from about the middle of the 11th century to 1066.

D (Cot. MS. Tib. B IV) runs to 1079, with an addition for 1088=1130. From 1067 onwards, it was probably written after 1100.

E (Bodleian MS. Laud 636), to 1154, was written by one hand to 1121; by three or four contemporary hands from 1122 to 1131; and after 1154, by another hand from 1132 to 1154: at Peterborough.

F (Cot. MS. Domitian A VIII), to 1058 (the remainder being lost), was written in the 11th-12th centuries by one hand (perhaps the interpolator of A), with added notes.

H (in Cot. MS. Domit. A IX), a fragment of years 1113-1114, was written

early in the 12th century. It was edited by Zupitza, in Anglia, i, 195-197; and by Plummer, i, 243-245; ii, p. xxxvii.

I (Cot. MS. Caligula A XV, fos. 133-138 verso), 11th-12th century Anglo-Saxon notes for 925-1109, and 12th-13th century Latin notes for 1110-1202, written in a 10th-century Easter table of 988-1193; edited by Liebermann, A.N.G., 1-8.

The common source of the Anglo-Saxon chronicles was begun in the reign of Alfred. It was probably based upon 7th and 8th-century notes, some of which were used also by Nennius (see under Historia Brittonum). The Anglo-Saxon chronicles are our principal authority from the death of Bede down to the Norman Conquest. They are original and nearly contemporary from the time of king Alfred to the death of king Stephen.

Versions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle were used by Æthelweard, and Florence of Worcester. Versions used by Simeon of Durham and the Annals of St Neots were in some respects more correct than any existing text of the chronicle.

For the chronology of the 8th to 9th centuries in the Chronicle see L. Theopold, Kritische Untersuchungen über die Quellen zur Angelsächsischen Geschichte des achten Jahrhunderts (Lemgo, 1873). Theopold's conclusion is (p. 65) "that the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle proper (excluding all later additions of whatever kind) has suffered a [backward] displacement in the annals for 754-828 of 2 years, in the annals for 829-839 of 3 years, perhaps at 840 of 4 years and at 845 of 5."

Annales Anglo-Saxonici Breves, see Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, version I.

Annales Cambriae (MS. A, 445-954; with continuations in other MSS. to 1288). MS. A (to 954; with appended pedigrees) is edited by E. Phillimore in Y Cymmrodor (the journal of the Cymmrodorion Society), ix, 141-183 (London, 1888); and after Phillimore's text in Loth's Les Mabinogion (1913), ii, 370-382, and 326-348; D'Arbois de Jubainville's Cours de la Littérature Celtique, iv, 345-357. This and its continuation in later versions (to 1066) were edited by Petrie, M.H.B. (1848), 830-840; and re-edited, with the continuations to 1288, by J. W. Ab Ithel, in R.S. 20 (1860).

An index to the pedigrees that follow the chronicle in MS. A has been published by A. Anscombe in the Archiv für celtische Lexicographie, i, 187-212 (cf. his indexes to other Welsh pedigrees, ibid., i, 513; ii, 147; iii, 57). From these pedigrees Skene drew up a genealogical tree of the kings of Strathclyde, in P. & S., p. xcv.

The version called MS. A (Harleian MS. 3,859, fos. 190-193) is an 11th century copy, entered among the additions to the Historia Brittonum, of a chronicle that was finished 954 × 989, and perhaps 954 × 955 (according to Phillimore). The original source was an annotated paschal calendar of 533 years; it ran from 445 to 977, and was therefore a Victorian table. Tenth-year numbers are entered from it in MS. A; but, probably owing to a copyist's errors, these numbers do not coincide with the tenth years of the annals. One year was dropped between the years numbered 40 and 50; one was added between 60 and 70, 220 and 230, 250 and 260, 280 and 290, 340 and 350, 460 and 470, 490 and 500. Three blank annals follow

the year numbered 530; therefore the total number of annals ought to be 533: but it is actually 539.

The year-numbers are more nearly correct than the actual numbers of the annals would be. The change of Easter [in 455] is the first entry, and stands under the 9th annal. Bede's death [in 735] is entered under year [291], the 294th annal; king Edmund's death [in 946], under year [503], the 509th annal.

In Petrie's and Ab Ithel's editions the 1st annal is wrongly equated with 444 A.D.; the 9th annal, correctly, with 453 A.D.

The Annales Cambriae probably contain a few contemporary notes from the early part of the 8th century; and may contain genuine notes of a still earlier date. Irish and some Scottish events were entered from an early collection of Irish annals.

MS. A is the earliest chronicle of Wales.

MS. B is "prefixed to an abridged copy of Domesday Book in the Public Record Office, in the custody of the Master of the Rolls." It is written "in a hand of the close of the 13th century" (Ab Ithel, p. xxv). It contains (in addition to a copy of the earlier chronicle, with added notes) an undated chronicle running from 955 to 1096 (and spelling Welsh names in a manner much later than the spelling of MS. A), and a continuation, with dates, to 1286.

MS. C (Cottonian MS. Domitian A I) runs to 1288, and is written "in a hand of the end of the 13th century" (Ab Ithel, p. xxvii). This version is independent of MS. B from 1204 onwards.

Annales Colonienses Maximi, or Chronica Regia Coloniensis (to 1238). Edited by K. Pertz, M.G.H., Scriptores, xvii, 729-847; xxiv, 4-20. These annals are original for 1144-1175, with continuations to 1238. See Potthast, Bibliotheca, i, 239-240.

Annales de Monte Fernandi. See Annals of Multifernan.

Annales Dorenses (to 1283; continued to 1362). Extracts (687-1362) ed. R. Pauli, M.G.H., Scriptores, xxvii, 514-531 (1885).

Annales Egmundani. See Annals of Egmond.

Annales Fuldenses. See Annals of Fulda.

Annales Gandenses (1297-1310); ed. Lappenberg, M.G.H., Scriptores, xvi, 559-597 (1859). Written by a Franciscan of Ghent.

Annales Lamberti (of Hersfeld, to 1077); ed. M.G.H., Scriptores, iii, 22, 33, 90 (1839); v, 136-263 (1844); P.L. **141, 146**; extracts in B.R., iii; v; vi; vii; xi, 59-69. See Potthast's Bibliotheca, i, 705-707.

Annales Lundenses. See Annals of Lund.

Annales Quedlinburgenses (to 1025); ed. M.G.H., Scriptores, iii, 22-69, 72-90 (1839); P.L. **141**, 449-560.

Annales Regii, see Icelandic Annals, version C.

Annales Reseniani, see Icelandic Annals, version K.

Annales S. Nicasii Remenses (Annals of Rheims, 1197-1309); ed. Waitz, M.G.H., Scriptores, xiii, 84-87 (1881); (1197-1222) in B.R., xviii, 699-700.

Annales S. Rudberti Salisburgenses (to 1286). Edited by Wattenbach, in M.G.H., Scriptores, ix, 760-843 (1851).

Annales Stadenses (to 1256), or Albert of Stade: Chronicon ab Ortu Christi ad a. 1256. Edited by Lappenberg, M.G.H., Scriptores, xvi, 283-374 (1859). Albert was abbot of Stade. The chronicle bears upon the history of Denmark and the archbishopric of Bremen, from the 11th century onwards.

Annales Uticenses (1-1503). Edited by Le Prevost, Ordericus Vitalis, v, 139-173 (1855). This chronicle has used an earlier and trustworthy source for the history of the Scandinavians in France.

Annales Vetustissimi, see Icelandic Annals, version B.

Annales Weissemburgenses (Annals of Wissembourg, or Weissenburg, 708 to 984, 1075, 1087, 1147), ed. M.G.H., Scriptores, iii, 33-65, 70-72; (1839); P.L. **141**, 465-517.

Annalista Saxo: Chronicon (741-1139); ed. Waitz, M.G.H., Scriptores, vi, 553-777 (1844). Extracts in B.R., vi-xi, xiii.

Annals in the Book of Leinster. Edited by Stokes, R.S. **89**, ii, 512-528. Book of Leinster, facsimile, pp. 24-26. These are a list of the kings of Ireland, ca. 432 - ca. 1189. Events are entered under the kings' reigns, and are mostly undated.

Annals of Boyle (so-called; A.M. 1 - A.D. 1270). Partly edited (420-1245) by C. O'Conor, in Scriptores, ii, **4**, from Cottonian MS. Titus A XXV. This MS. was "transcribed towards the close of the 13th century" (J. T. Gilbert). See National MSS. of Ireland, ii, no. 91; Catalogue of Irish MSS. in the British Museum, 4-14. The monastery of Boyle was founded in 1148. These annals deserve to be re-edited.

Annals of Chester (1-1297). Edited by R. C. Christie: Annales Castrienses (Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, **14**; 1886-1887). This was the chronicle of St Werburg's abbey. It is preserved in a manuscript copied or compiled by four hands in the 15th-16th centuries, but the original chronicle was certainly of much earlier date.

Annals of Clonmacnoise (to 1408). Edited by Denis Murphy (Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland; 1896). This is an English translation, made by Conell Mageoghagan in 1627, of a work now lost. In quoting it, I modernize the spelling, normalize (when I can) the names, and translate unintelligible Irish idioms. These annals are of a rather late type. They do not adhere to their sources so closely, and have not such authority, as the older Irish annals; and the translation is not always accurate. There are gaps between the years 1182 and 1199, 1290 and 1299.

Annals of Egmond (875-1205; with additions for 1207-1315). Edited in M.G.H., Scriptores, xvi, 443-479 (1859). Also edited by B. J. L. de Geer van Jutfaas (Werken van het Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht, N.S. **1**; Utrecht, 1863). This is the oldest chronicle of Holland.

Annals of Fulda (680 to 838, 863, 882, 887, and 901); ed. B.R., ii, v, vi, vii, viii; ed. Pertz, M.G.H., Scriptores, i, 343-415 (1826).

Annals of Furness (1199-1298), a continuation of William of Newburgh. Edited by R. Howlett, R.S. **82**, ii, 503-583.

Annals of Innisfallen (or Inishfallen, in Lough Leane, Kerry Co.). The only edition is that of C. O'Conor, Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores, vol. ii, part 2, pp. 1-122 (Buckingham, 1825). Skene published extracts in his

Picts and Scots, pp. 167-170; for these he had compared O'Conor's text with the manuscript, and had attached dates taken from the Annals of Ulster. A specimen of the handwriting is given by J. T. Gilbert in the National MSS. of Ireland, ii, no. 89.

A new edition of these annals is much needed. I have checked O'Conor's edition by the manuscript in almost every instance where I quote from them.

This is one of the earliest existing collections of Irish annals. Prefixed to it was a compiled chronicle of no original value, from the Creation to the year 432; of this the part from Abraham is preserved. The chronicle proper begins in 432. Patrick's mission is described three times: at the end of the prefixed chronicle, in a passage written between the two chronicles, and at the beginning of the chronicle proper.

The Annals of Innisfallen are written in different hands. Before the end of the 11th century the chronicle becomes a more or less contemporary work; and even from the 5th century it contains copied contemporary notes. It is based upon annotated paschal calendars; first Patrick's, then the Victorian, finally the Dionysian.

This chronicle exists in one manuscript (MS. Rawlinson B 503, in the Bodleian Library). Its pages are written in two columns to O'Conor's year 650; in three columns from O'Conor's year 651 to the true year 1130; from the year 1160 they are written in two columns, in later hands. The annals for 1131-1159 are missing.

One section of the chronicle closes at 1102 (O'Conor's 1085), where the writer states that he wrote in that year. The writing is nearly contemporary at the year 1114 (O'Conor's 1097). From 1160 onwards the chronicle is carried on by so many hands that it seems to have been written almost contemporarily with the events. O'Conor prints the Annals down to 1196, and points out that the events spoken of there had happened not long before the time of writing (Scriptores, ii, 2, 122). The hand that takes up the work after that date had written several columns before. The last year legible is 1319; a few years are added in later hands; but the last entry has completely faded, and the remainder is lost.

The chronology of the early parts of the Annals of Innisfallen (as in other Irish annals) is confused through events having been entered from different sources. One event has sometimes been entered by counting backwards from another event, without allowing for gaps in the sequence of the year-sections.

A few years between 432 and 442, and after 798, are indicated by ferial numbers and epacts (see Calendar Notes, p. civ); and after 973 (O'Conor's 955) the years are regularly so indicated. Between 442 and 798 some years are indicated by their number in lunar cycles, and one or two are dated from the Passion; some others are fixed by original records of eclipses, or of foreign events.

It is noteworthy that the beginning (457) and end (559) of Victorius's paschal table are indicated. Under 437 (O'Conor's 438) is noted "the beginning of the great circle," which should refer to some pre-Victorian calendar; and since (in MacCarthy's tables) the 84-year cycle did not

begin in that year, it may possibly refer to the beginning of Cyril's paschal table of five 19-year cycles (437-531), used by the Eastern Church. The beginning of a Dionysian cycle of 19 years is marked in 608.

The chronological data of the Annals of Innisfallen have not been interfered with by the compilers. They do not follow an erroneous system, like Tigernach's; they have not been adapted to a correct system, as in the beginning of the Annals of Ulster. But they have been ignored by the editor.

O'Conor begins his edition of part of these annals with the year before that dated in the prefixed chronicle "from the Lord's Incarnation 430"; the year-numbers he gives to the sections that follow are reckoned inexactly by sequence from that date. He ignores the fact that the year 432 is doubled; therefore his years 434 to 458 are by one ahead of the year intended. (Nevertheless O'Conor's 445 contains an eclipse of 453, and his 455 a notice of Easter of 455.)

The years that are clearly indicated in this chronicle are 432-457, 559, 599-608, 779-800, 817, 847-963, and from 973 onwards. Between O'Conor's 458=457 and 554=559 the chronicle has 95 years instead of 102 (O'Conor's 503 is part of the previous year in the MS.). Between O'Conor's 554=559 and 591=599 the chronicle has 37 years instead of 40. Between O'Conor's 591=599 and 765=779 the chronicle has 174 years instead of 180. Between O'Conor's 786=800 and 804=817 the chronicle has 18 years instead of 17. Between O'Conor's 804=817 and 832=847 the chronicle has 29 years instead of 30 (O'Conor also omits a year between his 829 and 830). Between O'Conor's 947=963 and 955=973 the chronicle has 8 years instead of 10. O'Conor jumps from his year 833 to 835; repeats his years 908 and 909; and jumps from his year 1002 to 1004.

Between O'Conor's 458 and 554, 7 years have been omitted. They were probably blank, and most likely dropped at one or other of the places where two blank years are marked together; these are after O'Conor's 472, 480, 485, 511, 514, 521. There are not among these more than two blank years together. It happens that O'Conor's 472=the Annals of Ulster's 471, and his 475-480 are nearly parallel to their 480-485. After O'Conor's 472=471, the Annals of Innisfallen may have dropped 6 years. (Between 469 and 479 in the Annals of Ulster 8 years are blank or contain alternative entries only.) O'Conor's 483 and 484 are parallel to the Annals of Ulster's 488=489 and 489=490; so that the Annals of Innisfallen seem to have missed a year at the same place as have the Annals of Ulster (between 481 and 487). But we cannot with certainty correct the Innisfallen by the Ulster annals. The Annals of Ulster have an excessive number of alternative entries about this period; and their year-numbers here advance far ahead of the years intended by the Annals of Innisfallen. (The Ulster Annals' dates of events in the 5th and 6th centuries are not very trustworthy. An eclipse placed by them under 496 (corrected date) occurred in 497; an eclipse under 512, in 509 (both of these being taken from Marcellinus); another under 591, in 592; and under 592, in 594.)

Between O'Conor's 554=559 and 591=599 3 years have been missed, probably after the end of the Victorian calendar (559). But no gap appears

there in the sequence of events ; the error must have been present in the earliest compilation. The compiler has entered many events before 559 at the correct distance not from 559 but from 599. Events entered thus belong to the earliest compilation ; and events entered correctly before 559 may have been in the original annotated calendar that forms the basis of the compilation.

Between O'Conor's 600=608 and 765=779 6 years have been missed. Of these, 3 seem to have been dropped between O'Conor's 635=643 and 674=685 ; another, between 694=705 and 723=735.

Between O'Conor's 786=800 and 804=817 the MS. has one year too many. We must read K for KK in the MS. at O'Conor's 801 : this will agree with the bissextile numbering. O'Conor's 785, 790, 794, 798, 803, 807, 811, are marked "bissextile." Between O'Conor's 804 and 832 the MS. omits a year ; and after O'Conor's 811 the bissextile notes go wrong.

The dates deducible from the chronicle may be found by making the following changes in O'Conor's year-numbers :—

434-458	deduct 1.	801-804	add 13.
459-472	„ 1 (probably).	805-811	„ 13 (or possibly 14).
475-480	add 5 (probably).	812-829	„ 13-14.
483-502	„ 6 (probably).	830-831	„ 14.
503-554	„ 5.	832-833	„ 15.
555-635	„ 8.	835-909	„ 14.
636-673	„ 8-11.	908-947	„ 16.
674-694	„ 11.	948-954	„ 16-18.
695-723	„ 11-12.	955-1002	„ 18.
724-764	„ 12-14.	1004-1113	„ 17.
765-786	„ 14.	1160-1196	are correct.
787-800	„ 14 (or possibly 13).		

Annals of Loch Cé (1014-1138, 1170-1590) (i.e., Lough Key, Roscommon Co.). Edited by W. M. Hennessy, R.S. **54** (1871). For the earlier centuries, these are mainly based upon the Annals of Ulster ; and have preserved a version of that chronicle for six of its missing years (1133-1138). The Annals of Loch Cé have also preserved some details from sources that have been lost. But they are less trustworthy than the earlier compilations.

Annals of Lund (Annales Lundenses, Annales Esromenses) : to 1265, continued. Edited by Waitz, M.G.H., Scriptores. xxix, 188-210 (1892).

Annals of Margan (1066-1232 ; incomplete). Edited by H. R. Luard ; R.S. **36**, i, 3-40 (London, 1864). See ibid., pp. xiii-xv. The surviving MS. of these Annals is written in a hand of the 13th century. The monastery of Margan (Margam Abbey, Glamorganshire) was founded in 1147. One of the sources used by the compiler was the Chronicle of Holyrood (see below). These Annals are valuable for local affairs, but not for Scottish history.

Annals of Multifernan (Annales montis Feranandi). Edited by Aquilla Smith for the Irish Archaeological Society (Dublin, 1842), as the second part of vol. ii of Tracts Relating to Ireland. They run from A.D. 45 to 1274, and were apparently written about the latter date.

Annals of Norwich, partly edited in M.G.H., Scriptores, xxviii, are the source of years 1066-1291 in Bartholomew Cotton, R.S. **16**.

Annals of St Neots (to 914), or Chronicon fani S. Neoti. Inaccurately edited in Gale's Scriptores XV, (iii) 141-175 (Oxford, 1691). Part critically edited by W. H. Stevenson, in Asser's Life of king Alfred, 117 (Oxford, 1904). This is an early 12th-century compilation, said to have preserved the true chronology of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, a version of which it uses (Plummer, Two Saxon Chronicles, ii, p. ciii). Stevenson says that "the MS. of the chronicle used by the compiler was nearer to the original than any extant copy." Unfortunately the compiler did not give a complete rendering of this source. Other sources used were Bede ; Asser ; Annales Uticenses ; and some Frankish chronicle. The Annals of St Neots gave material to the Annals of Lund.

Annals of Southwark, Cottonian MS. Faustina A VIII (13th century). Among the sources used by Matthew Paris. Selections ed. M.G.H, Scriptores, xxvii.

Annals of Stanley (to 1271), ed. (1202-1271) by R. Howlett, R.S. **82**, ii, 506-558 (1885).

Annals of Ulster (431-1132, 1156-1540). "Otherwise Annals of Senat ; a chronicle of Irish affairs from A.D. 431 to A.D. 1540," edited (vol. i, to year 1056) by W. M. Hennessy ; and (vols. ii.-iii) by B. MacCarthy (Dublin, 1887-1895). The fourth volume of this edition (Dublin, 1901), by B. MacCarthy, contains an Introduction, valuable for the study of chronology ; and an index, which is a useful dictionary of dates.

An earlier edition (to 1131) by C. O'Conor, in his Scriptores, vol. iv (Buckingham, 1826), is inaccurate. Extracts were printed in Johnstone's Antiquitates Celto-Normannicae ; in Pinkerton's Enquiry, ii, 307-320 ; in Skene's Picts and Scots, 343-374.

Hennessy and MacCarthy's edition is the only trustworthy one. It has an English translation, and many useful cross-references and notes. Some additions are printed as if they had formed part of the original text. The first volume was severely criticized by Stokes in the Academy of 1889 (pp. 207-208, 223-225, 240-241) : the second and third were denounced by him in the Revue Celtique (xviii (1897), 74-86). But Stokes's own edition of Tigernach is by no means perfect as an edition for the historical worker.

The Annals of Ulster were compiled in Shanid or Belle Isle, Upper Lough Erne, Fermanagh, by Cathal Mac-Manus, a Mac-Guire, in the end of the 15th century. The manuscript (A) (Trinity College, Dublin, MS. H. 1. 8) is written in his own hand to A.D. 1114. Cathal's death in 1498 is recorded by his continuator. MS. B (a Bodleian MS., Rawlinson B 489) extends to 1588 ; it is, down to the middle of the 11th century, a close copy of MS. A.

The original compiler copied his materials with close fidelity. Notwithstanding the late date of the Annals of Ulster, they rank among the most ancient sources. But since it is a compilation of various collections of historical notes, the same event is frequently entered two or three times, under different years, in the earlier centuries.

The chronological system of these annals is more correct than that of the earlier collections. It must, however, be kept in mind that the events were copied from earlier collections, in which the chronological system was less perfect. The dates are the result of the compiler's interpretation of the dates of previous chronicles. This interpretation appears, on the whole, to be remarkably correct. Errors and deviations occur, especially in the 5th, 6th, and early part of the 7th, centuries. In these centuries it is necessary (for more than approximate accuracy) to compare all the surviving Irish annals.

In the Annals of Ulster, the year-sections are arranged consecutively under Dionysian numbers ; with added ferial numbers and epacts, which are all entered, according to Hennessy (i, 4), in a later hand. The epacts are incorrect for the years 1235 to 1412 (cf. MacCarthy, Todd Lecture Series, iii, 379).

The year-numbers are too low by one year from 486 to 1012. In order to correct this error, no annal was written for the year 1013. The year-numbers, therefore, are not only later than the time of Bede, as Ó-Máille says ; they are later than the year 1013, and are probably attributable to Cathal Mac-Manus himself.

Notwithstanding these errors, the year intended by the compilers is never in doubt. It must not be assumed that this was invariably the year intended by the annalists from whom the compilation was made.

The accuracy of transcription is so great that it has been possible to deduce from the spelling (of the Irish entries, and of Irish names in the Latin entries) that original notes began to be written, in the sources used, almost contemporaneously with the events described, in the last years of the 7th century. At that time, some compilation of earlier notes was made. This first compilation was added to subsequently, down to the 9th century, in the language of the time, several centuries after the events described ; but there seems to be reason to believe that these additions, as well as the original compilation, were translated from earlier written records.

The chronicle becomes continuously contemporary, or nearly contemporary, from the end of the 7th century onwards. See T. Ó-Máille's Language of the Annals of Ulster (Manchester, 1910). Cf. Stokes's Linguistic Value of the Irish Annals, in the Transactions for 1890 of the Philological Society. Since some of the sources used by the Ulster annals were used also by the other Irish annals, the same statement of date is to some extent applicable to the other Irish annals also.

For the sources of the Annals of Ulster, see Ó-Máille, pp. 5-10. Native sources quoted by name are :—Mochta's Epistle (at 471 and 535 ; Mochta, a disciple of Patrick, died in 535 or 537) ; a Book of the Monks at 512, and Book of Mochod at 528 ; Cuanu's Book (from 467 to 629 ; see below, year 630, note) ; the Book of Dubdaleithe (from 629 to 1021 ; probably Dubdaleithe was the abbot of Armagh who died in 1064). Foreign sources used are sometimes named, where Tigernach quotes them without naming them. Marcellinus, Bede, and Isidore, are named. A copy of the Liber Pontificalis also was used.

In referring to the Annals of Ulster, I usually give both the uncorrected

and the corrected year-numbers. When one number only is given, for a year between 487 and 1013, it is the corrected number (unless s.a. precedes it).

Anselm (archbishop of Canterbury, †1109): Letters. Ed. P.L. **159**. Also in D'Achery.

Antiquitates Americanae, ed. C. C. Rafn. Det Kongelige Nordiske Oldskriftselskab, Copenhagen, 1837.

Arbroath. Liber S. Thome de Aberbrothoc, Edited by C. Innes and P. Chalmers. B.Cl. **86** (1848-1856).

Ari Fródi ("the Learned"), Thorgils' son (1067-1148): Islendingabók. This work runs to the year 1120. I refer to the edition of Möbius (Leipzig, 1869). A later edition is that of W. Golther, in Cederschiold's Altnordische Sagabibliothek, part 1 (Halle, 1892). Also edited in Islendinga Sögur (1829), i; (1843), i: and in Origines Islandicae, i.

The Islendingabók is a revised abridgement of a previous work (written 1122×1133), now lost, of the same writer (see Ari's preface; p. 3). The earlier version was probably an earlier work than the Kónungabók and Landnámabók; both of which, composed by Ari, have survived in later recensions only. These last-named works were perhaps extensions of parts of the lost book. The surviving Islendingabók (with those parts left out) was written 1134×; and, according to Golther, ×1138.

See under Landnámabók, and Snorri.

Ari, a noble and priest, was the first historian of Iceland. He endeavoured to obtain from good authorities (several of whom he names) an exact account of the settlement of Iceland, and its history down to his own day. He was not only a careful collector of facts; he was also a pioneer of Icelandic writing, and father of the written literature of Iceland. Cf. Snorri's Preface to Heimskringla; and Ari's Islendingabók, c. 9.

While Ari's works contain a marvellous amount of trustworthy information, for the period 870-1130, they contain also much that is legendary. Legendary material is often distinguishable (in works derived from his Kónungabók) by the style and character of the narrative; by direct quotation of speeches, rounding-off of incidents, and antithesis and parallelism of cause and effect. Details of the story tend to grow larger in later accounts.

Art de Vérifier les Dates. See L'Art.

Asser: Annales rerum gestarum Ælfredi Magni. Edited by W. H. Stevenson (Oxford, 1904). Previously edited by Petrie, M.H.B., 467-498; and in Camden's Anglica Scripta.

This life of Alfred was written in 893 (c. 91, p. 76), but is of uncertain authority.

Atkinson, J. C. The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey. Chetham Society, **9, 11, 14** (1886-1887). Continued by J. Brownbill, no. **74** (1915).

Bain, Joseph: Calendar of Documents [1108-1509] relating to Scotland, preserved in H.M. Record Office, London. Edinburgh, 1881-1888. This, with its indices, is an invaluable work.

Balmerino. The Chartularies of Balmerino and Lindores, ed. W. B. D. D. Turnbull; A.Cl. **22** (Edinburgh, 1841).

Banquet of Dun na n-Ged, and the cause of the Battle of Moira. This tale is edited by O'Donovan from the Yellow Book of Lecan (see "Battle of Moira"). Its historical value is almost null.

Bartholomew Cotton: Historia Anglicana (to 1298), ed. H. R. Luard; R.S. **16** (1859).

Battle of Moira. This tale is edited by John O'Donovan from the Yellow Book of Lecan (The Banquet of Dun na n-Gedh, and the Battle of Magh Rath; Dublin, Irish Archaeological Society, 1842). O'Donovan considers it to have been composed originally in the 12th century. It has little historical value, but some details of fact are derived from earlier accounts.

Bayeux Tapestries. F. R. Fowke: The Bayeux Tapestries reproduced in autotype (Arundel Society, London, 1875). Photo-lithographs in Sir Alexander Malet's Conquest of England; see under Wace.

Beauly. E. C. Batten: The Charters of the Priory of Beauly (Grampian Club, no. 12; 1877).

Bede († 735): Chronicle (to 726). This chronicle is part of his De Temporum Ratione, and is an extension of his Shorter Chronicle (to 707), which was part of his De Temporibus. Both chronicles are edited by Mommsen, in M.G.H., Auctores, xiii, 223-354.

Among many sources from which Bede's Chronicle is derived, the following may be named: Constantius, and Gildas; Prosper, and Marcellinus; Isidore, and the Liber Pontificalis.

Bede: Historia Ecclesiastica (to 731). Edited by C. Plummer (Oxford, 1896), with very useful notes and indices. J. A. Giles's edition (Patres Ecclesiae Anglicanae, i-ii; London, 1843) has text and translation on alternate pages. For other editions see Gross, no. 1355.

The early part of Bede's History is partly derived from Orosius and Gildas. In the later part he uses the same sources as in his Chronicle, and many other written sources and documents.

Bede's work is, for his own time, of the highest authority. It is the principal source of succeeding chronicles for the same period. Other works by which its accuracy might be tested do not exist. Bede's clear style and judicial mind gave an admirable model to his successors.

Bede: Vita S. Cudbercti. This Life is based upon the more authoritative Anonymous Life of St Cuthbert (written 698 × 705). Both Lives are edited in Stevenson's edition of Bede, vol. ii (E.H.S., 1841). Bede's is edited with a translation by Giles (Patres Ecclesiae, ii); and is translated by J. Stevenson in Church Historians of England, i, **2**, 546-603 (London, 1853).

Benedict of Peterborough. Gesta regis Henrici Secundi (1169-1192), ed. W. Stubbs (R.S. **49**; 1867). This is a very valuable contemporary work, of unknown authorship. I have thought it convenient to retain the name (B.P.) by which it has been known. The true author may have been Richard Fitz-Nigel, treasurer of king Henry II: v.i.a. R.S. **99**, i, p. xxix.

In his introduction, Stubbs has given an Itinerary of king Henry II (ii, cxxix-cxlviii).

Benoît de Sainte-Maure († 1189 ×): Chronique des Ducs de Normandie

(to 1135); ed. F. Michel (Paris, 1836-1844). Partly based upon Dudo and William of Jumièges. An extract is in C.A.N., i, 166-303.

Berchan, Prophecy of. The so-called Prophecy of Berchan is preserved in MS. $\frac{23}{G4}$ of the Royal Irish Academy (Skene's MS. *a*), which was copied (from a book written by Michael O'Clery in 1627) by John O'Kane, and finished on 29th September, 1722; and in a copy of that MS., made by Peter O'Connell, and finished on 7th May, 1803 (MS. R.I.A., H. & S., no. 221; Skene's MS. *b*). Stanzas 102-204 were edited by Skene, with a translation, in his Picts and Scots, pp. 79-105. Versions of stanzas 7, 9, 8, 69, 71, and an additional stanza, are quoted in the Wars (R.S. 48, 10, 204); stanzas 7, 9, 8, also in the fragment of the Wars that is preserved in the Book of Leinster (facsimile, p. 309; Wars, 225). This part of the Book of Leinster was perhaps written 1166 × 1171. It has been alleged, on insufficient grounds, that the Wars were composed early in the 11th century, and that therefore part of the Prophecy was composed earlier still (O'Curry, MS. Materials, 413-414). A copy of the Prophecy existed in 1518; see Hyde's Literary History of Ireland (1899), 611. A fragment, ending in the middle of stanza 66, was copied by Peter O'Longan, "about the year 1760" (O'Curry, Catalogue of the Betham Collection in the R.I.A. Library, ii, 341): this is in the R.I.A. MS. $\frac{23}{N12}$. It was copied by Peter's son, Michael O'Longan (R.I.A. MS. $\frac{23}{E16}$).

This is a Middle-Irish historical poem, written in the form of a prophecy, and ascribed to an abbot Berchan.

The Prophecy consists of 204 *debide* stanzas (nos. 128 and 168 being incomplete). There is considerable displacement of stanzas, especially among stanzas 17-42. The verse was originally of fairly precise construction; but the text is now very corrupt. There are many errors throughout, in numbers and facts. It is not improbable that the original source of the existing text was written from memory.

The poem is divided into two parts. The first part (stanzas 1-96) professes to have been composed by Berchan, an Irish abbot, 60 years before his death; and 120 years before the dissolution of his monastery, which was apparently dispersed by the Norwegians. It is addressed to a boy, who is not named. It describes the history of Berchan's monastery; the arrival of the Norwegians in Ireland (led, according to the Book of Leinster, by Tuirgeis); their overthrow after seven years (in ?845, when, according to the Annals of Ulster, Tuirgeis was drowned); the death of Colman Mór, son of Aed; and the reigns of 19 Irish kings.

The second part (stanzas 97-204) does not name the composer; but purports to have been spoken on the eve of Patrick's death [?461], 60 years before the composer's death and the birth of Columba [?521]. It describes the life of Columba, the reign of Aidan in Scottish Dalriata, and the reigns of 24 kings of Scotland, from Kenneth Alpin's son to Donald Bán.

The composer of the Prophecy has obscured its meaning by using metaphors freely, and by omitting the names of most of the kings. In the

first part, however, many names of kings are supplied in glosses, which were probably an original part of the work, and are equally authoritative with the text; although a few of them are incorrectly placed. Because of the style of the work, its confused order, and its inaccuracy, it is often difficult to ascertain whether the glosses are correct, or not.

The 17th Irish king is the last whose name is supplied in a gloss: he is said to have been Muirchertach, son of Toirdelbach Ua-Briain. Muirchertach died in 1119; therefore O'Curry thought that the poem in its present form was written about 1120 (MS. Materials, 413-414). The 18th is said to become king 101 years after the death of the 16th (Aed Ua-Neill, †1033), and to reign for 35 years: he is probably Toirdelbach Ua-Briain, who was deposed in 1165, and reigned again from 1166 till his death in 1167.

The 19th king is called the "Grey-chested one, from Cloitech"; presumably the wearer of a cuirass. It is foretold that his reign will begin 140 years after the reign of the 18th king, and that he will be king of Ireland for 13 years. In his reign, Antichrist will be born in the east. He will be the last king killed by the Leinstermen: very soon afterwards the Day of Judgement will arrive. If the numbers be correct, and if I have identified the 18th king correctly, the 19th would have reigned from 1307 to 1320.

Within that time, Edward Bruce was the crowned king of Ireland (1315-†1318). These stanzas were probably added at the time when Berchan's works were collected, in 1317 (see below). Before 1190, however, some prophecies attributed to Berchan foretold the coming of a king from Downpatrick to Offaly; and the expulsion of the English from Ireland (Giraldus Cambrensis, v, 385).

The last Scottish king whose reign is described is Donald Bán. For this reason it has been assumed that the second part was written 1094 × 1097 (Picts and Scots, p. xl). But in the description of the last Scottish reigns there are errors that could not have been made by a contemporary; such as, for instance, the statement that Malcolm III died in Rome. It is foretold that four or five unnamed Scottish kings will reign after Donald, in Ireland, before the Judgement Day (see year 1094). The fifth king of Scotland after Donald would have been William, who reigned 1165-1214. Thus both the Irish part and the Scottish part appear to extend beyond the year 1165. It is possible that the poem was composed between that year and the time when it was quoted in the Book of Leinster. Since no mention is made of the English invasion of Ireland in 1169, the original composition of the Prophecy may be dated conjecturally 1165 × 1169. In its present form, it dates probably from 1315 × 1318.

The Berchan to whom the first part is ascribed is supposed to have spoken in ?718; and to have died in ?778. The prophecy of the reigns of Irish kings begins in stanza 15, and includes kings who lived in the 5th century, in the time of St Patrick and of St Bridget. The prophet of the second part is supposed to have spoken in ?461, and to have died in ?521. It follows that stanzas 1-14, or some of them, belong to a pre-existing nucleus upon which the later work was imposed. Berchan's monastery is

mentioned also in stanzas 29 and 32; and the glosses in this part of the work (stanzas 1-32) may be incorrect.

The pedigree of "Berchan, prophet and bishop and poet," in the Book of Leinster, p. 350, column 5, makes him a great-grandson of Ainfcellach [king of Dalriata 696-697; †719]: this was Berchan of Clonsast, in King's County. See Oengus (1905), 256. He was no doubt the prophet to whom the nucleus of the Prophecy was ascribed.

Another "Berchan, son of Beoaid Barrfind, of Corcothrí" in Sligo, is also named "Mobí of Glasnevin among the Foreigners" (near Dublin), in the Book of Leinster, p. 351, column 7. Cf. Oengus (1905), 222-224. This Mobí was called "the Flat-faced." He was the son of Uanfind, daughter of Findbarr (ibid., 372, column 1). He died in 545 (according to the Annals of Ulster; but in [546] according to Tigernach and the Chronicon Scotorum, both of which identify him with Berchan, and appear to speak of him as a poet). Mobí and Berchan are entered consecutively but separately in the Martyrology of Tallaght under October 12th (Book of Leinster, 363, column 7; Brussels version, ed. Kelly, p. xxxvi). The identification of these two men is almost certainly erroneous.

Berchan Beoaid's son may possibly have been the Berchan upon whom the whole Prophecy was fathered; but it seems incredible that the writer should not have known the legend of Mobí's Girdle (cf. Stokes, Lismore Lives, 26-27; L.H., i, 87), and the facts that it contains: that Mobí was a teacher of Columba, and died immediately before Columba established his first monastery in Derry.

The saint who died on the day of Columba's birth, and who is said to have prophesied of him, was Buitte, the first abbot of Monasterboice. It is possible that the introductory stanzas (97-113) of the second part contain verses that existed previously, and may have been attributed to Buitte.

The historical value of this Prophecy is very low.

For other prophecies ascribed to Berchan, see O'Curry, MS. Materials, 417-418, 628; and Giraldus Cambrensis, v, 384-385. Cf. i.a. the Martyrology of Donegal, pp. xxxii-xxxiii. In O'Reilly's Irish Writers, p. xliv, it is stated that "Ware says, that the prophecies of Braccan were collected and published by Walter de Islip, in the year 1317" (before the death of Edward Bruce).

Bernard of Clairvaux (†1153): Vita S. Malachiae. In A.S., Nov., ii, 1, 143-146; P.L. **182**, 1073-1118. See Potthast's Bibliotheca, ii, 1445-1446. An excellent translation with critical notes has, since this work was finished, been produced by Dr H. J. Lawlor ("St Bernard of Clairvaux's Life of St Malachy of Armagh"; 1920).

This Life of Maelmaedoic, bishop of Armagh, was written 1148 × 1152. Maelmaedoic had twice visited Clairvaux; on the second occasion, in 1148, he died there.

Bernoldus (†1100; a monk of Saint-Blaise, afterwards of Schaffhausen): Chronicon (to 1100), ed. Pertz, M.G.H., Scriptores, v (1844), 400-467. Also in P.L. **148** (1853), 1299-1432. Extracts in B.R., xi, xiv. For other works, see Potthast, Bibliotheca, i, 154-156.

Bertholdus (†1088; pupil and continuator of Herimannus Augiensis):

Annales (1054-1080), ed. Pertz, M.G.H., Scriptores, v (1844), 267-326. Also in P.L. **147** (1853), 343-442. Extracts in B.R., xi, xiv.

Biskupa Sögur, ed. G. Vigfusson, J. Sigurdsson, G. Hansen. Hið Íslenzka Bókmentafèlag (Copenhagen, 1858-1878).

Black Book. See Black Book of the Exchequer.

Black Book of Carmarthen. See Welsh Triads.

Black Book of Paisley. See Bower.

Black Book of the Exchequer, The Smaller. T. Hearne: Liber Niger Scaccarii (Oxford, 1771, or 1774). This was perhaps compiled by Alexander de Swereford († 1246), before 1216. See R.S. **99**, i, pp. xxxv-xlix; lii, lvi, lxii, etc.

Bliss, W. H.: Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers, relating to Great Britain. Rolls Series. Vol. i (1198-1304), London, 1893.

Bond, J. J.: Handy-book of Rules and Tables for verifying Dates within the Christian Era (London, 1889).

Book of Armagh. Liber Ardmachanus . . . edited, with Introduction and Appendices, by John Gwynn (R.I.A., 1913). See also Life of St Patrick. The Book of Armagh was written in 807 by Ferdomnach, a scribe of Armagh († 846; A.U.). See P.R.I.A., iii, 316-324; Tr. R.I.A., xx, 329-332.

Book of Ballymote, published in photo-lithographic facsimile under the title "The Book of Ballymote, a Collection of Pieces, Prose and Verse, in the Irish Language, compiled about the beginning of the fifteenth century: now for the first time published from the original manuscript in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, by the Royal Irish Academy. With Introduction, Analysis of Contents, and Index, by Robert Atkinson . . ." (Dublin 1887). Cf. the facsimile pages in National MSS. of Ireland, iii, nos. 25-27.

This is a miscellaneous collection, compiled and translated from various sources at different times. Part was written 1384 × 1406 ("about 1400" Atkinson).

Book of Coupar. See Bower.

Book of Deer. This is an incomplete copy of the Gospels, in Latin; written in the 9th century. Notes of grants, and translations of charters, have been added, in early Gaelic, or middle-Irish; also a copy of a Latin charter, confirming the rights of the clerics of Deer, as written in their book. If this charter is genuine, and the book referred to is the present Book of Deer, the Gaelic additions would have been made before the year 1150.

The edition referred to here is that of J. Stuart: The Book of Deer (Spalding Club [no. 36], Edinburgh, 1869). This edition contains text and translations (pp. xlvii-lvii), with facsimiles, of the additions. The additions had previously been edited and translated:—by C. Innes, Scotland in the Middle Ages (1860), 321-325; [by Stokes?] in the Saturday Review for 1860, 734-735; [by Joseph Robertson] in Illustrations of the topography and antiquities of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, iv, 545-550 (Spalding Club [no. 32], 1862); by C. Innes, in National MSS. of Scotland, i, nos. 1, 18 (Southampton, 1867), with facsimiles. Text, translation, and glossary,

are given by Whitley Stokes, in Goidelica (1872), 108-111, 115-121; and by Alexander Macbain, Gaelic Society of Inverness (1885), xi, 144-149, 158-166. Translations and some texts are in L.C., nos. 1, 95, 97, 107, 224. All these editions have valuable notes. Cf. L.C., 219-220.

The grants recorded in the additions are tabulated in Stuart's Preface, pp. lxi-lxiii. Cf. Macbain's ed., 151.

These additions appear to be written at a later date than the charters copied in the Book of Kells (q.v.). Cf. below, note under no. 7; year 1131×.

Book of Kells Charters in the Book of Kells, ed. J. O'Donovan, in Irish Archaeological Society, Miscellany, i, 127-158 (Dublin, 1846). These were copied, according to J. T. Gilbert, "towards the latter part of the 12th century." Cf. National MSS. of Ireland, ii, nos. 59-61.

Book of Leinster (R.I.A. MS. H. 2. 18). "The Book of Leinster, sometime called the Book of Glendalough, a collection of pieces, prose and verse, in the Irish language, compiled, in part, about the middle of the twelfth century. . . . With introduction, analysis of contents, and index by R. Atkinson" (Dublin, 1880). In facsimile.

This collection was written at various times. A note on p. 275 fixes the date of that part of the MS. as 1st August, 1166. A note on p. 288 (written 1166×1167) laments the expulsion of Diarmait Murchaid's son (†1171). The original book ends on p. 354. It was added to at various times.

See Todd, R.S. 48, pp. ix-xii; O'Curry, MS. Materials, 184-186. Cf. above, under Berchan. Facsimile pages are given by Gilbert in the National MSS. of Ireland, ii, nos. 53-55.

Book of Lismore. W. Stokes: Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore. Anecdota Oxoniensia, Medieval and Modern Series, part 5 (Oxford, 1890). The Book of Lismore "was compiled from the lost Book of Monasterboice and other manuscripts, in the latter half of the 15th century" (Stokes).

Book of Llandaff: edited by Evans and Rhys, Welsh Texts, iv (Oxford, 1893). Previously edited and translated by W. J. Rees; Llandovery, 1840.

A collection of various historical materials, made about 1132.

Bouquet, Martin; and others. Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France. Paris, 1738-1876.

Bower, Walter: Scotichronicon [to 1437]. Edited by Walter Goodall (Edinburgh, 1759); previously by Thomas Hearne (Oxford, 1722).

This is a recension of Fordun's work. Fordun's continuator (to 1437) was born in 1385, and began to write his compilation in 1441. He may have been named Bower, Bowyer, or Bowmaker. It is convenient to retain the name by which he has been known.

Goodall's text is based upon a MS. in Edinburgh University Library. The "Book of Coupar" (Advocates' Library MS. 35. 1. 7) is, according to Skene, an abridged text by the same compiler. Another abridgement (the "Book of Perth") was made by a Carthusian at Perth probably before 1451 (Advocates' Library 35. 6. 7; paper). In this MS. the statement appears that the first 5 books had been written by "John Fordoun, a priest"; the other 11 books by "the reverend father in Christ,

sir Walter Bowmaker, formerly abbot of the island of St. Columba [Inchcolm], who died in the year of the Lord 1449." In another paper MS. (Adv. Lib. 35. 5. 2), Fordun's continuator is called *Walterus Boware.*

Another text is the "Black Book of Paisley" (British Museum, Royal Library MS. 13 E X).

For the various manuscripts see Skene's Preface to Fordun.

Bower's work is not included here; but is occasionally quoted and referred to, principally for ecclesiastical details. He drew from sources of information that hâve now been lost.

Brandkrossa Thâttr, ed. G. Thordarson, in Nordiske Oldskrifter, v (1848); Vigfusson, Origines Islandicae, ii, 533-536; J. Jakobsen, Samfund, **29**, 183-191 (Copenhagen, 1903). This is an unhistorical fragment, containing some genealogical details. It may have been composed originally in the 13th century; but survives in manuscripts of the 17th and 18th centuries.

Brechin. Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis; ed. C. Innes, B.Cl. **102** (1856).

Brenna Adams Byskups († 1222), in Fl., ii, 529-530; ed. Vigfusson and tr. Dasent, R.S. **88**, i, 229-230; iii, 232-233. Also in Collectanea, 355-356.

Breviary of Aberdeen. Edited by William, bishop of Aberdeen; vol. i (the winter part; December to June) published on 1st February, 1509; vol. ii (the summer part) published on 4th June, 1510 (Edinburgh). Both volumes were reprinted in facsimile for the Bannatyne Club (and simultaneously for the Spalding Club and the Maitland Club) in 1854 (London). This contains a collection of local traditions of saints' lives, preserved orally or in writing; it is of value as evidence of the existence of traditions in the beginning of the 16th century.

The martyrology is the 3rd section with separate pagination in both volumes.

Brevis Relatio de Origine Willelmi Conquestoris. Edited by J. A. Giles, Scriptores Rerum Gestarum Willelmi Conquestoris, 1-23 (Caxton Society, 1845). Apparently written in the time of his son, king Henry I.

Brompton, John of (fl. 1437): Chronicon (to 1198). Twysden, Scriptores, 721-1284. An inaccurate compilation, of uncertain date.

Brut d' Angleterre. See Wace.

Brut y Saesson. Two Welsh chronicles are called by this name. One (to 1197) was edited from Cottonian MS. Cleopatra B V, fos. 109-162, in Myvyrian Archaiology, 652-684 (Denbigh, 1870). This is part (Brenhined y Saesson) of the chronicle beginning on fo. 1, and entitled the Brut, or Ystoriaeu Brenhined Ynys Brydeyn.

Another (850-1382) is edited from the Red Book of Hergest (a MS. of the end of the 14th century), by J. G. Evans, in Rhys and Evans's Bruts from the Red Book of Hergest, 385-403 (Oxford, 1890).

Brut y Tywyssogion ("Chronicle of the Princes"). Two Welsh chronicles have been called by this name. One (running from 680 to 1282) has been edited by J. G. Evans, from the Red Book of Hergest, a MS. of the end of the 14th century (Rhys and Evans, Welsh Texts, vol. ii:

Bruts from the Red Book of Hergest, 257-384; Oxford, 1890). It was previously edited, from the same MS., in Myvyrian Archaiology (1801 ed., ii, 391-582; (1870 ed.), 602-651; from the same and other MSS. by J. W. Ab Ithel, in R.S. **17** (1860); and, to 1066, by Aneurin Owen, in Petrie's M.H.B., 841-855 (1848).

The value of extracts given from this chronicle is uncertain. I refer to the pages of Evans's edition. For the MSS. used by Ab Ithel, see his ed., pp. xlv, xlvii-xlviii.

According to Liebermann (M.G.H., xxvii, 444-446) the nucleus of this work is a Welsh translation (ascribed to Caradoc of Llancarvan) of the Annales Cambriae to 954; probably also of their continuation, to 1100, although it is uncertain whether the continuation is not derived from the Brut. From 1100 to 1120 the Brut is ascribed to Caradoc (who died about the middle of the 12th century). From 1120 to 1282, the chronicle is the work of various hands; the part relating to the 13th century being attributed to Cistercians of Strata Florida.

None of the surviving copies appears to be earlier than the 14th century.

Another chronicle of the same name (from 660 to 1196) was edited by Owen Jones in the Myvyrian Archaiology (1870 ed., pp. 685-715).

Cambuskenneth. Registrum monasterii S. Marie de Cambuskenneth, ed. Sir William Fraser. Grampian Club, **4** (Edinburgh, 1872).

Camden, William: Anglica, Normannica, Hibernica, Cambrica, a veteribus Scripta (Frankfurt, 1602, and 1603). Britannia (London, 1586; latest ed., 1607; tr. R. Gough, 1789, and 1806).

Carmen de Morte Sumerledi, by William, a priest of Glasgow. Edited by Skene, Fordun, i, 449-451 (1871), from MS. C.C.C.C. 139, fo. 133 (the 12th-century MS. of S.D., s.f.); independently by J. Raine, S.S. **70,** 78-80 (1880; cf. S.S. **51** (1868), p. lxix); by T. Arnold, R.S. **75,** ii, 386-388 (1885); and from Skene, in L.A., 80-83.

This "Song upon the death of Somerled" is written in doggerel Latin verse, in lines of 15 syllables, with artificial alternate accent. There is usually dissyllabic end-rhyme or assonance, in couplets. The rhyming syllables would be unaccented in prose. There is usually also internal rhyme or assonance of syllables 3-4 with syllables 7-8 in each line.

Chalmers, George: Caledonia. New edition. (Paisley, 1887-1902). First published in London, 1807-1824.

Chronicle in Edinburgh University Library MS. no. 27 (1057-1401); ed. Miss C. R. Borland, Catalogue of the Western Medieval MSS. in Edinburgh University Library, 329-332 (Edinburgh, 1916).

Chronicle of Anjou (to 1057, with continuation to 1251). Called also Chronicle of Vendôme; ed. Marchegay and Mabille, Chroniques des Églises d'Anjou, 155-177. Selections are edited in B.R., vi-viii, x-xii, xviii.

Chronicle of Anjou. The chronicle quoted under 1174 is one of the chronicles of St Albinus' abbey in Angers. It runs to the year 1200, and has later additions. It is edited in Labbe's Nova Bibliotheca, i, 275-280 (Paris, 1657).

Chronicle of Carlisle, ed. Palgrave, 68-76. This chronicle was sent to king Edward on 20th May, 1291, by the canons of the cathedral church of

Carlisle. The seal of the chapter was attached. The manuscript was endorsed *Cronica de Karleolo*. It has much in common with the Chronicle of Huntingdon. See also Chronicles of 1291.

Chronicle of Dalriata. See Chronicles of the Kings.

Chronicle of Holyrood. The edition referred to here under this name is that of C. W. Bouterwek: Monachi anonymi Scoti Chronicon Anglo-Scoticum. Elberfeld, 1863. This version is inaccurately edited from a MS. (Durlacensis, no. 38; Karlsruhe, no. 345) in the Karlsruhe library of the Grand-Duke of Baden. The chronicle runs from before the Christian era to 734, and from 1066 to 1189, all written in one hand, of the 12th (or early 13th) century. Additions have been made, for 1286, in a 13th-14th century hand; and for 1266, 1296-1318, 1355, in hands of the 14th-15th centuries.

The version in Lambeth MS. no. 440 (beginning on fo. 122) was edited by Robert Pitcairn for the Bannatyne Club (no. 20; Edinburgh, 1828), under the title (borrowed from Wharton): Chronicon Coenobii S. Crucis Edinburgensis. Part of this version, from 596 to 1163, had previously been edited in Wharton's Anglia Sacra, i, 152-162 (London, 1691). The whole is translated by Joseph Stevenson, in his Church Historians of England, iv, **1**, 61-75 (London, 1856). The Lambeth version breaks off, incomplete, in the year-section for 1163; but otherwise has the same contents as the Karlsruhe version. According to Henry Petrie, the writing of the Lambeth version appears to belong to the 12th century.

On folio 2 of the Lambeth MS., this note is written, in a hand of the 13th century: "Book of St Mary of St Serf's [*Liber S. Mariae de S. Servano*], by gift of William, Duncan's son, formerly parson of that church." It seems, therefore, that the MS. volume (or part of it) in which the Lambeth copy is now bound was presented, in the 13th century, to a church of the parish of St Serffs, dedicated to St Mary. This parish is now included in the parish of Redgorton, near Scone. A William, Duncan's son, probably a churchman, flourished in 1202; North Berwick, no. 6 (cf. Moray, no. 50; 1206 × 8).

Both versions are probably copied from one source. Errors are common to both codices under the years 668, 685, 1068, 1153, 1160. But the Karlsruhe copy has preserved the true reading under 1162; the Lambeth copy under 1154. The error at 1153 (where the age of king Malcolm at his accession is said to have been 42 years, instead of 12) shows that the common source cannot have been written contemporaneously with this event.

The source copied in the Karlsruhe MS. was probably compiled in, or soon after, 1189. It was derived from various chronicles, and from original notes made or preserved in the monastery of which the writer was an inmate.

That the chronicle was written at Holyrood abbey is fairly deducible from original notes in the year-sections of 1150, 1152, 1154, 1155, 1160, 1161, 1163 (cf. the borrowed notes under 1178, 1180; and original references to Lothian affairs, under 1125, 1163, 1164. The words *apud Scotiam* —s.aa. 1153, 1154—suggest that the place of writing was to the south of the Forth). Bouterwek (p. viii) argued that the writer was a monk of

Coupar-Angus (cf. year-sections 1164, 1170, 1186, 1187). It is possible that the chronicle was begun at Holyrood (which was founded in 1128), and continued at Coupar (which was established in 1164); but the connection with Coupar is by no means proved.

The Chronicle of Holyrood, though brief, is valuable. It is the only early Scottish companion to the Chronicle of Melrose. Unfortunately, there is no satisfactory edition of either: the sources have not been critically traced.

The notes entered in the Holyrood chronicle are often so curtailed that it is difficult to ascertain their origin. Original notes appear from the year 1136 to the end. The Chronicle of Melrose has been borrowed from, down to the year 1169; but the indebtedness may in some cases be reversed: the Melrose chronicle having made use of the notes upon which the Holyrood chronicle is based.

Bede, with his continuator, is the principal source of the Chronicle of Holyrood down to the year 734. Other sources drawn from independently (not merely through the Chronicle of Melrose) are:—a list of popes (1084; the other papal successions may have been derived from the Chronicle of Melrose); some Salisbury source (1078, 1089, 1092; cf. 1099, 1102, 1107, 1138, where the Salisbury events may have been derived from various chronicles); the Translatio S. Cuthberti (1069 and 1104); the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (version E?; to 1109); Florence of Worcester (to 1110); Simeon of Durham (to 1123); William of Malmesbury (1133); John of Worcester (to 1140); John of Hexham (to 1152); and a history of the crusades (1101, 1111, 1118, 1152, 1187. Cf. notes otherwise obtained under 1096, 1098, 1099).

From 1066 to 1102, 1107, and perhaps later, the Chronicle of Holyrood appears to have been used by the Annals of Margan.

Chronicle of Huntingdon; *Cronica Canonicorum Beate Marie Huntingdonie.* Edited in Palgrave, 98-104; and in Skene's Picts and Scots, 209-213. I refer to the pages of Skene's edition.

This is one of the chronicles of 1291. It concludes thus: "And at the command of our noble king the common seal . . . [of the chapter of the canons] of St Mary of Huntingdon has been appended to this."

It appears to derive much of its information from the Chronicle of Melrose.

Chronicle of Lanercost (1201-1346). Joseph Stevenson: Chronicon de Lanercost. B.Cl. **65** and M.Cl. **46** (Edinburgh, 1839). This work, in its surviving form (Cottonian MS. Claudius D VII), was written in the 14th century; but it is in part copied from an earlier chronicle. It borrows material from a source that is used by the Chronicle of Man, and from that part of the Chronicle of Melrose that ends in 1264; see below, and year 1251, note. Down to 1273, the original version was written ×1275 (see below, year ?1266). Down to 1279 or further, it was written before 1296 (see below, year 1279). Verses that are entered 1280-1290 were written by Henry de Burgo, who became prior of Lanercost in 1310 († 1315). The section for the year 1289 was (?partly) written by a contemporary of Patrick, 7th earl of Dunbar († 1289) (cf. year-sections 1248, 1267, 1289);

and (?partly) during the lifetime of Duncan, 10th earl of Fife (earl 1288-† 1353): therefore 1289×1353. Part of the same year-section was written 1306×.

From 1272 to 1346, the chronicle has been translated by Sir Herbert Maxwell in S.H.R., vi-x; reprinted, Glasgow, 1913.

Chronicle of Maillezais (Vendée) (to 1134); ed. B.R., vii, ix-xii. The writer borrows from Julius Florus, who wrote of affairs of Aquitaine to 1140.

Chronicle of Man (to 1257, with additions to 1376). Chronicon Regum Manniae, ed. Goss: Chronicles of Man and the Sudreys, vol. i; Manx Society, **22** (Douglas, 1874. No. **23**, vol. ii, contains an appendix of documents). Goss gives a translation. His edition is based upon the edition and notes of P. A. Munch (Christiania, 1860). Text also in J. R. Oliver's Monumenta de Insula Manniae, Manx Society, **4**, 127-205 (Douglas, 1860); part in Camden, in Johnstone's Antiquitates Celto-Normannicae, and in Langebek, iii, 209 (1774). Translated by Stevenson, Church Historians, v, **1**.

This chronicle is part 3 of Cottonian MS. Julius A VII. It dates from the middle or latter half of the 13th century, with additions of the 13th and 14th centuries. It begins at the year 1017, and is carried down by successive hands to 1257, 1274, and 1316. A list of bishops appended to it was begun by the first chronicler, and continued by various hands to 1376.

There are considerable errors in the year-numbers. The years numbered 1000-1023 are intended for 1017-1040; 1027-1056=1046-1075; 1073-1077=1093-1097. 1140=1148, 1141-1144=1151-1154. Calculations of the duration of reigns and bishoprics are inaccurate.

The Chronicle of Man uses, for the history of the islands, a source that is used also by the Chronicle of Lanercost. It borrows, down to 1190, from the Chronicle of Melrose, edition to 1197; and adds original material from 1066 onwards.

Cf. Munch's ed., pp. xxvii-xxviii.

Chronicle of Melrose (731-1263, with continuation 1263-1270). The edition used here is that of Joseph Stevenson: Chronica de Mailros (Bannatyne Club, no. 49), Edinburgh, 1835. The chronicle was previously edited by William Fulman, in his Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores, i, 135-244; Oxford, 1684. I refer to Fulman's book under the usual but incorrect designation of Gale's Scriptores, vol. i. Joseph Stevenson translated this chronicle in his Church Historians of England, iv, **1**, 79-242; London, 1856.

The chronicle with its additions (fos. 1-74) occupies folios 2-75 of the Cottonian MS. Faustina B IX. This is the original codex, to which additions were made from time to time, during perhaps a hundred years, by successive historiographers of the monastery of Melrose.

The changes in handwriting should be an aid towards determining the times at which the various parts were written. This is a matter for a palaeographical expert. The same hand varies at different times, and with different pens, inks, and qualities of parchment. Writers of one school form characters in similar ways; and, in finishing a partly-filled page, a writer sometimes imitates his predecessor's style.

So far as I can tentatively judge, new hands appear in the following year-sections of the chronicle (to 1263):—956; 970; 1017; 1172; 1198; 1215; 1215; 1216; 1217; 1218; 1221; 1222; 1223; 1234; 1234; 1240; 1244; 1245; 1246.

Each year-section is begun upon a new line. From 974 onwards, a line is frequently left blank after year-sections. A half-page was left blank after 1016. From 1171 onwards, space is left at the end of the year-sections, for the accommodation of additional notes. These spaces have sometimes been filled up afterwards.

The first edition of the chronicle (to 1171) was completed 1178 × 1198, and perhaps 1185 × 1186. See below, year 1170, note. This section of the chronicle was used (down to 1169) by the compiler of the Chronicle of Holyrood; and (from 1141 to 1168) by Roger of Hoveden.

Original material appears under the years 1128, 1134, 1136, and from 1140 onwards. Probably the compiler of the 1171 edition utilized historical notes made and preserved in the monastery of Melrose, which was founded in 1136.

Among the sources used are:—Bede, and his continuator; the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle; Florence of Worcester; Simeon of Durham; William of Malmesbury; John of Worcester; John of Hexham.

From 1172 onwards, the work was continued by various writers, more or less contemporaneously with the events described. The chronicle to 1263 was completed after 21st January, 1264. It ran to folio 62, but did not include folios 60 and 61. It contained three added leaves:—folio 13, written in 1263 (or 1264), and added to the year-section of 1056 (see below, year 1249); folio 37 (on the capture of Damietta, in 1219), inserted in the middle of the year-section of 1221; and folio 53 (in an early 13th century hand; relating to years 945-1193), inserted between the year-sections of 1245 and 1246.

In the blank space after year 1016, on folio 10 verso, this note has been added, in a late 13th-century hand:—"Memorandum: that the abbot of Dundrennan has borrowed the chronicles of Melrose, in which were 14 quires, 119 leaves" (i.e., 28 folded sheets, bound in fours; and $3\frac{1}{2}$ single leaves: in all, 119 pages, or $59\frac{1}{2}$ folios). The book borrowed must have been the 1264 edition of our Chronicle of Melrose; because it contains $59\frac{1}{2}$ folios, of which three were added leaves.

In the lower margin of folio 45 verso, under the year-section of 1243, the following note has been written: "The abbot of Dundrennan has received as a loan the remainder of these chronicles. Vide." The two year-sections that follow, 1244 and 1245 (folios 46-52), were probably copied in 1263.

In the upper margin of folio 52 verso, the writer who copied the year-section of 1245 (folios 48 verso-52 verso) has written the date: "Henry, the king of England, the son of king John, has now reigned for 47 years"; and in the lower margin, the note: "Alexander, king of Scotland." King Henry II's 47th year was completed on 27th October, 1263.

The 1264 edition of the chronicle was used (down to 1251) by the writer of the Chronicle of Lanercost.

The added folios 60-61 were written after 1263. They describe miraculous

incidents of life at Melrose; and contain additional year-sections for the years 1260 and 1261.

On folio 62 verso, lists of Melrose abbots, and promotions of Melrose monks, have been added.

The continuation (for years 1263-1270; folios 63-73) contains, under the years 1263, 1264, 1268, a treatise upon the affairs of Simon de Montfort. Folio 74 is entirely occupied with the history of the crusades. It ends incomplete; the remainder of the chronicle is lost. This continuation has probably been copied by three hands, which have written respectively folios 63-68, 69-71, and 72-74. Part of the annal for 1265 was written 1267×; perhaps 1270×.

Notes for the years 1271-2, 1275 = ?1272, 1272-3, and 1274-5, have been added on folios 62, 59 verso, and 51.

A Prose Chronicle of the Kings of Dalriata and of Scotland has been inserted under their death-years, from 741 to 1165; and, along with this, a Verse Chronicle (called by Stevenson and others the Chronicon Rythmicum and Chronicon Elegiacum) has been inserted, from 843 to 1214. These, and many other marginal notes (indicating successions of bishops and abbots, deaths of kings and popes, etc.), have been added to the chronicle in hands of the early 14th century, and later (cf. Stevenson's edition, p. xiv).

There are several erased or illegible notes, in margins and blank spaces. Some added notes have been entered by a contemporary reviser; some, by the next continuator.

The Chronicle of Melrose is the principal early monastic chronicle of Scotland. Its only companion, later (for the period it covers) and briefer, is the Chronicle of Holyrood. Unfortunately, neither of these chronicles has been edited in such a manner as to indicate the parts that are original, or the sources from which material has been derived.

In addition to Scottish affairs, the Melrose chroniclers have described events in England, Ireland, France, and Palestine; and have had access to documents relating to the crusades, and the quarrel between the empire and the papacy.

Chronicle of Peterborough (654-1368): Chronicon Angliae Petriburgense, ed. J. A. Giles. Caxton Society (London, 1845). This is a compilation of little value. It is largely derived from chroniclers of Northampton and Huntingdon shires. The earlier part of the work has been ascribed to a John of Peterborough (John de Caleto, abbot of Peterborough 1250-1262; or John Deeping, abbot 1410-1439). The fact that the writer borrowed from C.M. under 1244 does not prove that the annal for that year was written after 1263. See under Chronicle of Melrose.

Chronicle of Saint-Aubin of Anjou (to 1200); ed. Labbe, Nova Bibliotheca. See Chronicle of Anjou.

Chronicle of the Picts. See Chronicles of the Kings.

Chronicle of Vendôme. See Chronicle of Anjou (to 1251).

Chronicles of the Kings. These are divisible into three groups:—lists of the kings (1) of the Picts; (2) of the Scots of Dalriata; (3) of Scotland, after the union of Picts and Scots. In dealing here with different versions in each group, I find it necessary to distinguish the versions by group-

names ("Chronicles of Dalriata," "of the Picts," and "of the Kings of Scotland") and letters, which unfortunately do not correspond with the letters used in D.K.

These chronicles were named by Skene: "Pictish Chronicle"; "Chronicle of the Scots"; "Chronicle of the Scots and Picts"; "Chronicle of the Picts and Scots," according to the contents of their earlier parts. I have rejected these names, because I found their use impracticable.

The Chronicles of the Kings of Scotland (after the union) are preserved in several versions. These vary from mere lists of reigns to meagre histories; and are carried down to different periods, according to the time of their composition. I refer to the following versions by letters:—

A. Colbertine MS., Bibl. Imp. Paris. 4126; ed. Innes, Critical Essay, 416-418; Pinkerton, Enquiry, i, 494-497; and Skene, Picts and Scots, 8-10, no. 1. See version E.

This is a considerably expanded version. It ceases before 995. Van Praet's description of the MS., corrections of Innes's transcripts (in 1st ed.), and diplomatic copy, were printed in Pinkerton, i, 476-487. A facsimile is in P. & S., 2 × 3.

B. Bodleian MS., Laud 610; ed. O'Donovan, in Todd's Irish Nennius, p. lxxv; and Skene, P. & S., 29-30, no. 5 c.

This is an unexpanded version, preserved as an addition to the Irish version of Nennius. It was composed before 1093.

C. Trinity College of Dublin MS., H. 3. 17; in Todd, u.s., 162; and P. & S., 400, Appendix no 2.

This also is a mere list, an Irish version, composed before 1093.

D. Advocates' Library MS. 34. 7. 3; in Skene, P. & S., 151-152, no 23.

An expanded version, running to 1058; probably composed before 1093.

Version D begins with this prologue (Skene's P. & S., 148): "*Short Chronicle.* The sum of the years of the first Scots, who reigned before the Picts, 260 years and 3 months. The sum [of the years] of the Picts, 1061 years. The sum [of the years] of the Scots after the Picts, 337 years and 5 months. The sum total, 1,668 years and 8 months.

"It is to be noted that the kingdom of Scotland began 443 years before the Lord's Incarnation."

Skene dates this in 1187.

The "sum total" shows error in addition, or in the transcription of some of the figures. 337 years 5 months from 843 would give 1180 or 1181; but the chronicle stops at 1058. It is probable that this prologue is later in origin than the chronicle.

E. Colbertine MS. (as A). In Innes, Critical Essay, 419-420; Skene, P. & S., 130-133, no. 16.

Unexpanded to 1005; much expanded from 1018 to 1165, as if in continuation of A. Composed before 1214.

F. Register of the priory of St. Andrews, Harleian MS. 4,628. In Innes, Essay, 423-425; Skene, P. & S., 174-176, no. 29.

A somewhat expanded version, composed before 1249, and continued to 1255.

G. Cottonian MS. Vitellius A XX. In P. & S., 301-303, no. 39.

This is the second version in this MS. See under version M. Version G is an expanded one from 1057. It was composed before 1249, and afterwards continued to 1286.

H. John of Eversden's version, in E.H.S. ed. of Florence of Worcester, ii, 252-253 ; E.C., 2-3.

This version is unexpanded, and seems to have been composed originally 1281 × 1286.

I. Sir T. Phillipps MS. 3119. In P. & S., 288-290, no. 36.

An expanded version, composed 1286 × 1292.

K. Thomas Gray's Scalachronica, in the Corpus Christi College of Cambridge MS. Edited by J. Stevenson, M.Cl. 40 (1836), 116-118 ; and by Skene, P. & S., 204-208.

This is an Old-French rendering of an expanded version composed 1292 × 1296.

L. Cottonian MS. Claudius D VII ; ed. Stevenson, M.Cl. 28, 137-139 ; Skene, P. & S., 295-297, no. 38.

This version goes down to 1334, and was probably written 1334 × 1335. It is expanded at the end. In addition to its primary source, version L refers also to a secondary source (L 2), which runs to 1249.

M. Cottonian MS. Vitellius A XX. In P. & S., 299-301, no. 39.

This version is expanded from 1057 ; it stops at 1290. The MS. appears to have been written 1348 ×. Cf. under version G.

N. Harleian MS. 1808. In P. & S., 305-307, no. 40.

This version (slightly expanded) is dated 1465, in a different hand ; but the last king mentioned is Robert III, who died in 1406. There are some strange errors in this version. It is probably based upon a version that ran to William's reign. A *Summa annorum* is entered after William's death. See below, year 859, note.

I refer generally to the editions in Skene's Picts and Scots.

Prefixed to their Chronicles of the Kings of Scotland, versions ABC contain a Chronicle of the Picts ; versions EN, a Chronicle of Dalriata ; versions DFIK, Chronicles of the Picts and of Dalriata.

The three sections are distinctly separated in FIK. In A, the Chronicle of the Picts (with a title) forms the preface. In ABC, the conclusion of the first section is marked by the word "and" preceding the last king of the Picts. In E, the kings of Scotland follow the kings of Dalriata without interruption ; but the title of the whole is applicable to the Chronicle of Dalriata only. In N, the Chronicle of Dalriata (with a title) forms the preface. In D, *filius*, in patronymics of the Pictish kings, gives place to *mac* in patronymics of the kings of Scotland. *Filius* appears throughout in AEILM. In the Chronicle of Dalriata in N, *mak* appears. In the Chronicle of the Picts in BC, *mac* is used down to Nechtan Mor-brecc ;

filius, afterwards, except for Brude Maelchon's son, Gartnait Foith's son, and Giric Dungal's son. *Mac* (or *ua*) appears in B from 1034 to 1058; in C, from 1005 to 1058; in D, from 843 to 1040; in F, from 843 to 1097 (*filius* from 1165); in G, from 843 to 997; in H, from 843 to 1058 (except at 1034, *nepos*); in K, from 877 to 997; in N, from 843 to 1040 (*filius* from 1165 onwards).

Fordun in his Chronicle (IV, 10, 12; i, 152-155) gives a version of the Chronicle of the Picts. It stops at the union, with the words "*Deo gratias.*" Some of the notes are attributable to Fordun himself. Skene's edition does not profess to give the exact spelling of Fordun's words.

Versions of the Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland are the basis of the Duan Albanach (which contains also the kings of Dalriata); the Chronicle of Huntingdon; the Verse Chronicle; and the Chronicon Rhythmicum (containing also the kings of Dalriata).

Chronicles of 1291. In obedience to king Edward's command, search was made in the chronicles that were preserved in religious houses; and abstracts of material pertinent to the relations between England and Scotland were sent in from Bath, Battle, Bridlington, Burton-upon-Trent, Carlisle (see Chronicle of Carlisle), Crowland, Dover, Evesham, Faversham, Gloucester, Huntingdon (see Chronicle of Huntingdon), London, Malmesbury, Newburgh, Norwich, Reading, Salisbury, Sawtry, Tewkesbury, Worcester (these are edited in Palgrave, 56-134); Chester (noticed in Bain, ii, 213-214); and others.

These abstracts are generally derived from surviving chronicles (notably F.W., H.H., W.M.), and have no special value.

The commissioners appointed for the purpose made a summary return of the salient contents of these abstracts; ed. Palgrave, 134-137.

King Edward's letter to pope Boniface was based upon the finding of the commissioners, and states the case of England in her claim to superiority over Scotland.

Chronicon Fiscanense (Chronicle of Fécamp; to 1220), ed. Labbe, and P.L. **147**, 479-484. Extracts in B.R., xi, xii, xviii, xxiii.

Chronicon Hanoniense (to 1278). Extracts ed. J. Heller, M.G.H., Scriptores, xxv, 419-467.

Chronicon Rhythmicum (to 1437); ed. Skene, P. & S., 332-340. Previously ed. in the Appendix to Innes's Essay, 426-431. Written ? 1454 (1437 × 1460).

This verse history is preserved in MSS. of Fordun. It contains versions of the Chronicles of Dalriata and of the Kings of Scotland. Innes (331) and Skene (p. lxx) claim part to have been written before the death of Alexander III; but the poem appears homogeneous. I give very few references to this chronicle, and have not collated it with the Chronicles of the Kings.

Chronicon Scotorum (to 722, 804-1135, 1141-1150), ed. W. M. Hennessy, R.S. **46** (1866).

This contains a somewhat inaccurate abridgement of Tigernach's Annals, or copy of Tigernach's source. It preserves a version of the years 804-973, and 1004-1016, that are missing in the surviving copy of Tigernach.

Down to 643, the years are indicated by frequent ferial numbers; but these have been carelessly copied, and are almost valueless for the identification of the years intended. See under Tigernach, below. From 1098 onwards, the years are sufficiently indicated by calendar data.

The year-sections are dated in the edition by sequence, without regard to the ferial numbers, down to 1131=1135. Hennessy has added one year between the sections numbered by him 429 and 431, and between his 471 and 473. Otherwise his dates are useful, because they show the interval of years in the chronicle between events. Hennessy's years 1012-1061 are behind the true number of the year intended by 2 years; 1063-ca. 1069, by 3; 1092-1131, by 4. His year-numbers 1141-1150 are correct.

Chronicon Vizeliacense (Chronicle of the monastery of Vézelay). Partly edited (660-1316) in Labbe's Nova Bibliotheca, i, 394-398 (1657). Extracts in B.R., xi, xii, xviii.

Chronique de Normandie. Extracts (to 1174) in B.R., xi, 320-343; xiii, 221-256. Written in the 13th century; a version (to 1106) and continuation of Wace's Roman de Rou.

Chronique de Saint-Denis (to 1223, with continuations to 1461), ed. B.R., iii, v-viii, x-xii, xvii.

Cistercian Foundations to 1234. Cottonian MS. Faustina B VII, fos. 36-39; ed. W. de G. Birch, J.B.A.A., xxvi, 281-292. Folio 39, for the years 1191-1234, is written in a later hand than that which wrote the previous folios (for 1098-1190).

Cistercian Foundations to 1247. Cottonian MS. Vespasian A VI, fos. 55 verso-60; ed. W. De G. Birch, J.B.A.A., xxvi, 357-365.

These lists of foundations were derived from a complete list which appears to have been kept in the monastery at Cîteaux.

Claudian (Claudius Claudianus Alexandrinus, † in the beginning of the 5th century): Carmina, ed. T. Birt, in M.G.H., Auctores, vol. x (1892). Claudian speaks several times of the British islands and their inhabitants, but in a manner difficult to turn to historical use. He is one of the sources for the history of Britain under the Romans. Some of his writings were known to Gildas.

Close Rolls, i (1204-1224), ed. T. D. Hardy (Record Commission, folio, 1833). The following volumes of the octavo series (H.M. Stationery Office) are distinguished by their years of publication:—1902 (1227-1231), 1905 (1231-1234), 1908 (1234-1237), 1911 (1237-1242), 1916 (1242-1247); and the Calendars of the Close Rolls, (abstracts of their contents) ed. W. H. Stevenson:—1900 (1272-1279), 1902 (1279-1288), 1904 (1288-1296), 1906 (1296-1302).

Clyn, John: Annales Hiberniae (to 1349), ed. R. Butler, in Annals of Ireland. Irish Archaeological Society (1849).

Colgan, J.: Acta Sanctorum Veteris Scotiae seu Hiberniae (Louvain, 1645). 1st January to 31st March.

Colgan, J.: Trias Thaumaturga (Louvain, 1647). Contains Lives of Patrick, Columba, and Bridget. This is vol. ii of Colgan's Acta Sanctorum.

Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis, ed. Iona Club. W. F. Skene contributed to the contents:—extracts translated from Icelandic literature; Irish

materials reprinted from O'Conor's Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores, with translations; some Highland pedigrees; and a late history of the origin of the Macdonalds.

Corpus Poeticum Boreale, ed. G. Vigfusson and F. Y. Powell (Oxford, 1883). A collection of Icelandic verse; now more critically edited by F. Jónsson. See under Jónsson.

Coupar. Rental Book of the Cistercian abbey of Cupar-Angus, with the Breviary of the Register; ed. C. Rogers. Grampian Club, **17** (London, 1879-1880).

Cuanu's Book. See under Annals of Ulster. The book was written in the 8th century, or later. There is nothing to show from which Cuanu this work took its name: possibly he may have been the abbot of Louth, who died in 825.

Cummine (abbot of Iona, ca. 657-669). The Life of Columba attributed to Cummine is the First Life in Colgan's Trias Thaumaturga, 321-324. It is also in Pinkerton's Vitae, and Metcalfe's Lives (i, 51-69).

Cummine wrote a Life of Columba, which was used by Adamnan. A quotation from Cummine in Adamnan's Life of Columba (III, 5) does not represent the exact words of the Life attributed to Cummine, but is in Adamnan's own style. See below, pp. 55, 160-161. There are one or two points of difference between Adamnan and the earlier part of the Life attributed to Cummine, where it might be thought that that Life had been earlier than Adamnan's; but if the earlier part was written by Cummine, the last chapters must have been added later: they are abridged from Adamnan. The only distinct evidence of Cummine's authorship of any part is the fact that his name appears in one of the MSS.

The Life attributed to Cummine frequently omits proper names which Adamnan gives. This would prove that Cummine's Life was derived from Adamnan's, but for the fact that Adamnan wrote on the spot where such information could have been obtained.

Transcribers might have been responsible for the later spellings of names in Cummine than in Adamnan (cf. e.g. *Hyona* in Cummine with *Ioua* in Adamnan; *Fernaus* in Cummine, c. 15, with *Virgnous* in Adamnan, III, 19).

The parts of Adamnan's Life that might have been derived from the Life attributed to Cummine are shown by italic type in Dr Fowler's excellent edition of Adamnan. It seems to me, however, that the attribution to Cummine must be rejected, since there is practically no evidence in its favour.

D'Achery, Luc: Veterum Scriptorum Spicilegium (Paris, 1655-1677; and 1723).

Daventry, Chartulary of the Priory of. Cottonian MS. Claudius D XII.

De Bello Hastingensi Carmen, ed. M.H.B.; Giles, Scriptores, 27-51; and C.A.N., iii. The author was Wido (? Guy of Amiens, † ca. 1075).

De Domibus Religiosis. De Partitione Anglie per Comitatus, et domibus religiosis in eis contentis. Cottonian MS. Cleopatra A XII, fos. 46-57; ed. J.B.A.A., xxviii, 61-62. The Scottish part was edited by

Stevenson, Gray's Scalachronica, 241-242; in H. & S., ii, 181-182; part in Skene's Celtic Scotland, ii, 510. Lothian, Scotland, and Wales, are placed at the end of the list.

On the page preceding this tract, a list of the archbishops of Canterbury is brought down by the original hand (a hand of the latter half of the 13th century) to 1279 (written 1279 × 1292; with additions to the 16th century). Before the list of archbishops is the chronicle of Henry de Silgrave, carried down to 1272; with a space left blank for additions.

Deer. See Book of.

De Inventione S. Crucis Walthamensis. Edited by W. Stubbs: Foundation of Waltham Abbey (Oxford and London, 1861). Part in Michel's C.A.N., ii, 223-254.

De Miraculis, see De Translationibus, and Miracula.

De Morte Sumerledi. See Carmen.

De Obsessione Dunelmi, ed. T. Arnold, R.S. **75**, i, 215-220 (also in Twysden). Composed in the lifetime of a grandson of a granddaughter of Uhtred († 1016); preserved in a late 12th-century MS.

De Origine Comitum Andegavensium. Edited as Historia Comitum Andegavensium, in Marchegay and Salmon's Chroniques des Comtes d'Anjou, 319-363 (S.H.F., 1871). Partly ed. in B.R., xii, 534-539. This is an early work, attributed (without evidence) to Thomas Pactius or de Parcé, prior of Loches († 1168). Cf. Potthast, Bibliotheca, ii, 1066.

De Origine Willelmi. See Brevis Relatio.

De Primo Saxonum Adventu, ed. J. H. Hinde, S.S. ed. of S.D., i, 202-215; and T. Arnold, R.S. **75**, ii, 365-384.

Dermot and the Earl, Song of: ed. G. H. Orpen, with translation (Oxford, 1892). Previously ed. F. Michel: An Anglo-Norman poem of the Conquest of Ireland (London, 1837).

This is an Old-French poem, incomplete at the beginning and end; it does not extend to the death of Strongbow. It was written ca. 1225 (Orpen, pp. xx-xxii). The writer claims the direct authority of Morice Regan, Diarmait's interpreter (Orpen's ed., 2; cf. 32, 122), who was sent to demand the surrender of Dublin in 1170.

De Situ Albanie, ed. Skene, P. & S., 135-137; previously by Innes, Critical Essay, Appendix, 411-413. Van Praet's corrections of Innes's text are published in Pinkerton's Enquiry, i, 477. Also in Johnstone's Antiquitates.

This is a geographical tract, taken from the same Colbertine MS. that contains versions AE of the Chronicles of the Kings. It is dated by Skene in 1165, because it sums up to that year the years of the Scottish dynasty.

De Translationibus S. Cuthberti, ed. T. Arnold, R.S. **75**, i, 229-261, ii, 333-362; J. H. Hinde, S.S. ed. of S.D., i, 158-201. Part at least of this work is earlier than S.D.'s Histories.

Diceto, Ralph de († 1202 or 1203): Ymagines Historiarum (1148-1202), ed. W. Stubbs. R.S. **68** (1876).

Dicuil: Liber de Mensura Orbis Terrarum, ed. G. Parthey (Berlin, 1870).

This is a geographical work, written by an Irishman in 825 (p. 85). In speaking of the smaller islands of Britain, Dicuil says (41): "In some of

them I have dwelt, others I have visited, others only seen; of others I have read."

Diplomatarium Norvegicum, ed. C. R. Unger, etc. (Christiania, 1849 etc.).

Donegal. Martyrology of Donegal, ed. J. H. Todd and W. Reeves. Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society (Dublin, 1864). This is a calendar of saints, compiled from various sources (many old, some lost) by Michael O'Clery, in 1630.

Doomsday Book. Domesday Book, seu Liber Censualis Wilhelmi Primi, regis Angliae, ed. A. Farley and H. Ellis; Record Commission (1783-1816). Edited also in facsimile, for the different counties separately (Southampton, 1861-1864). Translated (with indices) in the Victoria County Histories. See under Ellis. Cf. Gross, 319-321.

This book contains the records of the survey of 1086 (cf. F.W.; C.M.).

Dowden, Bp. John: The Bishops of Scotland, ed. Dr J. Maitland Thomson. Glasgow, 1912.

Droplaugarsona Saga, ed. J. Jakobsen, Samfund, **29**, 141-175 (Copenhagen, 1902-1903). Previously ed. K. Gislason (Nordisk Literatur-samfund, Copenhagen, 1847); Möbius, Analecta Norrœna (1859), 184: Th. Jónsson (Reykjavík, 1878); and (with translation of part) by G. Vigfusson, in Origines Islandicae, ii, 536-561. An English edition is being prepared.

This is a romantic tale with an historical basis. It is preserved in a 13th-century form.

Dryburgh. Liber S. Marie de Dryburgh, ed. W. Fraser. B.Cl. **83** (Edinburgh, 1847).

Duald MacFirbis (Dubhaltach mac Firbisigh): Annals of Ireland, Three Fragments copied from Ancient Sources; ed. J. O'Donovan, Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society (Dublin, 1860), with a translation, and corrected dates supplied from the Annals of Ulster. Extracts in Skene, P. & S., 401-407.

These Fragments are preserved in an early copy from Duald's copy. They run: (I) from 573 to 735; (II) from 662 to 704; and (III) from 851 to 913 (according to the dates of A.U.). Duald's dates are rare, confused, and untrustworthy. The Fragments are interesting, but legendary rather than historical. The date of the sources from which Duald copied them is unknown. They appear to favour the Ui-Neill, in opposition to Munster. The language is late, with few survivals of early forms; there seems to be in it nothing that would prove great age. Tradition, handed down in Duald's family, is without doubt a main source of these annals.

Although the Fragments have preserved some valuable scraps of history, their trustworthiness is never certain. When they contradict other sources (such as the sagas), they must be taken with reserve.

Duan Albanach, ed. Skene, P. & S., 57-64. Previously ed. by Pinkerton, Enquiry, ii, 321-326; O'Conor, Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores, i, pp. cxxiv-cxxx; and Skene, Collectanea, 70-76.

It was edited by O'Conor from Stowe MS. XLI, fo. 237, and from a transcript made by his grandfather: the latter version had previously been printed in Pinkerton. O'Conor's text was reprinted by Skene in the

Collectanea ; Skene's text in the Picts and Scots was taken from Duald Mac-Firbis's version, which had previously been edited in the Irish Archaeological Society's ed. of Duald.

This is a verse chronicle, composed 1058 × 1093, of Dalriata and the Kings of Scotland.

Dublin Annals of Innisfallen (to 1318) ; ed. (from 250 to 1014, with extracts to 1088) by C. O'Conor in his Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores, vol. ii, part 3, pp. 1-83 (1825)

The MS. was written by John O'Conor in 1775, and is apparently a copy of an earlier chronicle, probably compiled in Munster (perhaps in Inishfallen), in the 14th century, but including older annalistic notes. Years are dated by Dionysian numbers.

The MS. (B.M. Additional MS. 4787, fos. 86-91) quoted by O'Conor in his notes upon these Annals is an abstract, copied in 1624 from the Bodleian MS. of A.I.

Duchesne, André : (H.N.S.) Historiae Normannorum Scriptores Antiqui (1619).

(i-v) Historiae Francorum Scriptores (1636-1649).

Dudo of Saint-Quentin : De Moribus et Actis Primorum Normanniae Ducum, ed. J. A. Lair, Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de la Normandie, 23 (Sér. 3, vol. iii, part 2). Also separately published in the same year (Caen, 1865). The two publications have the same pagination, but different appendix and corrigenda. Part was edited by Duchesne, H.N.S., 51-151 ; reprinted in P.L. **141**, 609-758. Years 936-960, in Pertz, M.G.H., Scriptores, iv, 93-106.

Dudo was born shortly after the middle of the 10th century, and died before 1043. Scandinavian writers justly deny the trustworthiness of his account of the early Scandinavian settlements in France.

Dunbar, Sir Archibald H. : Scottish Kings (1005-1625), 2nd ed. (Edinburgh, 1906). A very helpful work, with useful chronological apparatus.

Dunfermline. Registrum de Dunfermelyn, ed. C. Innes. B.Cl. **74** (Edinburgh, 1842).

Eadmer († 1124) : Historia Novorum (to 1122), ed. M. Rule, R.S. **81** (1884).

Eadmer : De Vita et conversatione Anselmi, R.S. **81**, 305-424.

Eadmer : Miracles of St Anselm, ed. F. Liebermann, in Ungedruckte Anglonormannische Geschichtsquellen (1879).

Edward I, Letter to pope Boniface VIII ; in Foedera, i, **2**, 932-933 (first edition, ii (1705), 883-888). Written 7th May, 1301. This is a statement of Edward's claim to superiority over Scotland. It is based upon the results of searches made by the king's orders, in the records and chronicles, in 1291 (see above : Chronicles of 1291), and again in 1300 (September 26th ; Foedera, i, **2**, 923 ; cf. 924).

Egils Saga. The edition referred to here is that of Finnur Jónsson in part 3 of the Alt-nordische Saga-Bibliothek of G. Cederschiöld, etc. ; Egils Saga Skallagrímssonar (Halle a. S., 1894). The edition with readings of different MSS. is that of F. Jónsson, in the Samfund til Udgivelse af Gammel Nordisk Litteratur, **17**, 1-3 (Copenhagen, 1886-1888). The text

is also published by V. Asmundarsson in the Islendinga Sögur, no. 4 (Reykjavik, 1892); an English translation by W. C. Green (London, 1893). After c. 56 Jónsson's and Green's chapters differ.

This saga was perhaps written towards the end of the 12th century. It is one of the less historical of the great Icelandic sagas. It gives a clear narrative, but with literary tendencies that reduce its historical value: the narrative is frequently extravagant and untrustworthy. While it doubtless contains much genuine tradition, it has not great authority for the history of Britain. Its evidence, when not otherwise corroborated, has little value.

Eginhard (Einhard): Annales Francorum (to 829), ed. and tr. A. Teulet, Einhardi Opera, i (S.H.F., 1840), 118-401. Also ed. G. H. Pertz, M.G.H., Scriptores, i, 134-218 (1826); in Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum (1839); and in P.L. **104**, 368-508 (1851).

Eginhard (Einhard): Vita Karoli Imperatoris (750-814), ed. and tr. A. Teulet, Einhardi Opera, i, 2-115 (S.H.F., 1840). Also in P.L. **97**, 25-62 (1851); ed. Pertz, M.G.H., Scriptores, ii, 443-463 (1829); A. Holder, Bücherschatz, ii (1882); Garrod and Mowat (Oxford, 1915). Several translations and other editions.

This Life was written in the 9th century.

Eginhard was abbot of Seligenstadt.

Eiriks Saga Rauða, and **Eiriks Háttr Rauða**. See Eric the Red's Saga.

Eirspennill. This is an early manuscript, containing versions of the histories of Norwegian kings from Magnus the Good to Hakon Hakon's son; but the last part of the latter saga has been lost. From Sverri's Saga onwards, Eirspennill has been edited by C. R. Unger; Konunga Sögur, 1-449.

Ekkehard: Chronicon Universale (to 1106, and continued to 1125), ed. G. Waitz, M.G.H., Scriptores, vi, 17-265. Also in P.L. **154**, 499-1060 (1853).

Ellis, H.: General Introduction to Domesday Book. Record Commission, 8vo (1833). Contains indices of tenants-in-chief and under-tenants in 1086; and of holders of land before 1086.

Encomium Emmae, ed. M.G.H., Scriptores, xix, 509-525; also in Duchesne's H.N.S.; Langebek, ii; Maseres; P.L. **141**.

Eric the Red's Saga, Karlsefni's Saga; Tale of Eric Red, Tale of the Greenlanders.

Two Icelandic accounts of the discovery of America are preserved. (I) The first is in two sagas, in most respects identical: (1) Thorfinn Karlsefni's Saga, in Hauksbók, ii, 425-444; and (2) Eric the Red's Saga, in the Arnamagnaean MS. 557, a 15th century copy. These sagas belong originally to the latter part of the 13th century. A reconstructed text has been edited by G. Storm (Eiriks Saga Rauða; Samfund, **21**, Copenhagen, 1891). I refer to both versions in Storm's edition, by the name "Eric the Red's Saga"; and give preference to Hauksbók. A large part of the version in A.M. 557 is published in Vigfusson and Powell's Icelandic Prose Reader, 123-141 (see Origines, ii, 595-597). It is translated into English

by Vigfusson in Origines, ii, 610-625, under the title "Thorfinn Karlsefni's Saga."

Both these versions are edited, with translation and facsimiles, in Reeves's Wineland the Good, 104-139, 28-52. Eric the Red's Saga is translated by G. Storm: Erik den Rödes Saga, eller Sagaen om Vinland (Christiania, 1899).

Hauk, Erlend's son, for whom Hauksbók was written, traced his descent from Karlsefni's son, born in America (cf. Reeves, 22; Landnámabók).

(II). The second account (of lower authority) is in the Flatey-book version of Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga. It is in two parts:—(1) the Tale of Eric the Red; and (2) the Tale of the Greenlanders. Both parts (Flateyiarbók, i, 429-432, 538-549) are edited under the latter title by Storm (u.s.); and with translation and facsimiles by Reeves (u.s., 140-158, 60-78). They were translated by Vigfusson under the name "The Wineland Voyages," in Origines Islandicae, ii, 598-609.

Both accounts are of very great interest.

V.i.a. Gustav Storm's Studies on the Vineland Voyages (Oldskriftselskab, Mémoires, N.S., 1888, pp. 307-370; Copenhagen); Fischer's Entdeckungen der Normannen in Amerika (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1902; tr. B. H. Soulsby, London, 1903).

Evans, J. G. Bruts from the Red Book of Hergest. See Brut y Saesson, Brut y Tywyssogion.

Eversden, John of (fl. 1300): Continuation (1265-1296) of the Chronicon ex Chronicis of Florence of Worcester. See Sir Ernest Clarke's Bury Chroniclers of the 13th century, 4, 8-10 (Bury, 1905); Gross, Sources (1915), 397-398. Edited by B. Thorpe, E.H.S. ed. F.W., ii (1849).

Extracta e Variis Cronicis Scocie, ed. W. B. B. Turnbull. Abbotsford Club, 23 (Edinburgh, 1842). This is a 15th-16th century compilation, seldom referred to here.

Eyrbyggia Saga. Ed. H. Gering, Altnordische Sagabibliothek, part 6 (Halle, 1897).

Parts of this saga were edited and translated by G. Vigfusson in Origines Islandicae, i, 252-266, ii, 93-135; cf. ii, 88-93. The text had been published by Vigfusson and Möbius (Leipzig, 1864); but this ed. I have not seen. A translation appears in Morris and Magnusson's Saga Library, ii.

Vigfusson attributed the first 11 chapters to Ari. But they appear to contain a later version of the story of the Hebrides than is found in Landnámabók; although not so late as that in the Laxdœla Saga.

Eyrbyggia Saga is one of the greater Icelandic sagas. It may, in its present form, have been composed before the end of the 13th century. It is more literary than historical; but contains traditions of some historical value.

Eyton, R. W.: Court, Household, and Itinerary of king Henry II (London, 1878).

Færeyinga Saga. This is found in the Flatey-book, which is the principal text of the edition quoted here: that of C.C. Rafn (Copenhagen, 1833), with Faroese and Danish translations.

This is one of the historical sagas, but it magnifies the deeds of its heroes.

Fagrskinna, ed. F. Jónsson ; Samfund, **30** (Copenhagen, 1902-1903).

This is the name given by Torfaeus to a version (Nóregs Kononga tal) of the kings' sagas, from Halfdan the Black to 1177. It was written by an Icelander in Norway, about the year 1240 ; in the time of king Hakon Hakon's son († 1263), and probably for king Hakon himself.

This version is contemporary with the earlier written sagas, and is a work of some authority and importance.

A previous edition (with different capitulation) was made by P. A. Munch and C. R. Unger (Fagrskinna : Kortfattet Norsk Konge-Saga, fra Slutningen af det tolfte, eller Begyndelsen af det trettende, Aarhundrede), under the auspices of Det kongelike norske Frederiks - Universitet (Christiania, 1847).

Fantosme, Jordan (de) : Chronique de la Guerre entre les Anglois et les Ecossois (1173-1174). Edited and translated, by F. Michel, in Surtees Society, **11** (1840) ; and in his ed. of Benoît, iii, 531-613 (1844) : and by R. Howlett, in R.S. **82**, iii, 202-377 (1886). Partly edited in M.G.H., Scriptores, xxvii, 54-59, by F. Liebermann (1885) ; and a specimen in Paget Toynbee's Specimens of Old French, 111-114 (Oxford, 1892). Stevenson's translation, in Church Historians, iv, **1**, 245-288 (1856), is based upon Michel's. The selections translated in Lawrie's Annals, between pages 119 and 188, are derived from Michel and Howlett.

Fantosme was a clerk of Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester ; and may have become chancellor of that diocese.

Fland Mainistrech (i.e. "of Monasterboice") : Synchronisms. This is a list of the kings of the different parts of Ireland, and of Dalriata. The parts that relate to Scotland were edited by Skene (Picts & Scots, 18-22) from the oldest manuscript, Advocates' Library Gaelic MS. 28 (Kilbride 24); he collated it with and supplemented it from the Book of Lecan, and Rawlinson MS. B 512. A version is in the Book of Ballymote, 11-13. Fland's Synchronisms are incorporated in the Annals of Clonmacnoise.

Skene's edition gives no indication of the parts that he omits, and is not very accurate.

Fland died in 1056 (A.U., C.S., D.A.I.) ; on 25th November, 1056, according to Tigernach (where for moon *xui* we must read *xiii*) ; on 18th November, according to F.M. (where perhaps this date, 14 kal. Dec., has been erroneously assimilated to a date given a few lines before, 14 kal. Jul.). He is said to have been a lector in the schools of Monasterboice.

Fland's work, like the Duan Albanach, is older than most of the other lists of kings, and is valuable for comparison with them.

Flatey-book Annals (to 1394). See Icelandic Annals, version A.

Flateyiarbók, ed. C. R. Unger and G. Vigfusson (Kildeskriftfond ; Christiania, 1859-1868), from Royal Library of Copenhagen MS. 1005 folio.

This is a collection of Icelandic literature, written some years before and after 1380. It is a valuable work, but has not so high authority as the earlier written sagas. See Vigfusson's description of it in R.S. **88**, i, pp.

xxv-xxx (on xxv, l. 8, read "A veritable" instead of "Available"); and the Fortale, in Fl., iii.

Flóamanna Saga: ed. Vigfusson and Möbius, Fornsögur, 119-161.

This is a late and very fabulous story of early times in Norway, Iceland, and Greenland. Its authority is generally null; but it may contain some genuine traditions.

Flodoardus (priest of Rheims; †966): Annales (919-966), ed. Pertz, M.G.H., Scriptores, iii. This is a primary and trustworthy source for the Lotharingian period.

Florence of Worcester (†1118): Chronicon ex Chronicis (450-1117), ed. B. Thorpe, E.H.S. (1848-1849). Florence was a collector and careful editor of materials drawn from earlier sources. He was continued by John of Worcester (to 1141), John of Taxter (to 1265), and John of Eversden (to 1295).

Flores Historiarum (to 1326). Chetham MS. (with additions from Eton MS.) ed. H. R. Luard, R.S. **95** (London, 1890). Eton MS. (to 1306) ed. M. Parker (London, 1567); reprinted (Frankfurt, 1601). See Luard's ed., i, pp. xii-xvii, xliii-l. This work was written from time to time, between 1259 and some date soon after 1326.

Foedera. I refer to the Record Commission's edition (1816-1869). Cf. under Hardy.

Fordun, John of (i.e., of Fordoun in the Mearns): Chronicle (referred to here by books and chapters), and Annals (referred to by chapters). Edited by W. F. Skene, Johannis de Fordun Chronica Gentis Scotorum, with translation, notes, and index (Historians of Scotland, i and iv; Edinburgh, 1871, 1872). To 1066, ed. Gale, iii, 565-699. For other editions, see under Bower.

The Chronicle (to 1153) contains five books, and appears to have been concluded 1384×1387 (V, 30; i, 251, xiv). It is continued by the Annals (Gesta Annalia, to 1385). Chapters describing English history, down to 1066, were prepared, according to Skene, for a 6th book of the Chronicle (i, 387-401). Chapters prefixed to the Annals (i, 406-437) describe English and Scottish affairs, to 1153: these seem to have contained an (earlier?) edition of book V. In them, and in book V, Fordun claims the authority of a work written by Turgot. This work has not been preserved. It is uncertain how much Fordun took from it.

The edition of Fordun is considered to have been Skene's best work. Whether it can be trusted might appear if another edition were brought out.

For an account of the manuscripts, see Skene's Preface. His text is primarily based upon

(A) the Book of St Andrews, entitled Liber monasterii Santi Andree in Stocia (a MS. in Wolfenbüttel library); with collation of:—
(B) Cottonian MS. Vitellius E XI (paper, 16th century);
(C) Trin. Col. Camb. MS. Gale O IX. 9 (paper);
(D) Trin. Col. Dublin MS. E 2. 28 (paper, 16th-17th c.);
(E) Harleian MS. 4764 (apparently written in 1497);
(F) Edinb. Cath. Lib. MS. (apparently written in 1509);

numerous 15th-century MSS. being rejected.

Fordun's name is preserved in an acrostic at the beginning of his 1st book.

Fordun is the earliest Scottish historian. His work is not a mere repetition of earlier authorities. He has attempted to synchronize events in Scotland with events in other countries; and to explain the course of history according to his own theories. It is difficult to distinguish between his statements that rest upon ancient authority, and those that are derived from his own speculation.

He must be consulted, like a modern historian, in conjunction with the sources. I do not as a rule quote his words. My references to him are not to be regarded as in any way complete.

Fornaldar Sögur Nordrlanda, eptir Gömlum Handritum; ed. C. C. Rafn (Copenhagen, 1829-1830). This is a collection of Icelandic Sagas, most of them translated into Danish by Rafn in Nordiske Fortids Sagaer (Copenhagen, 1829-1830).

Fornmanna Sögur, ed. for Det Kongelige Nordiske Oldskriftselskab (12 volumes; Copenhagen, 1825-1837). Translated into Danish for the same Society: Oldnordiske Sagaer (Copenhagen, 1826-1837); and into Latin under the title: Scripta Historica Islandorum (Copenhagen, 1828-1846).

This is a collection of kings' sagas taken from early manuscripts. It was well edited for its time; but most of the texts have been superseded by later editions. The translations of verse-passages are not trustworthy.

Fornsögur, ed. Vigfusson and Möbius (Leipzig, 1860). Contains Vatnsdœlasaga, Hallfredarsaga, Flóamannasaga.

Fountains, see Walbran.

Four Masters. Annals of the kingdom of Ireland (to 1616), ed. J. O'Donovan (Dublin, 1851). To 1171, inaccurately edited by O'Conor (Scriptores, iii).

This is a compilation made from all available Irish annals, and from tradition, by Michael O'Clery, and two other O'Clerys, and Forfeasa O'Mulconry, in the years 1632-1636. It is a valuable collection; but the compilers have given theoretical dates of their own to all the annals down to 658; and have altered their materials to make them agree with these dates.

No other collection of Irish annals draws from so large a number of sources; but in no other have the compilers taken such liberties with their materials.

Freeman, E. A.: History of the Norman Conquest (Oxford, 1867-1879; 3rd ed. of vols. i and ii, 1877).

Frisbók. C. R. Unger: Codex Frisianus, en Samling af norske Kongesagaer (Christiania, 1871).

This is a valuable collection of the kings' sagas, written early in the 14th century. It omits St Olaf's Saga, and includes Hakon Hakon's son's Saga. Down to the end of Harold Hardrádi's Saga it follows the Heimskringla version; after Hardrádi, it agrees with Heimskringla less closely.

Furness. See Atkinson.

Gaimar, Geoffrey : Estorie des Engles (495-1100), ed. T. D. Hardy and C. T. Martin, R.S. **91** (1888-1889). Previously ed. T. Wright, Caxton Society (1850); to 1066, in Petrie's M.H.B., 764-829; from 1066 to 1100, in Michel's C.A.N., i, 1-64. Translated in Stevenson's Church Historians, ii, **2** (1854); and by Martin in R.S. **91**, ii.

Gaimar wrote 1135 × 1147. For his sources, see R.S. **91**, ii, pp. xvii-xxiii. They included Geoffrey of Monmouth, A.S.C., F.W., S.D.

Gale. The titles Gale's Scriptores, vols. i, ii, iii, indicate :—

(i) William Fulman's Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores (Oxford, 1684);

(ii) Thomas Gale's Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores Quinque (Oxford, 1687);

(iii) Gale's Historiae Britannicae . . . Scriptores Quindecim (Oxford, 1691).

G.E.C. Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain, and the United Kingdom (London, 1887-1898). New ed., 1910-1921 (incomplete).

Geoffrey of Bruil. See Geoffrey of Vigeois.

Geoffrey of Monmouth († 1154): Historia Regum Britanniae, ed. J. A. Giles. Caxton Society (London, 1844); ed. San-Marte (Halle, 1854). Translated into 14th-century Welsh, ed. Rhys and Evans, in Bruts from the Red Book of Hergest; into English, by J. A. Giles, in Six Old English Chronicles (London, 1848).

Geoffrey wrote × 1147.

He used as his authority "a very ancient book in British speech," brought from Brittany, and given to him by Walter, archdeacon of Oxford (I, 1; XII, 20). The antiquity of this book is unknown. Geoffrey did not always adhere to it (cf. XI, 1: "Concerning this . . . Geoffrey of Monmouth will be silent"). So far as can be judged from Geoffrey's paraphrase, his Welsh book can have had but little age or authority.

Geoffrey's work is historically valueless. Some of the persons named by him may have existed. The popularity of Geoffrey's History submerged any previous legends that may have existed, concerning king Arthur.

Geoffrey of Vigeois (or of Bruil; prior of Vigeois, in diocese of Limoges): Chronicon Limovicense (Chronicle of Limoges, 996-1184). Ed. in B.R., x-xii, xviii; previously in Labbe, Nova Bibliotheca, ii, 279-342; part ed. Holder-Egger, in M.G.H., Scriptores, xxvi, 199-203.

This somewhat credulous chronicler has value for English affairs in France.

Geoffrey the Fat. See Life of Bernard.

Gerald du Barri. See Giraldus Cambrensis.

Gesta Herewardi, ed. F. Michel, Chroniques Anglo-Normandes, ii (1836).

Gildas (born ?490 × 500; † 570): De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae, ed. T. Mommsen, M.G.H., Auctores, xiii, 25-85 (1898). Previously ed. Stevenson (E.H.S., 1838); and in Petrie's M.H.B. (1848). Translated by T. Habington (1638, 1652); and J. A. Giles (1841; and 1848, in Six English Chronicles). See H. & S., i, 108-113.

This is the only contemporary British authority for the history of the

Saxon conquest of England. Gildas's work is presumably genuine, but is absolutely untrustworthy for events that occurred before his own time. It is a sermon, rather than a work of history.

Gildas wrote before 547. In the Rhuys Life of Gildas (ed. Mommsen) he is stated to have been the son of Caw (*Caunus*), king of Dumbarton (*Arecluta*). But Anscombe says that Gildas's "name does not occur in any list of the children of Caw" (Archiv für celtische Lexicographie, ii, 184).

Gildas speaks of Latin as "our tongue." This may mean that Latin was in his time still studied by nobles in Britain, as in the time of Patrick. Gildas was perhaps the last British writer of empire Latin. His style is florid, metaphorical, and obscure. His meaning is often doubtful, yet he seems to have expected British kings to understand it.

Giles, J. A.: Patres Ecclesiae Anglicanae (1843-1848).

Giles, J. A.: Scriptores Rerum Gestarum Willelmi Conquestoris, Caxton Society (London, 1845).

Gillacoemain: chronological verses, ed. from the Book of Leinster by W. Stokes; R.S. **89**, ii, 530-540. These are calculations of periods, composed in 1071, of little value.

Gillacoemgin, translation of Nennius. See Irish Nennius.

Giraldus Cambrensis ("Gerald the Welshman"; also Barrensis, "de Barri"). Works, ed. R.S. **21** (1861-1891). Gerald wrote voluminously in the end of the 12th and beginning of the 13th century (born ?1147, † ca. 1220).

His Topographia Hibernica and Expugnatio Hibernica (in vol. v, ed. J. F. Dimock; 1867) were completed 1188 × 1189. They show bias against the Irish, and in favour of his kinsmen. His De Principis Instructione (in vol. viii, ed. G. F. Warner; 1891. Also in Anglia Christiana Society), probably concluded about 1217, contains out-spoken criticism of king Henry II and his family. It is translated by J. Stevenson; in Church Historians, v, 1.

The Descriptio Cambriae (written ca. 1194; 2nd ed., ca. 1215) is in vol. vi; Vita S. Hugonis (bishop of Lincoln, † 1200), in vol. vii (both ed. Dimock); De Vita Gaufredi Archiepiscopi (of York, † 1212), in vol. iv (ed. J. S. Brewer).

The Irish and Welsh works were edited in Camden's Anglica Scripta; and have been translated by T. Forester and R. C. Hoare. See also Gross, nos. 1782, 2242.

Glaber, see Rodulphus.

Glasgow. Registrum episcopatus Glasguensis, ed. C. Innes. B.Cl. **75**, and M.Cl. **61** (Edinburgh, 1843).

Gorham, G. C.: History and Antiquities of Eynesbury and St Neot's in Huntingdonshire (London, 1824)

Gorman, Martyrology of: ed. from Brussels MS. 5100-4 by W. Stokes. Henry Bradshaw Society, **9** (London, 1895).

The manuscript was transcribed ca. 1630 by Michael O'Clery. The author was Maelmaire Ua-Gormáin, or Marianus Gorman; he wrote 1166 × 1174.

Grace, James: Annales Hiberniae (1074-1370), ed. R. Butler. Irish

Archaeological Society (Dublin, 1842). Written ca. 1538. For our period, parallel with the Annales Hiberniae edited in Camden's Britannia.

Grænlendinga Tháttr. See Eric the Red's Saga.

Green, J. R.: The Making of England (London, 1897).

Gretti's Saga, ed. R. C. Boer. Altnordische Saga-bibliothek, part 8 (Halle, 1900). Other editions are those of Magnusson and Thordarson, with Danish translation (Nordisk Literatur Samfund: Nordiske Oldskrifter, **16, 25**; Copenhagen, 1852, 1859). There is a translation into Norwegian (Landsmaal), by Ola Rökke: Soga um Grette Aasmundsson (Gamalnorske Bokverk, **11**. Oslo, 1912); an English translation by E. Magnusson and W. Morris (London, 1869; reprinted, 1900). Boer's differs from previous editions in the chaptering, after c. 71. Boer has drawn up a chronological table, on pp. xxxv-xxxvi.

Gretti's Saga was composed about the middle of the 13th century. Its surviving form is somewhat later.

This is one of the greater Icelandic Sagas. It contains much that is fabulous; but its historical preface (cc. 1-13) has no less authority than the best of the sagas.

Gross, C.: Sources and Literature of English History (to 1485). London, 1900; 2nd ed., 1915. This is a most useful book.

Guibertus (abbot of Nogent-sous-Coucy; †1124): Historia Hierosolymitana (1095-1110), ed. P.L. **156**, 679-838.

Guisbrough. Cartularium Prioratus de Gyseburne, Eboracensis Dioceseos, Ordinis S. Augustini; fundati 1119. Ed. W. Browne. Surtees Society, nos. 86 and 89 (1889, 1891).

Guisbrough, Walter of. See Hemingburgh.

Gunnlaug Serpent's-tongue's Saga. Saga Gunnlaugs Ormstungu, ed. Möbius, Analecta Norrœna, 1st ed., 135-166 (Leipzig, 1859); also ed. in Sigurdsson and Rafn, Islendinga Sögur, ii (Oldskriftselskab; Copenhagen, 1847); and in V. Ásmundarsson's Islendinga Sögur, **9** (Reykjavík, 1911).

This is one of the shorter early Icelandic sagas. It has literary and some historical merit; but (like most sagas) tends to eulogize its hero.

Guthorm Sigurd's son's Saga. See under Hakon Sverri's son's Saga.

Haddan, A. W., and W. Stubbs: Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents (Oxford, 1869-1878).

Hakon Hakon's son's Saga is preserved in Frisbók (Unger's Codex Frisianus, 387-583); in Eirspennill (Unger's Konunga Sögur, 239-484); in the Flatey-book (Vigfusson and Unger, Flateyiarbók, iii, 3-233); and in Skálholtsbók (Kjær, Det Arnamagnæanske Haandskrift 81 a Fol., pp. 292 onwards). Notwithstanding its omissions, Eirspennill seems to represent an early text of the saga. It may be a later abbreviation; but (errors apart) it may be the most authoritative text. Passages omitted by it are under the suspicion of not having belonged to the earliest edition of the saga. I have therefore given preference to the text of Eirspennill.

This saga has been translated by A. Bugge, in Norges Kongesagaer, iv, 57-295 (Christiania, 1914). Parts were edited, and translated into English, by J. Johnstone:—Anecdotes of Olave the Black [1229-1231]

(1780); The Norwegian Account of Haco's Expedition against Scotland, A.D. 1263 (1782).

The whole saga, ed. Vigfusson, tr. Dasent, is in R.S. 88, ii, iv.

Hakon Hakon's son's Saga was composed by Sturla, Thord's son, as he (or a continuator) says in the Islendinga Saga (Sturlunga Saga, ed. Vigfusson, ii, 272): "And a little later, Sturla came into the greatest friendship with king [Magnus]; and the king had him much in his counsels, and laid upon him the task of putting together the saga of king Hakon, his father, following [Magnus's] own advice, and the accounts of the wisest men. But before the king caused the saga to be put together, king Hakon had died in the Orkneys; and men thought that great tidings, through all the northern lands; and the greatest loss." Sturla's saga of Hakon was therefore composed 1263 × 1284.

Sturla had abundant materials, documentary and oral. The verses included in the saga are embellishments, introduced after the model of the verse-quotations in the older sagas, but are not, as in the older sagas, quotations of earlier sources.

Hakon (Sverri's son), Guthorm, and Ingi's Saga. This saga is preserved in the Eirspennill; ed. Unger, Konunga Sögur, 203-238. It was edited previously by Thorlacius and Werlauff (Noregs Konunga Sögur, iv); and in F.S., ix, 1-56; and tr. into Danish and Latin in Oldnordiske Sagaer, ix, and Scripta Historica Islandorum, ix. Another version (entitled Boglunga Sogur, or Sagas of the Croziers) is preserved in Skálholtsbók, ed. A. Kjær; and tr. A. Bugge, in Norges Kongesagaer, iv, 1-56 (Christiania, 1914).

Hakon Sverri's son's Saga; Guthorm Sigurd's son's Saga; and Ingi Bard's son's Saga. The original of these sagas is lost, but there is an old Danish translation in Peter Claussön's Snorre Sturlesöns Norske Kongers Chronica, pp. 528-587 (Copenhagen, 1633). Reprinted in vol. iv of Schoning, Thorlacius, and Werlauff's Noregs Konunga Sögor (Copenhagen, 1813), and in vol. ix of the Fornmanna Sögur (Copenhagen, 1835). They have been translated into modern Danish in Oldnordiske Sagaer, vol. ix. They were translated into Icelandic and Latin by Sveinbiorn Egilsson, in Fornmanna Sögur, vol. ix; and Scripta Historica Islandorum, vol. ix.

Hardy, T. D.: Descriptive Catalogue of Materials relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland (to 1327). R.S. 26 (1862-1871).

Hardy, T. D.: Itinerary of King John, in Introduction to his Patent Rolls in the Tower (1835, folio); and after his Description of the Patent Rolls (1835, 8vo). Cf. Archaeologia, xxii (less comprehensive).

Hardy, T. D.: Le Neve's Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae (to 1715). Oxford, 1854. A useful collection of dates.

Hardy, T. D.: Syllabus of Documents in Rymer's Foedera. London, 1869-1885. This corrects some (but not all) of the errors in the editions of Rymer.

Hartshorne, C. H.: Itinerary of King Edward I. British Archaeological Association: Collectanea Archaeologica, ii, 115-136 (London, 1863).

Hauksbók, ed. E. and F. Jónsson. Oldskriftselskab (Copenhagen, 1892-1894). This is a collection of Icelandic literature partly written by,

partly for, lawman Hauk, Erlend's son, an Icelander in Norway, who died in 1334. Cf. under Eric the Red's Saga.

Heimskringla. See Snorri Sturla's son.

Hemingburgh, Walter of (or of Hemingford, or of Gisburn): Chronicon de Gestis Regum Angliae (1048-1346), ed. H. C. Hamilton. E.H.S. (London, 1848-1849). Parts (1066-1273) in Gale, ii. 455-594; (1274-1346) ed. T. Hearne (Oxford, 1731).

Years 1316-1326 are missing. A continuator may have written the part for 1314-1346, or 1297-1346. This chronicle becomes of value for Scottish history after the period of the present book.

Henry of Huntingdon: Historia Anglorum (to 1154). Ed. T. Arnold, R.S. **74** (1879). Except for the period 1126-1154, Henry usually follows earlier sources. When original, his information is not always correct.

Herimannus Augiensis (1013-1054); Chronicon de Sex Aetatibus Mundi (to 1054), ed. Pertz, M.G.H., Scriptores, v, 67-133. An excellent source for continental history of the period 1039-1054.

Herimannus Tornacensis (Herimann of Tournai; abbot of St Martin's of Tournai, 1127-ca. 1138; †1147×): Narratio Restaurationis abbatiae S. Martini Tornacensis, ed. G. Waitz, M.G.H., Scriptores, xiv, 274-317. Partly ed. in B.R., x, xi, xiii, xiv. Also in D'Achery's Spicilegium, xii; 2nd ed., ii, 882, ff.; P.L. **180.**

Higden, Randolph (†1364): Polychronicon (to 1352), ed. (with Trevisa's translation) by Babington and Lumby; R.S. **41** (1865-1886). A compilation, used by Fordun.

Hinde, J. H.: History of Northumberland (Newcastle, 1858).

See also under Simeon of Durham.

Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal (earl of Pembroke, †1219), ed. P. Meyer, S.H.F. (Paris, 1891-1894). Written ca. 1225; a valuable work.

Histoire des Ducs de Normandie, et des Rois d'Angleterre, ed. F. Michel. S.H.F. (Paris, 1840). According to Michel, the first part, to 1199, is an unimportant analysis of William of Jumièges, with some continuations. The second part, from 1199 to 1220, is interesting and valuable, the work of a contemporary.

Historia Brittonum, cum additamentis Nennii; ed. T. Mommsen, in M.G.H., Auctores, xiii, 143-219 (1894). Previously ed. J. Stevenson, E.H.S. (1838); in Petrie's M.H.B. (1848); also in Gale, iii (1691). For other editions, and a conspectus of opinions, see Gross, no. 1375. Translated by J. A. Giles (Six Old English Chronicles; London, 1848). See also under Irish Nennius, and Map Urbagen.

Nennius thus describes his work and its sources (143): "The island of Britain's briefest eulogy, which Nennius, pupil of Elvodugus, has collected.

"I, Nennius, pupil of Elvodugus, have endeavoured to write some extracts, which the stupidity of the nation of Britain had cast aside; because the learned men of Britain had no skill [in writing] [*peritiam*], nor did they place any commemoration in books. But I have collected all that I have found, from the annals of the Romans as well as from the chronicles of the holy fathers, that is of Hieronymus Eusebius, of Isidore,

of Prosper; and from the annals of the [Irish] Scots, and of the Saxons; and from the tradition of our old men [*veterum*].

"What many learned men and transcribers [*doctores atque librarii*] have attempted to write, they have (I know not why) left more difficult; whether because of the most frequent mortalities, or the most numerous slaughters in war. I ask every reader who reads this book to pardon me, who have dared to write so great matters after such great men, like a chattering bird, or like some inconclusive witness [*quasi garrula avis vel quasi quidam invalidus arbiter*]. I yield to him who is more sufficiently skilled in these matters [*qui plus noverit in ista peritia satis*] than I."

Genealogies of the Saxon kings appended to the Historia "were put together at various times between the end of the 7th and middle of the 8th centuries" (Phillimore).

The Historia Brittonum was probably written before Bede's History; it borrowed from a Life of Germanus. This work was probably edited by Nennius, with materials added from a Life of Patrick, traditions of Arthur, and Anglo-Saxon historical notes.

Historia Norwegiae, ed. G. Storm, in his Monumenta historica Norvegiae, 71-124. Only a fragment of this work is preserved. It was originally written, according to Storm, towards the end of the 12th century: later than Ari's work, Adam of Bremen, and an English chronicle of about 1170 (De Legibus Angliae; used by Hoveden, ii, 215); but earlier than the time when most of the sagas were first written. It has therefore value from its age.

History of Northumberland (Newcastle and London, 1893-1907). E. Bateson edits vols. i and ii; A. B. Hinds, vol. iii; J. C. Hodgson, vols. iv, vii; H. H. E. Craster, vol. viii.

Hodgson, John: History of Northumberland (Newcastle, 1820-1858). Completed by J. H. Hinde and J. Raine.

Hogan, E.: Onomasticon Goedelicum Locorum et Tribuum Hiberniae et Scotiae. Dublin and London, 1910.

Holyrood. Liber cartarum Sancte Crucis, ed. C. Innes. B.Cl. **70** (Edinburgh, 1840).

Homily on St Columba, in Lebar Brecc (q.v.), the Book of Lismore (q.v.), and the Advocates' Library of Edinburgh Gaelic MS. no. 40. Translated by W. M. Hennessy in Skene's Celtic Scotland, ii, 468-507.

Horoy: Medii Ævi Bibliotheca Patristica (Paris, 1879-1880). Contains letters of pope Honorius III, from 1217 to 1225 (in ii, **2**, iv).

Horstmann, C.: Sammlung altenglischer Legenden (Heilbronn, 1878); Altenglische Legenden, Neue Folge (Heilbronn, 1881); Barbour's Legendensammlung (Heilbronn, 1881-1882).

Hoveden, Roger of: Chronica (to 1201), ed. W. Stubbs. R.S. **51** (1868-1871). Previously ed. in Savile's Scriptores. Tr. H. T. Riley (London, 1853). Down to 1192, this work is copied or compiled from other sources. The part for 734-1148 is based upon a Historia Anglorum sive Saxonum post Bedam (written × 1161; i, 129, and preface), derived from S.D. and H.H. For Hoveden's sources, see R.S. **51**, i, pp. xxv-lxxi.

Hrólf Gautrek's son's Saga, ed. F. Detter, in Zwei Fornaldarsögur, 3-78 (Halle, 1891). This is an unhistorical saga of early times.

Hrólfs Saga Kraka, ed. F. Jónsson. Samfund, 32 (Copenhagen, 1904), This is a story of early kings of Denmark.

Huntingdon Chronicle: see Chronicle of Huntingdon.

Icelandic Annals. Edited by Gustav Storm: Islandske Annaler indtil 1578 (Det norske historiske Kildeskriftfond, Christiania, 1888). A previous composite edition was made by E. C. Werlauff and others: Islenzkir Annálar, sive Annales Islandici, ab anno Christi 803 ad annum 1430 (Legatum Arnæ-Magnæanum, Copenhagen, 1847). The Annales Regii (C) were edited, from a manuscript in the Royal Library at Copenhagen, by Vigfusson, in his Sturlunga Saga, vol. ii, pp. 348-391; and the Flateybook Annals (A) were edited in Unger and Vigfusson's Flateyiarbók, vol. iii, pp. 477-583.

Werlauff's edition was based upon the Flateybook Annals, with collation of 13 other versions; and it distinguished the different versions arbitrarily, and sometimes incorrectly, by letters. These letters I have thought it convenient to retain.

Storm edited the versions named in Werlauff's edition KBOCDNEP, with parts of A and L, and with collation of I and H. See Storm's preface for a detailed account of the manuscripts used; and, for a general account of the annals, ibid., pp. lxviii-lxxxiv.

The earliest of these annals are versions KBOCDE.

K (Annales Reseniani) runs to 1295. Compiled after 1303.

B (Annales Vetustissimi) jumps from 999 to 1270; runs to 1306; and is continued to 1313. It is based (to 1290) upon K. Edited also in Langebek, ii, 177. Written before 1319.

O (Henrik Höyers Annaler) runs to 1310. It is a late copy, largely derived from B.

C (Annales Regii) runs to 1306, and is carried on to 1341. Edited also in Langebek, iii, 12.

D (Skálholts-Annaler) runs to 1356=1362. It contains an earlier version that ran to 1348.

E (Logmanns-Annáll) runs to 1362, and is continued to 1392.

A (Flateybook Annals) runs to 1394. It was perhaps written contemporarily from 1390. It is based upon a version parallel to C, and D. Storm edits selections from 1150 to 1269, and a complete text from 1283 to 1394; and gives (492-497) corrections of Vigfusson's edition. The year-letters of one year, 1007, were omitted by the compiler: the year-numbers were counted backwards, without this omission being observed. Therefore from 520 to 1006, the numbers are too large by one. They were corrected by Torfaeus, and Arngrim Jónsson. In Vigfusson's edition, the corrected year-numbers are printed. Storm gives the uncorrected numbers in his index. But the year-letters indicate the correct year; and I have preferred to give the corrected numbers.

P (Gottskalks-Annáll) contains a version that ran to 1394. I (to 1394), F (to 1396), and H, are cognate with this source. L (Oddverja-Annáll) may contain a version that ended in 1313. M runs to 1400.

The years in K are indicated by Dionysian numbers and dominical letters ; in O, by numbers only ; in BCDEAPL, by dominical and paschal letters, with occasional Dionysian numbers. See the Calendar Notes, pp. civ-cv. The system of distinguishing the years by dominical and paschal letters suggests that in Iceland, as in Ireland, the annals had their origin in annotated Easter tables. They are later than the sagas, and derive much of their information from them. The common source of the annals was compiled not long before 1300. Among its sources were Ari ; Adam ; Ekkehart ; and an erroneous list of Wessex kings, which was used also by the writers of the sagas (see Storm, pp. lxxviii-lxxix).

Icelandic Sagas. The sagas were derived from tradition ; from poems (frequently cited) ; and probably from chronological jottings (preserved in the 14th-century annals). A chronicle of English kings was used both by the saga-writers and by the annalists.

The Icelandic Annals were generally later than, and largely derived from, the sagas. The verses quoted in the sagas were often genuine, and contemporary with the events ; but they are obscure. Their meaning is frequently too uncertain to be of much value as historical evidence. They do not add to, but must be explained by, the prose narrative in which they stand. They were part of the large oral literature of Iceland : a literature which developed among the Icelanders remarkable tenacity of memory, and gave exceptional value to the traditions preserved among them.

None of the sagas is historical throughout. Several of them have, however, a common historical framework, which is remarkably consistent and uniform ; and which is full of genealogical details, many of them unnecessary to the story in which they occur.

The style of the narrative very often shows whether the composer aimed at historical veracity or at literary effect. The larger is the element of romance, adventure, and marvel, the smaller is the element of history. As a general rule, the sagas' evidence is good for events that are narrated briefly, without romantic setting ; and not good for events that cannot be removed from their romantic setting.

Their reckoning of time is not, as a rule, to be relied upon without other support, in the earlier centuries. Dates given or implied by them for events in the British Islands are frequently erroneous (for instance, the date of the battle of Clontarf).

Icelandic literature is among the most notable of all traditional heroic literatures, centring round certain families and men ; and is one of the most remarkable phenomena in the literary history of Europe.

The best editions are published by the Samfund til Udgivelse af gammel Nordisk Literatur ; by Det kongelige nordiske Oldskriftselskab ; and in the Altnordische Sagabibliothek. The best edition of the verses is that of Jónsson in his Skjaldedigtning. Cheap reprints of the sagas are edited by V. Ásmundarson, in his series of Íslendinga Sögur. The first place among translations must be given to G. Storm and A. Bugge's Norges Kongesagaer.

A complete collection from the sagas of all the passages that touch upon Scotland could not be given here ; the most important of these

passages could not be left out. I have given a liberal selection, which will, I hope, be found interesting and useful.

Ideler, Ludwig: Handbuch der Chronologie (Breslau, 1883).

Inchaffray. Charters, Bulls, and other Documents, relating to the Abbey of Inchaffray, ed. W. A. Lindsay, J. Dowden, J. M. Thomson. S.H.S. **56** (Edinburgh, 1908).

Ingi Bard's son's Saga. See under Hakon Sverri's son's Saga.

Innes, Cosmo, and others: Origines Parochiales Scotiae. B.Cl. **97** (Edinburgh, 1851-1855).

Innes, Thomas: Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland, ed. G. Grub, Historians of Scotland, viii (Edinburgh, 1879). 1st ed., London, 1729.

Irish Annals. V.i.a. under Annals of Innisfallen, Annals of Ulster, Tigernach.

The Irish annals are based upon historical notes kept in monastic houses, and often entered in the margins of paschal calendars. See A.S.C., version I; and cf. A.C., A.I., and Icelandic Annals.

In the end of the 7th century, collections of these notes were made, and were continued as yearly chronicles. The earliest surviving collections are compilations and continuations of these chronicles. From the 8th century onwards the Irish annals contain approximately contemporary records of events.

As a survival of their origin in annotated paschal calendars, Irish annals indicated the years by data copied from a calendar: such as the number in the week of the 1st of January (the ferial number), and the age of the moon on that day (the epact); and sometimes the concurrents, and Dionysian Golden Numbers. (See below, under the Calendar Notes.) But copyists often omitted these data, and indicated a new annal solely by the abbreviation K., or Kl., i.e. "Kalends of January." Years entered in this way without events were in danger of being omitted altogether by later copyists. When several years in succession were entered without events, errors were sometimes made in the number of K's transcribed. The result is that the sequence is an insufficient indication of the years intended.

Events copied from annotated calendars were not always correctly placed. Conflicting accounts are sometimes entered from different sources. Foreign events were generally entered by the compilers from foreign sources, and are of little value in distinguishing the years. More help is obtained from notes of eclipses.

The early annals are brief, and frequently refer to events instead of describing them; so that it is sometimes impossible to tell what person or place is spoken of: but their brevity has not been embellished by the compilers. The compilations of Irish annals as a whole show extraordinary fidelity to their sources. With small variations, the Irish annals generally support one another; and the early collections when used together provide a very valuable body of evidence, from the year 432 onwards.

So long as Iona was a link between Ireland and Scotland, Scottish affairs received considerable attention from the Irish monks. The later annals become more exclusively histories of Irish affairs.

O'Conor's editions, in Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores, are very inaccurate ; but have not been superseded for the Annals of Innisfallen, Dublin Annals of Innisfallen, and Annals of Boyle (all in vol. ii). Skene's extracts in Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis (212-280) are taken from O'Conor. Excerpts from the annals, relating to Iona, were edited by Dr Reeves (as a "Chronicon Hyense") in his edition of Adamnan ; and afterwards by Skene.

Irish annals have hardly yet received the editing that they deserve. The Irish type used in the editions favours misprints, does not lend itself to the devices of editors, and is unnecessary. It is to be hoped that critical editions of those Irish annals that remain practically unedited will be produced ; especially of the Annals of Innisfallen. Stokes's edition of Tigernach also is a mere transcript with translation.

For the language of the Irish annals, see Stokes's Linguistic Value of the Irish Annals, in the Transactions of the Philological Society for 1888-1890, pp. 365-434 ; and T. Ó-Máille's Language of the Annals of Ulster (1910). The Annals of Ulster are so faithful to their sources that Ó-Máille has endeavoured to date from them the times of changes that gradually took place in the Irish language. Ó-Máille's work confirms the belief that the sources were generally written at a time nearly contemporaneous with the events described. Both age of language and style of writing must be considered in judging particular entries in the annals. Those that are proved in this way to be ancient have special value. Those whose language is later may have been taken from a source whose spelling had been altered by copyists ; they may be equally early ; but their antiquity is not certain.

In the early Irish annals, the year begins on 1st January ; and the day (in winter-time at least) at 6 p.m. The "night of Christmas" means the night before Christmas, from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. An eclipse of the moon noticed by A.U. "in the first hour of the night" of Tuesday, 18th December, 921, took place, according to L'Art de Vérifier les Dates, about 7 p.m. (Paris time ; 36 minutes earlier at Armagh) on 17th December, which was a Monday. The same Annals note an eclipse of the moon in 1023, on the 14th day of the January moon, January 10th, a Thursday : but it occurred at 8 p.m. (Paris time), of Wednesday, 9th January (the 13th day of the calendar moon). For an instance of Sunday beginning before sunset, see below, vol. i, p. 163.

According to the Cáin Domnaig, Sunday was observed "from vespers on Saturday to the end of matins on Monday" (Anecdota from Irish MSS., iii, 21) : but "to sunrise on Monday," in L.B., 204 (Atkinson).

The Scandinavian invaders of Ireland are spoken of by various names, which I have translated as literally as possible. At first *Gaill* "Foreigners" and *Gente* "Gentiles" mean the Norwegians. Later, they may mean either Norwegians or Danes (and, finally, English) : but distinctive names also appear :—*Nortmanna* "Northmen," *Find-gaill* "White Foreigners," and *Find-gente* "White Gentiles," mean Norwegians ; while *Dub-gaill* "Black Foreigners," and *Dub-gente* "Black Gentiles," mean Danes. *Lochland* I have generally translated by "Scandinavia" ; *Lochlaind*,

Lochlandaig, by "Scandinavians": these names usually mean "Norway" and "Norwegians," but the meaning in early times is somewhat uncertain.

Irish Life of Columba. See Homily on St Columba.

Irish Life of Patrick. See Homily on St Patrick.

Irish Nennius. Edited and translated by J. H. Todd and A. Herbert (Leabhar Breathnach; Irish Archaeological Society, Dublin, 1848) from three manuscripts:—(D) Trin. Col. of Dubl. MS. H. 3. 17; (B) the Book of Ballymote; (L) the Book of Lecan. A fragment occurs in Lebar na h-Uidre (facsimile, pp. 3-4), and has been edited by E. Hogan (Todd Lecture Series, vi, 1-16; Dublin, 1895). The Irish Nennius was translated into Latin by H. Zimmer, under the title Nennius Interpretatus, in M.G.H., Auctores, xiii, 147 ff. (parallel with the Latin Nennius).

The Irish Nennius was translated from a version of Nennius's Historia Brittonum. It is uncertain whether the occasional additions that occur in the Irish version were written by the Irish translator (Gilla-Coemgin), by Nennius in a later edition, or by a later editor of Historia Brittonum.

Isidore of Seville (†636). Isidorus Hispalensis: Chronica Majora (to 615). Ed. T. Mommsen, in M.G.H., Auctores, xi, 394-410 (Berlin, 1894). In the same volume are Isidore's Chronica Minora; and additions to his Chronica Majora.

Isidore's chronicles were used by Bede, and by the Irish annalists.

Islendingabók. See Ari.

Islendinga Sögur (1829-1830), ed. Hit Konúngliga Fornfræða Fèlag; (1843-1847), ed. Sigurdson and Rafn, Oldskriftselskab. See Icelandic Sagas.

Jaffé, P.: Regesta Pontificum Romanorum (to 1198), (Berlin, 1851) ed. W. Wattenbach (Leipzig, 1885-1888). Very valuable to chronology. See Potthast.

Janauschek, P. L.: Origines Cistercienses, vol. i. Vienna, 1877.

Iarla Saga. See under Orkneyinga Saga.

Joceline of Furness. See Life of Kentigern.

John of Eversden. See Eversden.

John of Peterborough. See Chronicle of Peterborough.

John of Salisbury (†1180): Historia Pontificalis (1148-1152), ed. M.G.H., Scriptores, xx, 515-545. This is a continuation of Sigebert.

John of Salisbury: Letters (1155-1180). Ed. J. A. Giles, Joannis Saresberiensis Opera Omnia, i-ii (Patres Ecclesiae; Oxford, 1848); also in P.L. **199** (1855). Some are in R.S. **67**, v-vii (1881-1885); and in B.R., xvi, 489-625 (1814).

John of Salisbury was an associate of Thomas Becket. In 1176, he was made bishop of Chartres.

John of Taxter. See Taxter.

John of Worcester: continuation of Florence of Worcester (to 1141). In E. H. S. ed. of F. W. Separately ed. J. R. H. Weaver (Oxford, 1908). Written before 1154.

Johnstone, James: Account of Haco's Expedition, and Anecdotes of Olave the Black; see under Hakon Hakon's son's Saga.

Johnstone, James: Antiquitates Celto-normannicae (Copenhagen,

1786). Contains the Chronicle of Man; extracts from A.U.; De Situ Albaniae; and Chronicles of the Kings, AEF.

Johnstone, James: Antiquitates Celto-Scandicae (Copenhagen, 1786). Contains selections from sagas, relating to British history, to 1066; with a Latin translation. Among the sources used are Heimskringla; Landnámabók; Egil's Saga; Niál's Saga; Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga; Knytlinga Saga; Orkneyinga Saga.

Iómsvíkinga Saga (saga of the pirates of Wollin island). Ed. from Arna-magnæan MS. 291 (of the 13th-14th century) by C. af Petersens, in Samfund, **7** (Copenhagen, 1882; a diplomatic edition). The same version had been edited in F.S., xi, 1-162 (Copenhagen, 1828). Another version is inserted in the Flatey-book's Olaf Tryggvi's son (Fl., i, 96-106, 153-205). The shortest and probably earliest version was edited by G. Cederschiold, from the Royal Library of Stockholm MS. 7 (Lund, 1875; I have not seen this edition); and later by A. Joleik (Gamalnorske Bokverk, **9**; Christiania, 1910; with Landsmaal translation). C. af. Pedersens published a 15th-century text, from A. M. MS. 510, in 1879 (not seen). A. Jónsson's Latin translation is edited by A. Gjessing in Det Norske Historiske Kildeskriftfond, **11** (Kristianssand, 1877).

Jones, Owen. See Myvyrian Archaiology.

Jónsson, Finnur: Den norsk-islandske Skjaldedigtning (Kommission for det Arnamagnæanske Legat; Copenhagen and Christiania, 1908-1916: incomplete). This work supersedes the editions in the Corpus Poeticum Boreale.

Keith, Robert: Historical Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops (to 1688). Ed. M. Russel (Edinburgh, 1824). Contains (383-480) An Account of all the Religious Houses that were in Scotland at the time of the Reformation, by John Spotiswood.

Kelso. Liber S. Marie de Calchou, ed. C. Innes. B.Cl. **82** (Edinburgh, 1846).

Kemble, J. M.: Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici. E.H.S. (London, 1839-1848).

Kinloss. Records of the monastery of Kinloss, ed. J. Stuart. S.A.S. Publications, **9** (Edinburgh, 1872).

Kialnesinga Saga. This is one of the less trustworthy of the historical sagas. It appears to have been written in the end of the 13th century, or early in the 14th. The manuscripts are later, and mostly corrupt.

The text used here is that in Islendinga Sögur, vol. ii, pp. 395-460 (Copenhagen, 1847).

Knytlinga Saga: ed. Fornmanna Sögur, xi. A fragment ed. and tr. in Antiquités Russes, i, 66-86 (Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord, Copenhagen, 1850).

This is an Icelandic history of Danish kings.

Konunga-tal, Nóregs. This is an enumeration in verse of the reigns of kings in Norway, from Halfdan the Black to Sverri. It was composed between 1184 and 1202. The earlier part is based upon Sæmund Frodi's work. It has been edited in Fornmanna Sögur, x, 422-433; in Vigfusson and Powell's Corpus Poeticum Boreale, ii, 310-321; in Flateyiarbók, ii,

520-528; and (the best edition) in Jónsson's Skjaldedigtning, i, 575-590. Jónsson calls it: "a poem about Jóan Lopt's son, ca. 1190."

Kringla. This is a manuscript written about the year 1260; the surviving leaf contains a fragment of Hakon Hakon's son's Saga. It is edited in photo-lithographic facsimile by F. Jónsson, for the Samfund, no. 24 (Copenhagen, 1895).

Kristni Saga. Ed. B. Kahle, Altnordische Sagabibliothek, xi (Halle, 1905). Also ed. by Vigfusson in Biskupa Sögur, i, 3-32; ed. and tr. in Origines Islandicae, i, 376-406; and ed. F. Jónsson in Hauksbók, 126-149.

This is a collection made in the 13th century. Its historical value varies. The most historical part deals with the period of the Christianization of Iceland (before and after 1000 A.D.).

Labbe, Philippe: Nova Bibliotheca (Paris, 1657).

Landnámabók, ed. F. Jónsson (Oldskriftselskab; Copenhagen, 1900). Ed. also in F. Jónsson's Hauksbók (Oldskriftselskab, 1892-1894): in Islendinga Sögur (1829) i, (1843) i, and by V. Asmundarson. An abridged text and translation are in Origines Islandicae, i. There is a convenient English translation by T. Ellwood: Book of the Settlement of Iceland (Kendal, 1898).

Hauk's version is the earliest, and is the one referred to here where another version is not indicated. Hauk († 1334) says that it was completed "according as learned men have written:—first, the priest Ari the Learned, Thorgils' son; and Kolskegg the Wise. And [I,] Hauk Erlend's son, have written the book, after the book that has been written by the most learned man Sturla the Lawman, and after the other book written by Styrmi the Wise. And I had [copied] it from which of the two was fuller; but much the greater part was what they both related alike. And therefore it is not to be wondered at that this Landnámabók is longer than any other."

No doubt much of the work is derived from Ari.

Lanfranc (archbishop of Canterbury; † 1089): Letters, ed. J. A. Giles, in Patres Ecclesiae; Beati Lanfranci Opera, i, 17-81 (Oxford and Paris, 1844). Also ed. P.L. 150.

Langebek, Jacob: Scriptores Rerum Danicarum Medii Ævi (Copenhagen, 1772-1878).

Langtoft, Pierre de: Chronicle (to 1307), ed. T. Wright. R.S. 47 1866-1868). Part ed. in C.A.N., i, 127-165. Langtoft is a contemporary authority from 1272 onwards.

Lappenberg, J. M. See Thorpe.

Lappenberg, J. M.: Hamburgisches Urkundenbuch (Hamburg, 1842).

L'Art de Vérifer les Dates (Paris, 1750, 1783-1787, and 1818-1844). This contains a valuable list of eclipses, calculated to within a quarter of an hour, in Paris time.

Lawrie, Sir Archibald: Early Scottish Charters (to 1153), with notes and index (Glasgow, 1905); Annals of the Reigns of Malcolm and William, Kings of Scotland (1153-1214, with notes and index (Glasgow, 1910). These are most useful works.

Laxdœla Saga, ed. K. Kålund, A.N.S.B., iv (Halle, 1896). A comparative

edition by the same editor is in the Samfund, no. 19 (Copenhagen, 1889-1891). Incomplete text and translation are in Origines Islandicae, ii, 141-187. A translation into Landsmaal was made by S. Frich in Gamalnorske Bokverk, no. 3 (Christiania, 1907); into English, by M.A.C. Press (Temple Classics; London, 1899: the earlier saga); and by R. Proctor (Chiswick Press; London, 1903).

This important Icelandic saga was written before the end of the 13th century, and was continued about the middle of the 14th century. It has greater literary than historical merit.

Lebar Brecc. "Leabhar Breac, The Speckled Book, otherwise styled Leabhar Mór Dúna Doighre, The Great Book of Dún Doighre; a collection of pieces in Irish and Latin, compiled from ancient sources about the close of the fourteenth century"; published in facsimile from J. O'Longan's copy by the Royal Irish Academy (Dublin, 1876). Cf. facsimiles 28-29 in the National MSS. of Ireland, iii.

This is an Irish manuscript collection (R.I.A. MS. 23. P. 16), probably of the 15th century; drawn from older sources. The subjects are principally ecclesiastical.

Lebar Brecc. Stokes, Three Middle-Irish Homilies on the Lives of Saints Patrick, Bridget, and Columba. Privately printed (Calcutta, 1877).

Lebar Laignech. See Book of Leinster.

Lebar na h-Uidre (R.I.A. MS. 23. E. 25). Leabhar na h-Uidhri . . . compiled and transcribed about A.D. 1100, by Moelmuiri mac Ceileachair . . ."; ed. in facsimile by the Royal Irish Academy (Dublin, 1870).

Maelmuire died in 1106, according to the Four Masters, ii, 982. This is a collection of Irish literature, made from earlier Irish manuscripts.

Legend of St Andrew, ed. Skene, Picts and Scots, 183-193, from the 18th century abstract of the Register of St Andrews (Harleian MS. 4628). Previously edited by Pinkerton (Enquiry, i, 456-466). See below, p. lxxxii. A legend from the Colbertine MS. was edited by Pinkerton (ibid., 496-498); an Old-Scots legend, by Horstmann (Altenglische Legenden, N.F., 3-10). The readings in the Breviary of Aberdeen (i, 8, lxxxii) are also ed. in Metcalfe's Lives, ii, 289-290.

Liber Hymnorum. J. H. Bernard and R. Atkinson: The Irish Liber Hymnorum . . . with translations, notes, and glossary. Henry Bradshaw Society (London, 1898). Much of this work was edited by Dr Todd, under the title: Leabhar Imuinn, the Book of Hymns of the Ancient Church of Ireland; Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society (Dublin; part i, 1855; part ii, posthumously, 1869). The hymns that are written in Irish, and the prefaces that are partly so written, were edited by Stokes in his Goidelica (2nd ed.; London, 1872). The Irish hymns are also edited by E. Windisch, in Irische Texte, i, 5-58 (Leipzig, 1880).

The earliest manuscripts of this Liber Hymnorum are the Trinity College of Dublin MS. E. 4. 2, and a MS. in the Franciscan Convent, Dublin. The former is somewhat earlier than the latter. Both are of the 11th century. According to Bernard, the Trin. Col. MS. "perhaps belongs to its earlier years." Some of the contents appear also in the Lebar Brecc.

Atkinson (ibid., ii, p. xxxiii) dates the earliest MSS. "about the year

1100"; and says that "the prefaces are quite unhistorical, and the verses contain abundant proofs of middle Irish forms, so that they are assuredly not to be taken as mere copies of *Old Irish* poems." Bernard is disinclined to admit that the text of the hymns is earlier than the notes and glosses (i, p. xii).

The prefaces have historical value only as evidence of traditions.

There is no proof of the authenticity of the hymns attributed to Columba.

Liber Pontificalis, ed. (to 530) by T. Mommsen: Gesta Pontificum Romanorum, i (Berlin, 1898).

This is a collection of popes' lives, written at various early times. It is a contemporaneous source for periods in the 6th and 7th centuries, and from the 8th century onwards. Versions of this work were used i.a. by Bede, and the early compilers of Irish annals.

Liber Vitae Ecclesiae Dunelmensis, ed. J. Stevenson. Surtees Society no. 13 (1841).

Liebermann, Felix: Ungedruckte Anglonormannische Geschichtsquellen (Strassburg, 1879).

Life of Adamnan. A fragment of an Irish Life was edited by Skene from Reeves's transcript (Picts and Scots, 408-409). The source is Brussels MS. 5101-4. The Life is edited by R. I. Best, in Anecdota from Irish MSS., ii, 10-20 (1908), from the Royal Library of Brussels MS., 4190-4200 (a 1628 transcript); and tr. by M. Joynt in Celtic Review, v, 97-105 (1908).

Life of Baithine, in the Salamanca MS.; ed. Smedt and de Backer, Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae ex Codice Salmanticensi, 871-878. This Life, though late, may have some more ancient basis.

Life of Bernard, abbot of Tiron († 1148), by Geoffrey the Fat; ed. A.S., 14 Apr. ii, 220-254; P.L. **172**, 1363-1446.

Geoffrey was a monk of Tiron, and disciple of Bernard.

Life of Brendan of Clonfert, ed. Plummer, Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae, i, 98-151. Cf. the Irish homily on Brendan, ed. Stokes, Lismore Lives, 99-116; tr., 247-261 (beginning: Beatus vir qui timet Dominum).

Life of Buitte († ca. 521), in Rawlinson MS. B 505. Extracts ed. Skene, Picts and Scots, 410-411. Ed. Plummer, Vitae, i, 87-97, from a paper MS. in the Franciscan convent library at Dublin.

Life of Catroe. Ed. Colgan, Acta Sanctorum, i, 494 ff. Part was reprinted by Skene in Picts and Scots, 106-116. A better text (but not complete) is that of the Bollandists; A.S., March, i, 473-480 (1865).

Kaddroe, or more correctly Catroe (perhaps a Brythonic parallel of Irish *cathroe* "battlefield"), was a Pictish saint. The Life was apparently written by one Reimann, or Ousmann, who lived at a time when and in a place where he might have been Catroe's pupil, but yet knew about him only by hearsay (Dedicatio). The author writes as a contemporary (in c. 24); and in the life-time of a man who had in his youth been cured of a fever by Catroe (c. 29). The Life is dedicated to Immo, probably the abbot of Wassor from about 982.

Life of Columba. See Adamnan, Cummine, Lebar Brecc, O'Donnell.

Life of Columba in the Salamanca MS., ed. Smedt and De Backer,

Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae ex Codice Salmanticensi, 845-855. This is Colgan's Vita Secunda S. Columbae, in Trias Thaumaturga, 325-330.

This fragment is considerably more ancient than the manuscript in which it occurs. It is derived in great part from Adamnan, or from some source used by Adamnan.

Life of Harold, Godwine's son († 1066), ed. F. Michel, Chroniques Anglo-Normandes, ii (1836); ed. and tr. W. de G. Birch: Vita Haroldi (London, 1885). The MS. is Harleian MS. no. 3776.

Life of Kentigern (anonymous). Ed. by C. Innes, Register of Glasgow, i, pp. lxxviii-lxxxvi; revised, by A. P. Forbes, Historians of Scotland, v, 243-252; and by Metcalfe, Lives, ii, 99-109.

This Life was written at the suggestion of Herbert, bishop of Glasgow (1147-† 1164). A fragment only is preserved, in a corrupt copy of the beginning of the 15th century. It is quoted by Fordun (III, 9); and was the basis of the Life of Thanea or Thenew in the Breviary of Aberdeen (ii, 8, 34-36); and in part of the Life of Kentigern given there (i, 8, 28).

The author says in his Prologue (ed. Forbes, u.s., 243-244): "I have wandered through many districts, diligently investigating their manners, and the devotion of their clergy and people: I have found every country venerating its own provincial saints, with the laudation of its own people and of others [*alternis*, for *alienis*]. But now that I have come at last to the kingdom of the Scots, I have found it very rich in the relics of saints, illustrious in its priests, famous in its princes; nevertheless, it was still, in comparison with the other kingdoms, indolent, almost torpid in the sloth of neglect, in the veneration of its saints. Indeed, when I observed the dearth of honour paid to the saints in wide areas [*in spaciosis;* possibly for "in high places"?], I took my pen; and, as Simeon, former monk of Durham, composed a history of his saint, Cuthbert, so I too (a cleric of St Kentigern) at the suggestion of Herbert, the venerable bishop of Glasgow, have devoutly composed, as well as I could, from the materials found in a pamphlet of his virtues, and from the spoken words communicated to me by the faithful [*de . . . viva voce fidelium michi relata*], some kind [of history] to the honour of the most holy confessor and bishop, Kentigern; who shines beside the rest like Lucifer among the stars. . . . Let all in general know this, that for the sake of brevity I pass over many things that are worthy of commemoration, in writing concerning the man of blessed memory; and shall publish in writing but a few out of very many things, in order to avoid wearying those who are to read. This also any one can faithfully observe, if he will apply his diligence to [Kentigern's] miracles that still appear throughout Cambria. . . ."

Life of Kentigern, by Joceline of Furness; ed. from Cottonian MS. Vitellius C. VIII, fos. 148-195, by Pinkerton in his Vitae Antiquae, 191-297; and by Metcalfe, Lives, ii, 1-96: and from a Dublin MS. (Marsh V. 3. 4. 16) by Forbes, with collation (by Travers) of the Cottonian MS., in Historians of Scotland, v, 159-242. Another version of this Life was edited in Capgrave's Nova Legenda (1516), 207-212; and in A.S., 13 Jan. ii, 98-103. See Hardy, Catalogue, i, 1, 207-209. Hardy remarked that these lives were written during the episcopate of bishops who built the cathedral of Glasgow

(dedicated 1197), and that they may have been intended to arouse interest in the collection of funds for the building. Joceline's Life is dedicated to Joceline, bishop of Glasgow (consecrated 1175 ; † 1199).

Joceline claims to have had two authorities as materials for his work. He says in the Prologue: ". . . I have explored the squares and streets [*plateas et vicos*] of the city, according to your command, seeking the written account of St Kentigern's Life, which your soul loves. . . . Therefore I have sought diligently, if it should chance to be found, for a Life which should seem to be supported by greater authority and more evident truth, and to be written in a style more elegant, than is that which your church employs ; because that [Life], many think, is stained throughout and discoloured by inelegant speech, and beclouded by an ill-arranged style ; and, what indeed every wise man abhors more than all these things, in the very beginning of the narrative there appears plainly a thing which is opposed to sound doctrine and to catholic faith.

"And I have found another pamphlet, dictated in the Scottish style," (i.e. written in Gaelic?) "swarming with errors throughout, but containing at greater length the life and acts of the holy bishop. Therefore seeing that so precious a bishop's life (glorious in signs and prodigies, most renowned for virtues and doctrine) should be blotted by a relation perverted, and diverted from the faith, or should be exceedingly obscured by barbarous speech, I grieved, I confess, and suffered. And therefore I determined to restore and put together material collected from both these books ; and, after my measure and according to your command, to savour with Roman salt what had been barbarously written. I hold it absurd that a treasure so precious should be wrapped in so worthless coverings ; and so I shall endeavour to clothe it, if not in gold embroidery and silk, at least in clean linen. . . ."

(The scandal referred to had not been sufficiently removed from the version given by the anonymous Life.)

Life of Machar. An Old-Scots verse life of Machar (wrongly attributed to Barbour) is edited by Horstmann in his Alt-englische Legenden, Neue Folge, 189-208 (1881) ; by Dr W. M. Metcalfe, in his Legends, ii, 1-46 (1896), and in his SS. Ninian and Machor, 87-134 (1904). The conclusion of this Life is the same as that of St Ninian's Life in the same (14th-century) collection ; see Horstmann, u.s., p. cvi. The Life of Machar was probably, like the lections in the Breviary of Aberdeen, based upon a lost Latin Life.

Life of Maelmaedoic. See Bernard of Clairvaux.

Life of Magnus, earl of Orkney († 1116). Edited in Pinkerton's Vitae, 387-435 ; Metcalfe's Lives, ii, 214-258. See Magnus Erlend's son.

Life of Margaret, queen of Scotland. See Ailred of Rievaulx ; Turgot.

Life of Ninian, by Ailred of Rievaulx. Ed. from a 12th-century Bodleian MS. (Laud Misc. 668, fos. 78-89), by Pinkerton in his Vitae Antiquae ; revised, by A. P. Forbes, in Historians of Scotland, v, 137-157 ; and in Metcalfe's Lives.

In his Praefatio (ed. Forbes, 140), Ailred, describing his sources, quotes from Bede, and says : "But that which he [Bede] seems merely to have

touched upon, briefly (as the course of his History appeared to require), a book concerning [Ninian's] Life and Miracles, written in barbarous language [*barbario;* read *barbarice?*] proposes to relate to us more fully. This book, however, (while nowhere deviating from the foundation of [Bede's] testimony) only describes in historical manner how [Ninian] had such origin, how he achieved such success, how he attained an end so praiseworthy" (cf. Breviary of Aberdeen, ii, 8, 107). This earlier Life was perhaps written in Anglo-Saxon. Ailred says: " . . . Barbarous speech obscured the Life of the most holy Ninian; . . . and the less it delighted the reader, the less it edified him." Ailred proposed to translate the Life into good Latin: " . . . and to rescue it from rustic speech as from darkness, and bring it forth into the light of Latin diction."

Ailred's Life was the basis of the Life of Ninian in the Old-Scots verse-collection.

Life of Ninian in the Scottish verse Lives of Saints. C. Horstmann summarized the contents of this Life in his Altenglische Legenden, Neue Folge, pp. cii-cvi; and edited it in his Barbour's Legendensammlung, ii, 121-138. It is edited by Dr Metcalfe in his Legends, ii, 304-345 (S.T.S., 1896); and again in his SS. Ninian and Machor (Paisley, 1904). Buss and Metcalfe have shown that Barbour was not the author.

Life of Serf, ed. from Marsh MS. V. 3. 4. 16 (assigned to the 13th century), by Skene, Picts and Scots, 412-420; and by Metcalfe, Lives, ii, 119-128. This Life was the basis of Wyntoun's account.

Life of Thanea (or Thenew), in the Scottish verse Lives of Saints. Ed. Horstmann, Barbour's Legendensammlung, ii, 79-83; and by Metcalfe, Legends, ii, 215-222.

Life of Waltheof, abbot of Melrose († 1159), by Jordan, a monk of Furness; ed. A.S., 3 August, i, 249-278. This work is quoted by Bower (VI, 1, etc.); who calls the author Jocelin. The Life was written ca. 1207.

The author addresses his work to William, king of Scotland; and his son, Alexander; and brother, earl David. It was written at the request of Patrick, abbot of Melrose; and was finished after Patrick's death (∴ 1207 × 1214).

Cf. the Life in Capgrave's Nova Legenda (1516), 293-295.

Life of Waltheof, Siward's son († 1075). Edited by F. Michel, in C.A.N., ii, 99-142, from a manuscript of the 12th-13th century (Library of Douai MS. no. 801). This Life appears to have been compiled from previous Lives. It contains these sections: Epitaphium (prose; 99-103); Epitaphium (verse; 103-104); Gesta Antecessorum (104-111); Vita et Passio (111-120); Epitaphium (prose; 121-123); Epitaphium metricum (123); De Comitissa (123-131); Miracula (131-142). There is an edition in Langebek's Scriptores, iii, 288-300 (1774).

Lind, E. H.: Norsk-isländska Dopnamn ock Fingerade Namn från Medeltiden (Uppsala, 1907-1915).

Lindores. Chartulary of the Abbey of Lindores, 1195-1479; ed J. Dowden (Edinburgh, 1903).

List of Bishops and Archbishops of Norway (written in 1325); ed. Langebek, Scriptores, vi, 615-621.

List of Bishops of Man. See Chronicle of Man.

Lorenzen, M.: Gammeldanske Kröniker. Samfund, no. 18 (1887-1913). These Danish chronicles are later than the early Icelandic Annals, and have little value for the purpose of this book.

Magnus Erlend's son's Saga: Saga of St Magnus, ed. Vigfusson, R.S. 88, i, 237-280; tr. Dasent, ibid., iii, 239-282.

Magnus Erlend's son's Saga: Shorter Saga of St Magnus, ed. Vigfusson, R.S. 88, i, 281-298; tr. Dasent, ibid, iii, 283-301.

For the Latin Life of St Magnus, see under Life of Magnus.

Magnus Hakon's son's Saga. Only a fragment of this saga has been preserved. It is edited in Thorlacius and Werlauff's Konunga Sögur, v, 384-392; Rafn's Fornmanna Sögur, x, 155-163; Vigfusson's Icelandic Sagas, R.S. 88, ii, 361-368. An additional fragment believed by Vigfusson to belong to this saga is published ibid., ii, 368-373. Translations into Danish and Latin accompany the Danish editions; a translation into English, by Dasent, the English edition (ibid., iv, 374-386). It is translated into Danish by A. Bugge, in Kongesagaer, iv, 296-305 (Christiania, 1914).

This saga was composed by Sturla, Thord's son. See the Islendinga Saga (Vigfusson's ed. of Sturlunga Saga, ii, 272); where, after telling of his being commanded to write the saga of Hakon Hakon's son, Sturla (or a continuator) says: "And then, upon the second of Sturla's expeditions, he was with king Magnus again, well esteemed and held in high honour. Then he put together the saga of king Magnus, in accordance with documents [*eptir bréfum*], and [Magnus's] own advice. Then he became a guardsman of king Magnus, and afterwards his cup-bearer. . . ."

Malmesbury, see William of.

Mantissa. This is a name given to a collection of historical notes, originally written in Icelandic in the 12th century; they are of some value and fair authority. I have used the composite edition of Vigfusson (Origines, i, 267 ff.).

Map-Urbagen (Filius Urbacen): the Chartres MS. of the Historia Brittonum; Mommsen's MS. Z (written in the 10th century). This is represented by cc. 38-48 of the Historia Brittonum. Ed. L. Duchesne, Revue Celtique, xv, 174-180 (1894).

See L. Duchesne, in R.C., xv, 187; L. Traube, in Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde, xxiv, 721-724; and T. Mommsen, ibid., xix, 285-293.

Marcellinus Comes (†?534): Chronicon (379-518, continued to 534), ed. T. Mommsen, M.G.H., Auctores, xi, 60-104 (1893); the anonymous continuation (to 548), ibid., 104-108.

Marcellinus continued the work of Jerome. Both Marcellinus and his continuator are valuable authorities for the history of the empire.

Marianus Scottus (1028-1083): Chronicon (to 1082; with continuations for 1083-1106, 1133, and 1083-1087). Edited by G. Waitz, in M.G.H., Scriptores, v, 495-564 (Hannover, 1844). Also published in Migne's Patrologia Latina, **147**, 623-796 (1853). Selections in Bouquet's Recueil, v-viii, xi.

The original manuscript—Codex Palatino-Vaticanus, no. 830—was

partly written by Marianus himself, and has additions made by him. Many of these additions do not appear in the copy preserved in the Cottonian MS. Nero C. V; this also being an 11th-century MS. Perhaps the Cottonian MS. was copied before Marianus had inserted the additions that it does not contain. For the first MS., see B. MacCarthy: The Codex Palatino-vaticanus no. 830 (Dublin 1892). Part of it was copied in 1072, by an Irish monk who went to Mainz from Scotland in that year.

Marianus was an Irishman. He was called, in Irish, Maelbrigte the Recluse. He became a monk at Köln, on 1st August, 1056; was consecrated priest at Würzburg on 13th March, 1059; and became a recluse at Fulda on 14th May, 1059. Released after 10 years, he was again immured, on 3rd April, 1069, at Mainz; and remained a recluse until his death.

The first edition of his chronicle appears to end in 1073. The initial letters of the words of verses entered under 1076 form an Irish sentence indicating the author's name: "Maelbrigte the Recluse compiled me." His work was the nucleus of Florence of Worcester's chronicle.

Martyrologies, see Donegal, Gorman, Oengus, Tallaght.

Maseres, Francis: Historiae Anglicanae . . . Monumenta (London, 1807). An edition of parts of Duchesne's H.N.S.

Mas Latrie: Trésor de Chronologie (Paris, 1889).

Matthew of Westminster. See Flores Historiarum.

Maufe (or Malfe), Alexander: Statement regarding the foundation of Sawtry abbey, Huntingdonshire, ed. R.S. **79**, i, 160-166; D.M., v, 523-525. This statement was written 1147×1153.

May. Records of the Priory of the Isle of May, ed. J. Stuart. S.A.S. **8** (Edinburgh, 1868).

Melrose. Liber S. Marie de Melros, ed. C. Innes. B.Cl. **56** (Edinburgh, 1837).

Metcalfe, W. M.: Legends of the Saints, in the Scottish Dialect of the 14th century. Scottish Texts Society, **13** (Edinburgh, 1896). Legends of SS. Ninian and Machor, from an Unique MS. in the Scottish Dialect of the 14th century (Paisley, 1904; a corrected text). Both works are edited with notes and glossary.

Metcalfe, W. M.: Pinkerton's Lives of the Scottish Saints, revised and enlarged (Paisley, 1889). Regrettably few copies of this valuable work were published.

Metrical Chronicle of York, ed. Raine's York, R.S. **71**, ii, 446-463. Written during the archbishopric of William III of York; i.e., either W. Wykewane (1279×1285), or W. of Greenfield (1306×1315); probably the latter.

Michel, Francisque: Chroniques Anglo-Normandes (Rouen, 1836, 1836, 1840).

Migne, J. P.: Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina (Paris, 1844-1864). Series Graeca (1857-66; 1912). This immense collection, principally of reprints, has the merit of being generally accessible.

Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Auctores Antiquissimi (Berlin, 1877-1905); Gesta Pontificum Romanorum (Berlin, 1898); Scriptores

(Hannover, 1826-1905); Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum (Hannover, 1885-1909); etc. Series of critically edited texts.

Monumenta Historica Britannica (to 1066), ed. H. Petrie and J. Sharpe. Record Commission (1848). A collection in one volume of the principal sources for the history of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom, elaborately edited, with a useful index.

Moore, Miss M. F.: The Lands of the Scottish Kings in England: the Honour of Huntingdon, the Liberty of Tyndale, and the Honour of Penrith (London, 1915). A very useful work.

Moray. Registrum episcopatus Moraviensis, ed. C. Innes (Edinburgh, 1837).

Morkinskinna (Royal Library of Copenhagen MS. 1009 folio), ed. C. R. Unger (Christiania, 1867).

Morkinskinna contains an early version of the kings' sagas, written in the first half of the 13th century (from Magnus the Good to Sigurd Bad-deacon).

Morton, James: Monastic Annals of Teviotdale: or, the History and Antiquities of the abbeys of Jedburgh, Kelso, Melros, and Dryburgh (Edinburgh, 1832).

Mothers of Irish Saints, a tract written after 927, and wrongly attributed to Oengus the Céledé, in the R.I.A. MS. Book of Lecan, and MS. Rawlinson B 512; accessible to me only in the fragments in L.L., 372-373, and B.B., 212-214.

Muirchu Maccu-mactheni: Memoirs of the life of St Patrick, ed. Hogan (see Life of Patrick in the Book of Armagh); ed. Stokes, R.S. 89, ii, 269-300; tr. A. Barry (Dublin, 1895); tr., with notes, by N. J. D. White, in St Patrick: his Writings and Life (1920), pp. 68-137.

According to Duchesne (R.C., xv, 188), Muirchu's work dates from the end of the 7th century.

Munch, P. A.: Det Norske Folks Historie (Christiania, 1852-1863).

Myvyrian Archaiology. Owen Jones, E. Williams, and W. O. Pughe: The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales, collected out of Ancient Manuscripts (Denbigh, 1870; 1st ed., 1801).

National Manuscripts of Ireland, ed. J. T. Gilbert (H.M. Stationery Office).

National Manuscripts of Scotland, ed. C. Innes (H.M. Stationery Office).

Nennius, see Historia Brittonum; Irish Nennius; Zimmer.

Newminster. Chartularium abbathiae de Novo Monasterio ordinis Cisterciensis, ed. J. T. Fowler. Surtees Society, 66 (Durham, 1878).

Nicolas, Sir Harris: The Chronology of History (London, 1833; 1838, etc.).

Nielsen, O.: Old-danske Person-navne. Universitets Jubilæets dansk Samfund, xv (1882).

Niál's Saga. K. Gislason and E. Jonsson: Njála. Oldskriftselskab (Copenhagen, 1875, 1889). This is a composite text. Gislason's cc. 68-159 are cc. 69-160 in Olafsson's edition (Copenhagen, 1772); Gislason's cc. 58-159 are cc. 57-158, and Gislason's cc. 97-104 are differently arranged, in

G. W. Dasent's translation (The Story of Burnt Njal; Edinburgh, 1861: the text reprinted in Everyman's Library).

A good and convenient edition is that of F. Jónsson: Brennu-Njálssaga (A.N.S.B. **13**; Halle, 1908). This text is based primarily upon Arnamagnæan MS. 468, 4° (for MSS. and editions, see the Einleitung; pp. xxxix-xlv). A description of the MSS. is given in the Oldskriftselskab ed., ii, 649-787; facsimile specimens appear at the end.

Extracts are ed. and tr. in R.S. **88**, i, 319-340; iii, 344-365; in Johnstone's Antiquitates Celto-Scandicae; and in Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis, 334-338.

This is one of the greatest sagas of Iceland. According to Vigfusson (Prolegomena, p. xliv), it was composed between 1230 and 1280. Although its basis is historical, its character is less historical than literary and romantic. It is not very trustworthy for Scottish history, which it touches incidentally. The last chapters, describing real events of 1013 and 1014, are partly fabulous.

Norgate, Miss K.; England under the Angevin Kings (London, 1887). John Lackland (London, 1902).

Northampton. Register of the Priory of St Andrews of Northampton. Cottonian MS. Vespasian E XVII.

Northamptonshire, see Surveys.

North Berwick. Carte monialium de Northberwic, ed. C. Innes. B.Cl. **84** (Edinburgh, 1847).

O'Clery's Calendar. See Donegal, Martyrology of.

Odd's Olaf's Saga (Oddr Muncr: Saga Olafs Kónungs Tryggvasonar). Ed. P. Grot: Det Arnamagnæanske Haandskrift 310, 4to. Norsk Historisk Kildeskriftfond (1895). Previously ed. in F.S., x, 216-376. The beginning of this version is lost. A complete version from a somewhat different text, a MS. in the Royal Library in Stockholm, was edited by P. A. Munch (Christiania, 1853).

These are Old-Norse translations of a saga written in Latin by Odd towards the end of the 12th century. Odd's work was used by Snorri Sturla's son in the Heimskringla.

Cf. the Latin legends in Langebek, ii, 529 ff.

O'Donnell's Life of Columba, partly ed. R. Henebry, in Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie, iii-v; and by A. O'Kelleher, ibid., ix, x. Large extracts from it were edited by John Colgan in his Trias Thaumaturga. Since the conclusion of the present work, a complete edition (from Bodleian MS. Rawlinson B 514), with translation, glossary, etc., has been produced by A. O'Kelleher and G. Schoepperle (Urbana, Illinois; 1918).

This Life was written in 1532. It is derived from previously written Lives, and from tradition. It is only exceptionally cited here.

Oengus, Martyrology of. First edited by W. Stokes for the Royal Irish Academy, Irish Manuscript Series, **1**:—On the Calendar of Oengus (Dublin, 1880). Three versions are printed in parallel, with many notes from the Lebar Brecc. Again edited by the same scholar:—Félire Oengusso Céli Dé: The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee. Henry Bradshaw Society, **29** (London, 1905). In the latter edition, the text is

corrected by collation of ten manuscripts ; selected notes from different versions, and a translation, are given.

This is a versified calendar of saints, composed originally about 800 A.D. The earliest (but not always most accurate) of the manuscripts is the Lebar Brecc. According to Stokes, the notes date from the 13th century. The 2nd edition, with notes, glossary, etc., is a very valuable book.

Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga (Olafs Saga Tryggvasonar). Edited in Fornmanna Sögur, i-iii ; tr. in the corresponding volumes of Oldnordiske Sagaer and Scripta Historica Islandorum ; and into English, by J. Sephton (London, 1895). Selections are ed. and tr. in Johnstone's Antiquitates Celto-Scandicae ; and tr. in Collectanea.

This is a 13th-century collection of histories of the kings of Norway, from 862 to 1045. It was nearly contemporary with the Heimskringla, and they are both derived from the same sources. See also Odd's Olaf's Saga.

Oldskriftselskab. Det Kongelige Nordiske Oldskriftselskab. Many excellent Icelandic texts are published by this Society.

Oliver, J. R.: Monumenta de Insula Manniae. Manx Society, **4, 7, 9.**

Ordericus Vitalis: Historia Ecclesiastica (to 1141), ed. A. Le Prevost. S.H.F. (Paris, 1838-1855). This excellent edition was unfortunately inaccessible to me when I compiled Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers. Other editions are in H.N.S., 321-925 (1619); P.L. **188**, 15-984 (1855). Tr. by T. Forester (London, 1853-1856). Fragments ed. B.R., ix-xii ; M.G.H., Scriptores, xx, xxvi.

Of English birth, Orderic lived in Normandy from an early age. His work is valuable for the history of England after the conquest. He derives material from William of Poitiers and William of Jumièges.

Origines Islandicae, edited and translated by G. Vigfusson and F. York Powell (Oxford, 1905).

Origines Parochiales Scotiae ; B.Cl. **97** (Edinburgh, 1851-1857).

Orkneyinga Saga (to 1222), ed. G. Vigfusson, tr. G. W. Dasent. R.S. **88**, i, iii (1887, 1894). This is a composite text. A better edition, but also composite, is being brought out by S. Nordal, in the Samfund, **40**. Nordal's chapters are not the same as Vigfusson's. The whole Orkneyinga Saga is distributed through the Flatey-book (ed. C. R. Unger) ; and a translation by J. A. Hjaltalin and G. Goudie is edited by Joseph Anderson (Edinburgh, 1873). Extract tr. Skene, Collectanea, 339-346.

Vigfusson's text is constructed from Arna-magnæan MS. 332 (MS. A ; a paper MS. of the end of the 17th century) ; A.M. MS. 325 (MS. C ; of the end of the 13th century) ; a vellum fragment (MS. *b* ; of the same date) ; a 16th-century Danish translation ; and Fl. (the O.S. part of which was written, according to Vigfusson, ca. 1380). Fl. alone contains the whole saga.

A Iarla Saga existed at the time when Landnámabók was written. The form in which we have it, however, (to 1064 ; O.S., cc. 4-38 ; i, 1-59) is of much later and uncertain date. A late version of c. 6 occurs in the surviving Landnámabók. The earliest version is that which is given by Snorri in the Heimskringla (St Olaf, cc. 96-103, represented by O.S. in

cc. 4-9, 12-22; while cc. 4-8 and 12 appear more fully in H., Harold Fairhair, cc. 10, 22, 24, 27, 30-32; Hakon the Good, cc. 3, 4, 5, 10; Olaf Tryggvi's son, cc. 30, 46, 47).

Chapters 9 (Ragnhild) to 11, and 22 (Karl Hundi's son, etc.) to 38, appear not to have been among Snorri's materials. With cc. 4-12 of O.S., cf. cc. 95-98 of Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga (F.S., i, 192-202).

Snorri's version is briefer than O.S., and written in a more restrained style; although there is often a close verbal resemblance between the two. Snorri seems to have used an earlier and less legendary version, presumably the version that he found in Ari's Iarlabók. The chapters omitted by Snorri are generally more romantic in subject and manner, and must take a lower place as historical evidence, than those that he gives. In the chapters that are common to H. and O.S., preference must be given to H.

The chapters of Orkneyinga Saga's Iarla Saga that are not in Heimskringla contain:—the story of Ragnhild (also in Olaf's Saga, c. 97); Skúli's battles with Liót and earl Macbeth at Skidmoor (in Olaf's Saga, c. 97); the raven banner episode; Thorfinn's battles with Karl Hundi's son and earl Moddan, and king Karl's repeated defeats; Thorfinn's advance to Fife; Thorfinn's generosity to his men. Also the affairs of Ronald, Brusi's son, in Russia and in Norway; his league with Thorfinn, and peaceful acquisition of two-thirds of the islands; their common plunderings; their campaign in England; the quarrel between them over one-third of the islands, and its dramatic result, whereby the islands became subject to king Magnus; the dramatic attack of Ronald upon Thorfinn, and Thorfinn's equally dramatic reprisal; Thorfinn's triumphal progress through Norway, Denmark, and Saxony, and his absolution at Rome:—all these stories are brilliantly told, and highly interesting; but they cannot be accepted as history.

Paisley. Registrum monasterii de Passelet, ed. C. Innes. M.Cl. **17** (Edinburgh, 1832).

Palgrave, Sir Francis: Documents and Records Illustrating the History of Scotland, vol. i. Record Commission (8vo, 1837).

Paris, Matthew; Chronica Majora (to 1259), ed. H. R. Luard. R.S. **57** (1872-1883). Part tr. J. A. Giles (London, 1852-1854).

Paris, Matthew: Historia Anglorum, or Historia Minor (to 1253), ed. F. Madden. R.S. **44** (1866-1869).

For his own time (1236-1259), Paris's works are of very great value.

Patent Rolls, i (1201-1216), ii (1224-1227), ed. T. D. Hardy (Record Commission, folio, 1835, 1844). The following octavo volumes (published by H.M. Stationery Office) are distinguished by their years of publication:—1901 (1216-1225), 1903 (1225-1232); and the Calendar of the Patent Rolls (abstracts of their contents):—1906 (1232-1247), 1908 (1247-1258), 1910 (1258-1266), 1913 (1266-1272), 1901 (1272-1281), 1893 (1281-1292), 1895 (1292-1301).

Pictish Chronicle. See Chronicles of the Kings.

Pingré: Cométographie, ou Traité Historique et Théorique des Comètes (Paris; vol. i, 1783).

Pinkerton, John: Enquiry into the History of Scotland preceding the

Reign of Malcolm III (London, 1789). "A new edition, with corrections and additions," Edinburgh, 1814. The 1814 edition is the one referred to here.

Pinkerton, John: Vitae Antiquae Sanctorum qui habitaverunt in ea parte Britanniae nunc vocata Scotia, vel in ejus insulis (London, 1789). Re-edited by W. M. Metcalfe (Paisley, 1889).

Plummer, C. See Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and Bede.

Plummer, C.: Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae (Oxford, 1910). Latin Lives of Irish saints, well edited.

Pontifical of St Andrews. Pontificale Ecclesiae S. Andreae: The Pontifical Offices used by David de Bernham, ed. C. Wordsworth (Edinburgh, 1885), from Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris MS. fonds Latin no. 1218. See years 1240-1249, below.

Potthast, August: Bibliotheca Historica Medii Ævi (2nd ed., Berlin, 1896). A very valuable historical bibliography.

Potthast, August: Regesta Pontificum Romanorum (1198-1304; Berlin, 1874-1875). See Jaffé.

Procopius Caesariensis († ca. 562): Historia sui temporis (De Bello Persico, De Bello Vandalico, De Bello Gothico), ed. B. G. Niebuhr, Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae [no. 10 in British Museum] (Bonn, 1833-1838). Procopius was not well informed regarding British affairs.

Prose and Verse Chronicles. See Chronicle of Melrose, and Verse Chronicle.

Ragnar Lodbrok's Saga, ed. Magnus Olsen. Samfund, xxxvi, **2**, 111-175 (Copenhagen, 1907).

This is an unhistorical tale of Ragnar and his sons, and their warfare with king Ælle in England. The Tale of Ragnar's sons, a shorter account, is in Hauksbók, ii, 458-467.

Raine, James (the elder): History and Antiquities of North Durham (London, 1852). With a valuable appendix of documents.

Raine, James (the younger): Historians of the Church of York. R.S. **71** (1879-1894). The Priory of Hexham. S.S. (1864-1865).

Ralph de Diceto. See Diceto.

Ralph Niger ("the Black"): Chronicon a Christo nato (to 1170; with continuation, 1162-1178; and additions made by a monk of Coggeshall). Chronicon ab initio mundi (to 1199). Ed. R. Anstruther. Caxton Society, **13** (London, 1851). Extracts, and the continuation, ed. R. Pauli, in M.G.H., Scriptores, xxvii, 331-344.

The continuation seems not to have been written by Ralph Niger, and was presumably written after 1194. Ralph Niger describes affairs of the empire and of Rome, and is not trustworthy for British history.

Ramsay, Sir J. H.: the Angevin Empire (London, 1903).

Ramsay, Sir J. H.: The Foundations of England (55 B.C.-1154 A.D.) (London, 1898).

Ramsey, Chartularies of. Cartularium monasterii de Rameseia, ed. W. H. Hart and P. A. Lyons. R.S. **79** (1884-1893). Chronicon abbatiae Rameseiensis, ed. W. D. Macray. R.S. **83** (1886). Of the latter, pp. 7-180 were previously edited in Gale's Scriptores, iii, 385-462.

Rawlinson B 502, ed. in facsimile by Kuno Meyer (Oxford, 1909). A collection of Irish writings, compiled in the 11th and 12th centuries; with an index to the genealogies.

Records, Public. The following published records may be enumerated:—

Pipe Rolls (etc.), for 1130-1131, 1155-1158 (ed. J. Hunter, Record Commission, 8vo; 1833 and 1844); 1158-1185 (Pipe Rolls Society; 1884-1913); 1189-1190 (ed. J. Hunter; 1844); 1201-1202 (Antigraphum. Record Commission, 8vo; 1833). Abstracts of 1154-1155 are in the Red Book (q.v.).

Fine Rolls, 1182-1199 (Pipe Rolls Society, **17, 20, 23, 24**); 1195-1214 (ed. J. Hunter, Record Commission, 8vo; 1835); king John's reign (ed. T. D. Hardy, Record Commission, 8vo; 1835).

Curial Rolls, 1194-1195 (ed. F. W. Maitland, Pipe Rolls Society, **14**; 1891); 1194-1195, 1198-1200 (ed. F. Palgrave, Record Commission, 8vo; 1835).

Liberate Rolls (etc.), for king John's reign (ed. T. D. Hardy, Record Commission, 8vo; 1835).

Charter Rolls, 1199-1216 (ed. T. D. Hardy; Record Commission, 1837); Calendar, 1226-1300 (i, ii; 1903, 1906).

Patent Rolls, 1201-1232; Calendar, 1232 onwards (see under Patent Rolls).

Close Rolls, 1204-1224, 1227-1247; Calendar, from 1272 onwards (see under Close Rolls).

Calendar of Inquisitions post Mortem, for the reigns of Henry III and Edward I (i-iv; 1904-1913). See under Inquisitions. Calendar of Inquisitions (Miscellaneous), 1219-1307 (i; 1916).

Calendar of Chancery Rolls, 1277-1326 (1912).

Red Book of the Exchequer, ed. H. Hall, R.S. **99** (1896). Originally compiled by Alexander de Swereford, ca. 1230 (see above: Black Book). The 1166 returns are copied from the Black Book.

Red Book of Hergest. See Brut y Saesson, Brut y Tywyssogion, Welsh Triads.

Reeves, A. M.: The Finding of Wineland the Good (London, 1890). See under Eric the Red's Saga.

Reeves, William: see Adamnan.

Reeves, William; Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore (Dublin, 1847). The Culdees of the British Islands (Dublin, 1864; also Tr. R.I.A., xxiv, Antiquities (1873), 119-264).

Richerus: Historiae (884-995); Annales (995-998); ed. Pertz, M.G.H., Scriptores, iii, 568-657 (Hannover, 1839); in Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum (1840, 1877); in P.L. **138**, 17-170 (1853). Tr. by W. Wattenbach (Leipzig, 1892); E. Babelon, Les derniers Carolingiens (Paris, 1878). See Potthast, Bibliotheca, ii, 971.

Richer, a monk of Rheims, is an original and important source, the sole authority for the close of the Carolingian period. His work was used by Ekkehard.

Rishanger, William († after 1312; perhaps 1327×): Chronica (1259-1306), ed. H. T. Riley. R.S. **28** (1865).

To 1272, completed after 1290; the remainder, after 1327. Trivet is among the sources used.

Robert of Torigni (Robert de Monte; † 1186): Chronica (to 1186), ed. R. Howlett. R.S. **82**, iv (1889). Also ed. Léopold Delisle, Société de l'Histoire de Normandie (Rouen, 1872-1873); L. C. Bethmann, M.G.H., Scriptores, vi, 476-535 (Hannover, 1844); P.L. **160**, 411-546 (Paris, 1854). Tr. J. Stevenson, Church Historians, iv, **2**.

This is a continuation of Sigebert of Gemblours.

To Robert is ascribed book VIII of William of Jumièges (q.v.).

Rodulfus Glaber († ? 1047): Francorum Historiae Libri Quinque (ca. 923-1044), ed. Maurice Prou: Raoul Glaber; Les cinque livres de ses Histoires (Paris, 1886). Also ed. B.R., x, 1-63 (viii, 238-240); in P.L. **142**, 611-698; in Duchesne, H.F.S., iv, 1-58. Selections ed. Lappenberg in M.G.H., Scriptores, vii, 51-72.

This History is confused in order, and mixed with fable; but is nevertheless valuable for its period. Even in the end of the work (which appears to have been written before Christmas of 1046), the year-numbers are inaccurate:—its years 1041, 1045, 1046, stand for 1039, 1043, 1044, A.D.

Rolls Series. Rerum Brittanicarum medii Ævi Scriptores: Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages (London, 1858-1911). Lists of the series are appended to the volumes; and are in Potthast's Bibliotheca, Gross's Sources, Reading-room Catalogue of the British Museum (Authors).

Since I sometimes refer to the books by their serial numbers, I give an abbreviated list here:—

3 Lives of Edward Confessor.
6 Hector Boece.
16 Bartholomew Cotton.
17 Brut y Tywyssogion.
20 Annales Cambriae.
21 Giraldus Cambrensis.
23 Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.
28 Registers of St Albans,
William Rishanger,
John of Trokelowe,
Thomas Walsingham.
36 Annales Monastici:—
i Margan, Tewkesbury, Burton.
ii Winchester, Waverley.
iii Dunstable, Bermondsey.
iv Osney, Worcester, Wykes.
38 Itinerarium regis Ricardi.
41 Higden's Polychronicon.
44 Matthew Paris: Historia.
45 Book of Hyde.
46 Chronicon Scotorum.
47 Pierre Langtoft.
48 Wars of the Irish.
49 Benedict of Peterborough.
51 Roger of Hoveden.
52 William of Malmesbury:
Gesta Pontificum.
54 Annals of Loch Cé.
57 Matthew Paris: Chronica.
58 Walter of Coventry.
61 Raine's Northern Registers.
66 Ralph of Coggeshall.
68 Ralph of Diceto.
71 Raine's York:—
Eddi; Thomas Stubbs.
73 Gervase of Canterbury.
74 Henry of Huntingdon.
75 Simeon of Durham,
John of Hexham.

76 Chronicles of Edward I and II:
i Annales Londonienses, Annales Paulini.
79 Chartulary of Ramsey.
81 Eadmer.
82 Chronicles of Stephen :—
i, ii William of Newburgh.
ii Annals of Stanley, Draco Normannicus, Etienne de Rouen.
iii Gesta Stephani, Richard of Hexham, Ailred's De Standardo, Jordan Fantosme, Richard of Devizes.
iv Robert of Torigni.
83 Chronicle of Ramsey.
84 Roger of Wendover.
85 Letters of Canterbury.
88 Icelandic Sagas :—
i, iii Orkneyinga Saga, Magnus Erlend's son.
ii, iv Hakon Hakon's son.
89 Tripartite Life of Patrick ; Patrick ; Muirchu ; Tirechan.
90 William of Malmesbury : Gesta Regum, Historia Novorum.
91 Geoffrey Gaimar.
93 Adam of Murimuth.
95 Flores Historiarum.
96 Annals of St Edmund's.
99 Red Book of the Exchequer.

Romsey. H. G. D. Liveing : Records of Romsey Abbey (Winchester, 1906).

Rotuli de Dominabus, et Pueris et Puellis, de donatione Regis, in XII Comitatibus, ed. S. Grimaldi (London, 1830). Abstracts of the Inquisitions made in 1185.

Round, J. H. : Ancient Charters, prior to 1200 (Pipe Rolls Society, 1888). Calendar of Documents preserved in France, illustrative of the History of Great Britain and Ireland (vol. i, 918-1206 A.D.) (Record Commission ; London, 1899). Commune of London (Westminster, 1899). Feudal England : Historical Studies in the XIth and XIIth Centuries (London, 1895 ; re-issued, 1909). Geoffrey de Mandeville : A Study of the Anarchy (London, 1892). All very valuable.

Ruodolf of Fulda : Annales (838-863). See Annals of Fulda.

St Andrews. Liber Cartarum prioratus S. Andree in Scotia, ed. T. Thomson. B.Cl. **69** (Edinburgh, 1841). From a Panmure MS. The folios containing notices of gifts to the célidé of Lochleven are written in a hand of the latter part of the 13th century ; and purport to be an abbreviated translation from an old volume, written in the ancient idiom of the Scots (p. 113. See facsimile, 112 × 113).

St Andrews, 17th century abstract of the Register of. Harleian MS. 4,628, part 4, contains an early 18th-century copy of a 17th-century abstract of the lost original Register. From this MS., Pinkerton edited "The Contents of, and Extracts from, the Register of the Priory of St Andrew's" (Enquiry, 2nd ed., i, 450-470). Cf. under Chronicles of the Kings, version F.

St Neots, Register of the priory of. Cottonian MS. Faustina A IV.

St Olaf's Saga (Saga Olafs hins Helga).

The shorter St Olaf's Saga (written 1160 × 1180) was edited by R. Keyser and C. R. Unger (Christiania, 1849).

Snorri's (the longer) St Olaf's Saga, ed. in F.S., iv and v (1829-1830) ; and by P. A. Munch and C. R. Unger (Christiania, 1853). This is a version,

separately published, of St Olaf's Saga in Heimskringla (not in Frisbók). It is probably earlier than the completed Heimskringla.

St Olaf's Saga in the Flatey-book, ed. Fl., ii, 3-394.

Samfund til Udgivelse af Gammel Nordisk Litteratur (Copenhagen). A series of critical texts is published by this Society.

Savile, Henry: Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores post Bedam praecipui (2nd ed.; Frankfurt, 1601).

Saxo Grammaticus († 1204): Gesta Danorum, or Historia Danica (to 1185), ed. Alfred Holder (Strassburg, 1886). Part ed. in M.G.H., Scriptores, xxix, 43-161 (1892). The first nine books tr. Oliver Elton; with notes on Saxo's sources, and valuable commentary, by F. Y. Powell (London, 1894). For other editions and translations see Potthast's Bibliotheca, ii, 999-1000.

Scone. Liber ecclesie de Scon. B.Cl. **78**; M.Cl. **62** (Edinburgh, 1843).

Scots Peerage, ed. Sir James Balfour Paul (and others). Edinburgh, 1904-1914.

Scottish Chronicle. See Chronicles of the Kings.

Searle, i: Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum (Cambridge, 1897).

Searle, ii: Anglo-Saxon Bishops, Kings, and Nobles (Cambridge, 1899).

Senchus Albanach. A genealogical tract, edited by Skene in P. & S., 308-317, from three MSS.:—Trinity College Dublin, H. 2. 7; the Book of Ballymote; and the Book of Lecan (in R.I.A., Dublin). This is a traditional account of the origins of the families of Dalriata, and contains numbers of their houses, with a view to military service. See below, pp. cl-cliii.

Sifridus de Balnhusin (a priest of Grossballhausen in Thüringen): Historia Universalis (to 1304). Increased, and continued to 1306 (with addition for 1307), under the title: Compendium Historiarum. Incompletely edited (more completely from 1140) by Holder-Egger, M.G.H., Scriptores, xxv, 684-718. See Potthast's Bibliotheca, ii, 1015-1016.

Sigebert of Gemblours (Sigebertus Gemblacensis; † 1112): Chronographia (381-1111), ed. L. C. Bethmann, M.G.H., Scriptores, vi, 300-535. Reprinted in P.L. **160.** Parts ed. also in B.R., iii, v-viii, x, xi, xiii. There are many additions and continuations. The Auctarium Affligemense (1005-1163) is partly ed. in M.G.H., Scriptores, vi, 399-405 (1844); the Auctarium Aquicinense (651-1168), ibid., 393-398. See Potthast, ii, 1016-1017.

Sigebert is one of the great medieval historians of Europe. He is not always accurate.

Sigebert says (s.a. 735): "Henceforward I desist from noting [affairs of] the kingdom of the English, because I have not histories written by our ancestors [*historias majorum*] to follow" (M.G.H., Scriptores, vi, 331).

Simeon of Durham: Historia Dunelmensis ecclesiae (to 1096, with continuations to 1154), ed. T. Arnold, R.S. **75**, i (1882); also in Twysden. Translated by J. Stevenson, Church Historians, iii, **2** (1855).

This work was written 1104 × 1108.

Simeon of Durham: Historia Regum (to 1129), ed. T. Arnold, R.S. **75**, ii (1885); also in Twysden. Part ed. J. H. Hinde, Surtees Society, i (Durham, 1868); and in M.H.B. Tr. Stevenson, u.s.

The Historia Regum is based upon Florence of Worcester's chronicle. It contains also versions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and of a Northumbrian chronicle; both of value. See R.S. **51**, iv, pp. xxviii-xxxi; 735-802.

Skálholtsbók: Det Arnamagnæanske Haandskrift 81 a Folio (Skálholtsbók yngsta), ed. A. Kjær (Det Norske Historiske Kildeskrift-commission; Christiania, 1910). See under Hakon Hakon's son's Saga; Hakon (Sverri's son), Guthorm, and Ingi's Saga; Sverri's Saga.

Skene, W. F. See Fordun, and Collectanea.

Skene, W. F.: Celtic Scotland (Edinburgh, 1876-1880; 2nd ed., 1886-1890). The sources used are quoted in the notes.

It has become the custom to condemn Skene for uncritical work. It is true that his theories must not be accepted without examination of their bases; and that later writers have frequently been misled by his errors. But it is also true that some of Skene's theories will stand examination, and that in spite of errors he did much useful pioneer work in Scottish history. All those that condemn him use his books. He had to rely upon untrustworthy editions of the Irish annals; and in his own editions he suffered from lack of the most necessary aids to Celtic study.

Skene, W. F.: Chronicles of the Picts, Chronicles of the Scots, and other Early Memorials of Scottish History (Register House, Edinburgh; 1867). Principally valuable for its collection of Chronicles of the Kings (q.v.).

The literal accuracy of Skene's transcriptions is not certain; and this must be remembered in using such comparisons of proper names as those I give under the Chronicles on pp. cxx-cxl. I have not verified these forms in the manuscripts.

Snorri Sturla's son (Sturlusonr; 1178-1241): Heimskringla, ed. Finnur Jónsson; Samfund (Copenhagen, 1893-1901). The edition by C. R. Unger, Det Norske Oldskriftselskab, Samlinger, nos. 4, 7, 9, 10 (Christiania, 1868), was reprinted by Schultz (Uppsala, 1869-1872), in better type, without the preface and indices. S. Laing's English translation (London, 1844) was revised by R. B. Anderson (London, 1889); and the Olaf Sagas have been re-edited by J. Beveridge in Everyman's Library (1915). A more correct translation is that of William Morris and E. Magnússon, in vols. iii-vi of the Saga Library (London, 1893-1905), with valuable Indices, an Introduction, and Genealogies. The best translation is Gustav Storm's: — Snorre Sturlason: Kongesagaer (Christiania, 1899; with also a cheap edition, in the same year; reissued as vols. i and ii of the collected edition, Norges Kongesagaer, in 1914). An English version of Storm's translation of Olaf Tryggvi's son and Harold Hardrádi was made by E. M. Hearn (London, 1911). Storm's translation follows the capitulation of Jónsson's text; and has useful maps, and a good account of Snorri in the introduction.

The Heimskringla is a collection of sagas of the Norwegian kings. It was carried down from mythical times to the reign of Magnus Erling's son; that is, down to the beginning of Sverri's Saga. In its completed form, Heimskringla is later in date than Sverri's Saga. It is based upon earlier histories:—Ari's Konungabók, which it follows, more or less closely, down

probably to the time of Magnus Bareleg and Sigurd Crusader: but Ynglinga Saga in Heimskringla has other sources, and St Olaf's Saga has Odd Snorri's son's work behind it; while Eric Odd's son's work was a source for Harold Gilli, and his sons.

See under Eirspennill, Fagrskinna, Frisbók, Kringla, Orkneyinga Saga, St Olaf's Saga.

The Heimskringla was begun after 1220, and finished after 1237. The sagas were probably published separately, from time to time, as they were written. Cf. St Olaf's Saga.

As a collection of traditions, the Heimskringla is perhaps unrivalled in European literature. The materials used had probably high authority. Notwithstanding the presence in it of much that is obviously fabulous, the Heimskringla is a very valuable historical work; not only for Norway (the basis of whose history it is), but also for neighbouring countries, including England and Scotland. It is one of the most remarkable productions of Icelandic literature.

Soutra. Registrum domus de Soltre . . ., ed. D. Laing. B.Cl. **109** (Edinburgh, 1861).

Spotiswood (Spottiswoode). See Keith.

Statistical Account of Scotland, New (Edinburgh and London, 1845).

Steenstrup, J. C. H. R.: Normannerne (Copenhagen, 1876-1882).

Stevenson, Joseph: Church Historians of England; Pre-Reformation Series (London, 1853-1858).

This is a collection of translations, including:—(i, **2**) Bede; (ii, **1**) A.S.C., F.W.; (ii, **2**) Æthelweard, Asser, Book of Hyde, John of Wallingford, Gaimar; (iii, **1**) W.M.; (iii, **2**) S.D.; (iv, **1**) J.H., R.H., C.H., C.M., Fantosme; (iv, **2**) W.N., R.T.; (v, **1**) R.T., G.C., Chronicle of Man, Gesta Stephani; etc.

Stevenson, Joseph: Documents Illustrative of the History of Scotland, 1286-1306 (Treasury Commission; Edinburgh, 1870).

Stevenson, Joseph: Illustrations of Scottish History, from the 12th to the 16th century. M.Cl. **28** (Glasgow, 1834).

Stokes, Whitley. See Annals in the Book of Leinster; Gorman; Muirchu; Oengus; Tigernach; Tripartite Life.

Stokes, Whitley: Goidelica. See Liber Hymnorum.

Stokes, Whitley: Lismore Lives. See Book of Lismore.

Stokes, Whitley: Three Homilies. See Lebar Brecc.

Storm, G.: Islandske Annaler indtil 1578. Det norske historiske Kildeskriftfond, **21** (Christiania, 1888). The best collection of Icelandic annals (q.v.).

Storm, G.: Monumenta historica Norvegiae. Kildeskriftfond, **14** (Christiania, 1880). Latin writings of the history of medieval Norway. See Historia Norwegiae; Theoderic.

Storm, G., and A. Bugge: Norges Kongesagaer (1914). Vols. i and ii, Heimskringla (previously published separately); vol. iii, Sverri's Saga; vol. iv, Hakon, Guthorm, and Ingi's Saga; Hakon Hakon's son's Saga; and Magnus Hakon's son's Saga. This is the best translation of the most notable historical sagas.

Stubbs, Thomas: Chronica Pontificum Ecclesiae Eboracensis (1147-1373), ed. J. Raine, York, R.S. **71**, ii ; also in Twysden.

Sturlunga Saga, ed. K. Kålund. Oldskriftselskab (1906-1911). Sturlúnga Saga, eðr Íslendínga Saga hin mikla, ed. B. Thorsteinsson ; Íslenzk Bókmentafèlag (Copenhagen, 1817-1818). The edition by G. Vigfusson (Oxford, 1878) contains Prolegomena, which give a survey of Icelandic saga literature. Sturlunga Saga has been translated into Danish by K. Kålund and O. Hansen (Oldskriftselskab, 1903-1904). Maps of Iceland are given at the end of Vigfusson's ed. and Kålund's tr.

Sugerius (abbot of Saint-Denis, 1122-† 1151): Life of king Louis VII. Ed. A. Molinier (Paris, 1887).

Surveys. The following are early surveys :—

× 1075 : Northamptonshire Geld-roll. Round's Feudal England (1895), 147-156.

× 1086 : Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton (London, 1876).

1086 : Doomsday Book (q.v.).

1108 × 1118 : Worcestershire Surveys, ed. Hearne's Heming (1723), i, 313-316 ; tr. J. H. Round, V.C.H. Worcestershire, i, 324-326 (cf. ibid., 327-331 ; Round's Feudal England, 170-175).

1115 × ? 1118 : Lindsey Survey, ed. Hearne's Liber Niger, ii, 399-423 (see Black Book) ; tr. R. E. C. Waters (1883) ; ed. in facsimile by J. Greenstreet (London, 1884).

1124 × 1129 : Leicestershire Survey, ed. Round, Feudal England, 197-203 ; tr. Stenton, V.C.H. Leicestershire, i, 344-354.

Originally × 1135 : Northamptonshire Survey, in Cottonian MS. Vespasian E XXII ; tr. J. H. Round, V.C.H. Northamptonshire, i, 365-389 (cf. Feudal England, 215-219).

1166 : List of Knights' Fees ; ed. in Hearne's Liber Niger, i, 49-340 ; Red Book of the Exchequer, i, 186-445.

13th century : Testa de Nevill, sive Liber Feodorum, tempore Henrici III et Edwardi I. Record Commission (1807).

Sven Aggi's son, ed. S. J. Stephanius : Svenonis, Aggonis filii, . . . Opuscula (Sora, 1642).

Sverri's Saga (1175-1202).

There are four published versions of Sverri's Saga : that in the Eirspennill, edited by C. R. Unger (Konunga Sögur, pp. 1-202. Det Norske Oldskriftselskabs Samlinger, nos. **13** and **15** ; Christiania, 1870-1871) ; that in the Flatey-book, edited by Vigfusson (Flateyiarbók, vol ii, pp. 533-701) ; that in MS. A.M. 327, 4°, edited in the Fornmanna Sögur (vol. viii, pp. 5-448) ; and that in the Skálholtsbók, edited by A. Kjær (Det Arnamagnæanske Haandskrift 81 a, Fol. ; Skálholtsbók Yngsta, pp. 1-254. Det Norske Historiske Kildeskriftfond. Christiania, 1910).

The saga was translated from the F.S. text into Danish, in Oldnordiske Sagaer, viii ; into Latin, in Scripta Historica Islandorum, viii. There is an excellent English translation, composite, but with the same text as basis, made by J. Sephton (Sverrissaga : The Saga of king Sverri of Norway. London, 1899). There is an excellent and cheap translation into Norwegian

(Landsmaal) by Halvdan Koht (Sverresoga. Det norske Samlaget; Gamalnorske Bokverk, **12-13.** Christiania, 1913). Koht's translation is made from Eirspennill and A.M. 327. The standard translation is Storm's, in Norges Kongesagaer, iii (1914).

I have given the preference to Eirspennill's text, which, with errors of omission, probably represents an earlier version than that represented by the other manuscripts.

Sverri's Saga is based upon information given by Sverri himself to Karl, Jón's son, abbot of Thingeyri in Iceland, and upon accounts given by contemporaries of Sverri (see the Prologus; F.S., viii, 5-6). Fl.'s version declares itself to be copied by priest Magnus Thorhall's son, from the copy made by priest Styrmi the Wise (F.S., viii, 1; Fl., ii, 533).

Sverri's Saga was composed earlier than Snorri's recension (the Heimskringla) of the earlier kings' sagas. The Heimskringla was brought down to the beginning of Sverri's Saga.

Symeon. See Simeon.

Tale of Cano, in Y.B.L, 128-132. See below, vol. i, p. 122.

Tale of Ragnar's Sons. See under Ragnar Lodbrók's Saga.

Tale of the Greenlanders. See Eric the Red's Saga.

Tallaght, Martyrology of. Fragments of the larger version are in the Book of Leinster; 25th December to 29th January, on pp. 355-356; 11th March to 20th May, on pp. 357-360; 1st to 20th August, on pp. 361-362; 22nd September to 30th October on pp. 363-364; and 17th to 24th December on p. 365.

An abridged version, less incomplete (but jumping from 31st October to 17th December), was published by M. Kelly from manuscript 5104 in the Burgundian Library, Brussels, (from a transcript made by Tinbröeck, and revised by E. O'Curry) in a small volume entitled: Calendar of Irish Saints: the Martyrology of Tallagh (Dublin, 1857). The martyrology of Tallaght occupies pp. xi-xlii.

The Brussels version is an abridgement of the version in the Book of Leinster. Under April 17th, the Brussels version speaks of Donnan's fellow-martyrs, "whose names we have written in the larger book"; under October 21st, of Fintan or Munna's fellow-martyrs, "Lasrian and Comain, etc.; the others' names we have written in the large [book]." Their names appear in the Book of Leinster, 359, 364.

Tallaght Discourse, ed. and tr. E. J. Gwynn and W. J. Purton: The Monastery of Tallaght (P.R.I.A., xxix (1911), Archæology, 127-164). An account of the practice of the célidé of Tallaght, written probably 830 × 841.

Taxter, John of: Chronica Abbreviata (to 1265), ed. (1152-1265) by B. Thorpe, E.H.S. ed. of Florence of Worcester, ii, 136-196 (1849); part ed. (1258-1263) by H. R. Luard, R.S. **16** (Bartholomew Cotton), 137-140 (1859). Taxter borrows from Paris, and becomes original after the period of Paris's Chronicle.

Terry, C. S.: A Catalogue of the Publications of Scottish Historical and Kindred Clubs and Societies, and of the volumes relative to Scottish History issued by His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1780-1908 (Glasgow 1909). A very useful guide.

Theiner, Augustinus: Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum (1216-1547) (Rome, 1864). A collection of papal letters.

Theoderic (Theodricus, Thiodrík): Historia de Antiquitate Regum Norwagiensium, ed. G. Storm, Monumenta, 1-68 (1880). Also ed. P. F. Suhm, in Langebek's Scriptores, v, 311-341 (1783).

Theoderic was a monk at Nidarhólmr. He wrote before 1188 (probably 1177×1180; see G. Storm's introduction, p. viii). His sources were Icelandic poems and unwritten sagas. Theoderic's History is earlier than the Ágrip and the Historia Norwegiae, and is the oldest Norwegian historical work. These three 12th-century works prove the existence of the sagas before they were written down, but the 13th-century sagas are more directly representative of the old traditions, and the 14th-century annals are more in agreement with the sagas' dates. Some of the materials included in the annals were also used by the saga-writers. Nevertheless for the first three reigns we must prefer the chronological details of the 12th-century writers.

The dates of the reigns of early Norwegian kings are important for British history. I give on the next page a table of their reign-lengths and accessions, according to the different accounts; placing under the kings' names the deducible years of their reigns.

The three first reigns have 97 years in Theoderic and the Ágrip; 99 years in version K of the Annals; 101 years in Historia Norwegiae and the sagas.

The points of divergence are:—

(1) Most of the sagas, with Snorri, say that Harold reigned for 70 years, and lived for 3 years afterwards; some, with the Historia Norwegiae, (not really differing) say that he reigned for 73 years, including 3 years of Eric's reign. But Ari, Theoderic, and the Ágrip, say that Harold died 70 years after his accession: and their account must be preferred.

(2) Theoderic and the Ágrip say that Eric reigned for 3 years after Harold's death. Their account must be accepted. The sagas, after adding Eric's 3 years' reign to Harold's 70, say that Eric reigned for 2 years after Harold's death; and practically the same account is in the Historia Norwegiae.

(3) King Hakon's reign (after Eric's flight) is 24 years in Theoderic and the Ágrip, 26 years in the Historia Norwegiae and the sagas. Adam of Bremen makes it 35 years. If 35 is a mistake for 25 (including Hakon's first winter in Norway), the latter number would support Theoderic.

Fagrskinna and Heimskringla (below, 950×955) imply that Eric's death was in Hakon's 16th year (it probably occurred in 954); Hakon's accession would then have been in 939. But the sagas err in dating British events. Here again the preference must be given to Theoderic and the Ágrip.

(4) The Historia Norwegiae, the Ágrip, and the sagas, agree in giving earl Hakon 20 years' reign; but the annals give him 19. Theoderic (p. 11) says that he reigned for 30 years (read 20?); and (p. 13) says that Hakon heard in his 29th year (read 19th?) that Olaf was in England, and "after great and long deliberation" sent Thori Klakka to him: no winter passed between Thori's finding of Olaf and Olaf's journey to Norway. Hakon

	Theoderic.	Historia Norwegiae.	Ágrip.	Snorri. (*a*)	Other Sagas.	Konungatal.	Icelandic Annals.
Harold Fairhair . 864-934	70 + A.D. 858	73 = [70 + 3]	70 = 10 + 58 + 2	70	70 + A.D. 862	73	862 KE, 863 BOD (858 CA) † 933 KBOD (931 CA, 932 E)
Eric Bloodaxe . . 932-937	3	1	5 = 2 + 3	... 3 + 2	5 = 3 + 2	1	930 KBOD (928 CA, 929 E) . (– 934 CA)
Hakon Good . . 936-961	25 = [1 +]19 + 5	27 = [1 + 26]	24 = 15 + 9	27 (*b*) = [1 + 26]	26	26	935 BD (933 OCA ; 934 E)
Gunnhild's sons . 961-976	12	14	15	15 (*c*)	15	12	961 KBODE (960 CA) (Harold Greycloak † 975 CA)
Hakon, earl . . 976-995	30	33 = [13 + 20] (*d*)	20	...	20	20	976 KBODEA (975 C) († 995 E)
Olaf Tryggvi's son . 995-1000	5	5	5	5 (*b*)	† 1000	5	995 KBOCDA (996 E) († 999 B)
Hakon's sons, earls . 1000-1015	15 + 2 = [17] (*e*)	14	14	...	...	15 = 12 + 3 (*f*)	1000 KOCDEA (Svein † 1016 KOE ; 1015 C)
St Olaf . . . 1014-1030	† 1029 = 1030	...	15	15 (*g*)	† 1030	...	1015 KOEA (1014 C) († 1030 CEA)

(*a*) Heimskringla, and Snorri's St Olaf 's Saga ; both following Ari.
(*b*) Snorri's St Olaf 's Saga.
(*c*) From Ari.
(*d*) See Heimskringla, Olaf Tryggvi's son, c. 13.
(*e*) For 15 (xu) read 12 (xii) ; + 2 = 14.
(*f*) During Svein's last year, Olaf was king of the Uplanders. See Heimskringla, St Olaf, 189, 260.
(*g*) From Ari and Sighvat the Poet (a contemporary of St Olaf). Olaf reigned 16 years in Norway, the first year as king of the Uplanders only.

died in the beginning of his 20th winter. His reign began in summer, and ended in the beginning of winter. The Trondhjem river Gaul was frozen when he died (Heimskringla, Olaf, c. 53).

(5) The duration of the reign of Hakon's sons is 14 years in the 12th-century histories; 15 years, in Fl.'s Kónungatal and the annals. We can hardly reject Olaf's Saga's statement that the battle of Svoldr, where Olaf Tryggvi's son fell, was fought on Monday, 9th September, A.D. 1000; and it is established that St Olaf reigned 1015-1030; therefore the period is in fact 15 years. The explanation of this divergence is given by Snorri, who speaks thus of the second-last year of St. Olaf's reign (Heimskringla, St Olaf, c. 179): "St Olaf had then been king in Norway 15 winters, including that winter when earl Svein and he were both in the land; and this winter, of which we have now for a time been speaking, and which had then passed Yule when he left his ship and went up on land, as was previously said. This part [*grein;* record?] of his reign was first written by priest Ari the Wise, Thorgils' son, who was both truthful and of retentive memory; and so old a man that he remembered (and had received histories from) men who were so old that by reason of their age they could remember these affairs, as he himself has said in his books. And he has given the names of the men from whom he has taken his knowledge. But most people say [*en hitt er althÿðu sögn*] that Olaf was 15 winters king over Norway before he fell; but those that say so reckon to the dominion of earl Svein the winter when [Svein] was last in the land: because Olaf was king for 15 winters after that, so long as he lived."

We are therefore justified in assuming that a year between the reigns of Hakon's sons and of St Olaf has not been counted in either reign by the 12th-century writers.

Taking the above considerations into account, the deducible reign-lengths would be:—68; 5; 24 or 26; 15; 19; 5; 15; 15: and the accessions:—864 or 862; 932 or 930; 937 or 935; 961; 976; 995; 1000; 1015; 1030.

The oldest version of the annals (K) has (following Landnámabók) accepted the second year in the alternatives; but the first is more in accordance with Islendingabók, Theoderic, and the Ágrip. The first year must therefore be preferred.

Thómas Saga Erkibyskups, ed. and tr. by Eirikr Magnússon, R.S. 85, with a careful introduction in vol. ii.

The earliest MS. in which this saga is preserved was written in the 14th century. The saga is based upon the Lives of Thomas Becket by Benedict of Peterborough, and by Robert of Cricklade.

Thorfinn Karlsefni's Saga. See Eric the Red's Saga.

Thorpe's Lappenberg. History of England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings (2 vols.; London, 1845). History of England under the Norman Kings (Oxford, 1857). By J. M. Lappenberg, tr. and ed. by B. Thorpe.

Thorstein Side-Hall's son's Saga, and Thorstein's Dream, ed. J. Jakobsen, in Austfirdinga Sögur, 215-236. Samfund, 29 (Copenhagen, 1903). These were ed. by G. Vigfusson in T. Möbius's Analecta Norrœna, 169-186 (Leipzig, 1859), from A. Jonsson's transcript of the solitary parch-

ment MS., which was burnt in 1728. The saga is ed. also by K. Gíslason, Pröver af oldnordisk Sprog (Copenhagen, 1860); and by V. Ásmundarson, Islendinga Sögur, **33** (Reykjavík, 1902).

Thorstein's Saga belongs to the early cycle of historical sagas, and in the events of 1013-1014 is parallel with Niál's Saga.

Thorvald Wide-farer's Tale (Thórvalds Tháttr Víðförlu), ed. B. Kahle in Altnordische Sagabibliothek, xi, 59-79. The tale is also to be found in Olaf's Saga, cc. 130-138 (F.S., i, 255-276); and in Biskupa Sögur, i, 33-50.

Tigernach († 1088): Annals (? 489-766; 974-1003; 1017-1088; and Continuation, 1088-1178), ed. W. Stokes, Revue Celtique, vols. xvii (1896), and (the continuation) xviii (1897). The earlier edition of O'Conor (to 1088) in his Scriptores, ii, **1** (1825), is very inaccurate. Skene edited extracts in his Picts and Scots, 66-78, and (the continuation) 141, also inaccurately.

At the end of year 1088 (R.C., xvii, 420), Tigernach's continuator has written: "Down to this, Tigernach wrote. In [10]88 he rested." Cf. R.C., xviii, 303, Addenda. "Tigernach Ua-Broein, *airchinnech* of Clonmacnoise, rested in Christ" in 1088, according to the Annals of Ulster, ii, 44. How much of the collection was compiled by Tigernach, is uncertain; but it is convenient to refer to the compilation by his name.

The surviving fragments of this work are preserved in a Bodleian MS., Rawlinson B 488 (cf. National MSS. of Ireland, ii, no. 90; "transcribed ca. 1280" J. T. Gilbert). Stokes's edition is a transcript of the text, with English translation of the Irish parts, and with added numbers of the corresponding year-sections in other Irish annals, according to their editors. Stokes gives no indication of the times of composition of Tigernach's Annals, or of the sources from which they are derived.

Frequent details suggest that the time of composition of the continuation was not remote from the events (cf. e.g. weather notes, under 1098, 1107, 1111, 1130, 1149, 1156, 1165, 1177). The annal for 1096 was apparently composed in 1096; for 1170, considerably after 1170.

Deriving information from various sources, Tigernach sometimes enters the same event at different places, two or more times. Foreign events (taken principally from Bede's Chronicle, Isidore's Chronicle, and the Liber Pontificalis) are often misplaced by several years. Tigernach frequently quotes historical verses, which differ sometimes from his prose authorities.

A critical edition, showing the sources used and explaining the system of chronology, is greatly needed.

The Chronicon Scotorum is a copy, somewhat abridged and not very correct, of a version of Tigernach's Annals. It has preserved some parts that have been lost in the Bodleian version. The Annals of Ulster used a copy of Tigernach, or his source; and have sometimes preserved a better reading than that of the Bodleian MS.

Down to the first quarter of the 7th century, the years are not ascertainable from the sequence, which is imperfect; but are indicated by ferial numbers for the 1st of January. For some reason these ferial numbers do not follow a true course.

The years indicated by the ferial numbers are incorrect after the middle of the 6th century ; nevertheless they are of value in showing the intervals between events.

Every year entered by the compiler without a ferial number would have pushed the ferial scale one place down. A leap-year deferred by one year would have substituted for the correct scale the scale of 99 years earlier (this may have happened at 540) ; the same displacement would have occurred if the ferials had been written in backwards, and a leap-year had been entered too soon (this may have happened at 521, and in the Chronicon Scotorum at 442).

Such errors are perhaps the true origin of Tigernach's calendar. In that case, the ferial numbers were added by a careless compiler, and are evidence only of the number of year-sections in his compilation. This theory is supported by the still greater confusion of the ferial numbers in the Chronicon Scotorum before 413 ; confusion so great as could not have resulted if any sort of calendar had been followed.

It is, however, possible that Tigernach should have used, or found in use as a repository for notes, an incorrect calendar. Leap-years were found from the year-numbers in the era of the Creation ; these numbers were divided by 4, and the remainder showed whether the year was bissextile, or not. But some systems gave one remainder, some another, when leap-years occurred ; and among these divergences there was opportunity for a theorist or a blunderer to place leap-years at the wrong time.

Tigernach's numbers are very often incorrect, through copyists' confusion of ii and u, iii and ui, iiii and uii. There are one or two instances of transposition. Allowing for these textual errors, I have endeavoured to tabulate his system on the next page.

Tiron. Cartulaire de l'abbaye de la Sainte-Trinité de Tiron, ed. L. Merlet. Société Archéologique d'Eure-et-Loire (Chartres, 1883-1884).

Todd, J. H. : Leabhar Breathnach. See Irish Nennius.

Todd, J. H. : Leabhar Imuinn. See Liber Hymnorum.

Todd, J. H. See Wars.

Trivet (or Trevet), Nicholas († 1328) : Annales Sex Regum Angliae (1135-1307), ed. T. Hog. E.H.S. (London, 1845). Also in D'Achery's Spicilegium, iii (1723).

Turgot (Thurgot) : Life of queen Margaret († 1093), ed. J. H. Hinde, S.S. **51**, 234-254 (cf. pp. lvii-lxi). Also ed. Papebroch, A.S., 10 June ii, 324-331 ; Pinkerton, Vitae, 329-355 ; Metcalfe, Lives, ii, 135-182 ; tr. W. Forbes-Leith (Edinburgh, 1884, 1896).

Twysden, Roger : Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores Decem (London, 1652). Includes A.R., G.C., J.H., R.D., R.H., S.D., Thomas Stubbs.

Upphaf Ríkis Haraldar Hárfagra, ed. Fornmanna Sögur, x, 177-197. This belongs to the cycle of the historical sagas, and contains some details that do not appear elsewhere.

Verse Chronicle (called Chronicon Elegiacum by Pinkerton and Skene ; Chronicon Rythmicum, by Stevenson). There are two versions of this chronicle :—(1) one (to 1214) inserted in the Chronicle of Melrose,

Ferial Numbers of the 1st of January.

				Chronicon Scotorum.		Tigernach.					Correct Calendar.		
				413 to 441	443 to 485	487 to 499	500 to 524	524 to 539	540 to 599	600 to 650	400 to 499	500 to 599	600 to 699
0	28	56	84	1	1	1	7	7	7	6	1	7	6
1	29	57	85	2*	2*	2*	1*	2	1*	7*	3	2	1
2	30	58	86	3*	4	4	3	3	3	2	4	3	2
3	31	59	87	...	5	5	4	4	4	3	5	4	3
4	32	60	88	6	6	6	5	5	5	4	6	5	4
5	33	61	89	7*	...	7*	6*	7	6*	5*	1	7	6
6	34	62	90	1*	...	2	1	1	1	7	2	1	7
7	35	63	91	3	...	3	2	2	2	1	3	2	1
8	36	64	92	4	...	4	3	3	3	2	4	3	2
9	37	65	93	5*	5*	5*	4*	5	4*	3*	6	5	4
10	38	66	94	6*	7	7	6	6	6	5	7	6	5
11	39	67	95	1	1	1	7	7	7	6	1	7	6
12	40	68	96	2	2	2	1	...	1	7	2	1	7
13	41	69	97	3*	3*	3*	2*	...	2*	1*	4	3	2
14	42	70	98	4*	5	5	4	...	4	3	5	4	3
15	43	71	99	6	6	6	5	...	5	4	6	5	4
16	44	72	...	7	7	...	6	...	6	5	7	6	5
17	45	73	...	1*	1*	...	7*	...	7*	6*	2	1	7
18	46	74	...	2*	3	...	2	...	2	1	3	2	1
19	47	75	...	4	4	...	3	...	3	2	4	3	2
20	48	76	...	5	5	...	4	...	4	3	5	4	3
21	49	77	...	6*	6*	...	5*	...	5*	4*	7	6	5
22	50	78	...	7*	1	...	7	...	7	6	1	7	6
23	51	79	...	2	2	...	1	...	1	7	2	1	7
24	52	80	...	3	3	...	2	2	2	1	3	2	1
25	53	81	...	4*	4*	...	...	4	3*	2*	5	4	3
26	54	82	...	5*	6	...	...	5	5	4	6	5	4
27	55	83	...	7	7	...	...	6	6	5	7	6	5
28	56	84	...	1	1	...	...	7	7	6	1	7	6

* If the erroneous system had been in use, the years whose ferial numbers are marked with a star would have had 1st January upon 31st December of the Dionysian Calendar.

Cottonian MS. Faustina B IX, by a hand of the early part of the 14th century (Stevenson); edited (to 1165) by Stevenson, in the Appendix to his edition of the Chronicle of Melrose (1835). It was previously printed in Gale's Scriptores, i, 595-598; and reprinted in Pinkerton's Enquiry, ii, 330-334. Cf. David Macpherson's notes, in Stevenson's C.M., 237-238. It was collated, to 1165, in P. & S., 177-182.

(2) Another version (to 1249) is preserved in a Bodleian Library MS., C. IV. 3, of the middle of the 14th century (Skene). This is edited by Skene, in his Picts and Scots, 177-182 (1867). Cf. Pinkerton's Enquiry, 334-337; P. & S., pp. lvi-lvii.

The Verse Chronicle (to 1093) is also quoted by Wyntoun; and (to 1249) by Bower. It is perhaps referred to by version L of the Chronicles of the Kings, s.f. (P. & S., 297).

The Verse Chronicle is a chronicle of the kings of Scotland (from 843), written in elegiac verse. It was inserted in C.M. under the successions of kings, and on fos. 15 and 16. The writer was certainly not the author of the verses. He has prefixed to some of the insertions a few words of prose, which are distinguished by the name of the Prose Chronicle inserted in the Chronicle of Melrose. Neither the Prose nor the Verse Chronicle contains any dates.

A mark of antiquity in the Verse Chronicle is the spelling of the name Iona. This name occurs twice, and is both times spelt *Ioua*, in the C.M. version.

At 1093, both versions were originally written 1098 × 1263; at 1165, after 1214. The whole of the C.M. version was probably composed 1214 × 1263. The Bodleian version was concluded 1249 × 1286.

The parts of the Bodleian version that do not appear in C.M. are perhaps written in a different style (P. & S., p. 181, ll. 21-31; p. 182, ll. 11-end).

Victoria County Histories. Victoria History of the Counties of England (London). A large series, as yet incomplete. A Guide (1912) contains information for historical workers.

Vigfusson, G.: Prolegomena, see Sturlunga Saga.

Wace: Roman de Rou, ed. H. Andresen (Heilbronn, 1877-1879). Part previously ed. F. Pluquet (Rouen, 1827). Pluquet's text, with verse translation, ed. Sir Alexander Malet: Conquest of England (London, 1860). Translated also (ca. 1064-1087) by E. Taylor: — Master Wace; his chronicle of the Norman Conquest, from the Roman de Rou (London, 1837). Cf. Chronique de Normandie. See Round's Feudal England, 409-418.

An extract from an anonymous continuation of Wace's Brut d' Angleterre was edited by F. Michel, C.A.N., i, 65-117.

Walafridus Strabo: Vita Sancti Blaithmaic Martyris, ed. Pinkerton, Vitae, 459-463; Metcalfe, Lives, ii, 293-297.

Walbran, J. R.: Memorials of the abbey of St Mary of Fountains. Surtees Society, **42** (1863, 1878).

Walsingham, Thomas († ca. 1422): Historia Anglicana (1272-1422), ed. H. T. Riley. R.S. **28** (London, 1863-1864). Previously ed. in Camden's Anglica Scripta.

Walter of Coventry: Memoriale (to 1225), ed. W. Stubbs. R.S. **58** (1872-1873). Part in B.R., xviii. The author is unknown.

Walter of Hemingburgh, see Hemingburgh.

Wars of the Irish with the Foreigners (812-1014), (Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh) ed. J. H. Todd, R.S. **48** (1867). Todd's text is composite, based upon (1) a 14th-century manuscript, Trinity College of Dublin MS. H. 2. 17; (2) a copy made by Michael O'Clery in 1635, from a previous copy made by him in 1628; and (3) the Book of Leinster. The Book of Leinster fragment is given on pp. 221-235; part of the Brussels MS. version, on pp. 250-262. See Douglas Hyde, Literary History of Ireland (1899), 434-442; R.S. ed., Preface, and 225; O'Curry's MS. Materials of Irish History (1873), 412.

The earliest version is the fragment in the Book of Leinster. This version was composed 1014 × ca. 1166, probably in the 12th century, and perhaps 1165×. See under Berchan. The later versions may represent the version of which this fragment was a part. The value of the work is reduced by its bias and unbalanced style as much as by the lateness of and interpolations in the surviving texts.

Welsh Pedigrees, see under Annales Cambriae.

Welsh Romances. J. Loth: Les Mabinogion traduits en entier; in D'Arbois de Jubainville's Cours de la Littérature Celtique, vols. iii and iv (Paris, 1889); and in a revised edition (1913).

Welsh Triads. The historical triads were edited in Myvyrian Archaiology, ii (1801), 1-22. The triads from the Red Book of Hergest (a 14th-century MS.) have been edited by J. Rhys in Y Cymmrodor, iii, 52-63 (Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1880); also ed. diplomatically in Rhys and Evan's Mabinogion, 297-309 (Oxford, 1887). The version of these triads in Hengwrt MS. 202 was edited by E. Phillimore in Y Cymmrodor, vii, 126-132 (1886).

Triads from a 14th-century MS., Hengwrt 536, were published in Skene's Four Ancient Books of Wales, ii, 456-465. A few triads are in the Black Book of Carmarthen (ed. J. G. Evans, Pwllheli, 1906; facsimile, Oxford, 1888).

J. Loth's translations of 153 triads may conveniently be consulted (Mabinogion, 1889 ed., ii, 205-301; 1913 ed., ii, 227-325. The triads are numbered alike in both editions). Cf. also 1889 ed., i, 22-25; 1913 ed., i, 76-78, 223-226; T. Stephens, Literature of the Kymry, 429, 493-494 (London, 1876); Gross, Sources, no. 1489.

The triads, though ancient, are of little historical value.

Wetherhal, Register of the priory of; ed. J. E. Prescott. Cumberland and Westmoreland Archaeological Society, no. 12 (London, 1897).

Wharton, Henry: Anglia Sacra, sive Collectio Historiarum . . . de archiepiscopis et episcopis Angliae . . . ad annum 1540 (London, 1691).

Wido. See De Bello Hastingensi.

William of Jumièges (Guilelmus Gemmeticensis): Historia Normannorum (or: De Gestis ducum Normannicorum) (851-1087, continued to 1137); ed. Duchesne, H.N.S., 215-317 (1619). Reprinted in P.L. **149**, 777-910 (1853). Another edition is in Camden's Anglica Scripta, 604-691.

Parts ed. B.R., viii, x, xi. Tr. in F. P. G. Guizot's Collection de Mémoires, **29**, 1-316:—Histoire des Normands (Paris, 1826).

William's account of the affairs of the Northmen in France has been discredited.

Books I-IV are based upon Dudo. Book VIII (1087-1137) was written by Robert of Torigni; it is translated by Stevenson in Church Historians, v, **1** (1858). See the valuable Matériaux pour l'édition de Guillaume de Jumièges, of J. Lair, ed. L. V. Delisle (Nogent-le-Rotrou, 1910).

William's History was revised and continued by Ordericus Vitalis, at Évroul, ca. 1130; and by Robert of Torigni, at Bec, ca. 1140. R.T.'s version contains V, 3-17; VI-VIII, of Duchesne's edition. See the preface to the Société de l'Histoire de Normandie's ed. of R.T.

William of Malmesbury: Gesta Pontificum, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton. R.S. **52** (1870). Also in P.L. **179** (1855); parts in Savile's Scriptores (1596), Gale, iii, and Wharton's Anglia Sacra, ii; fragments in M.G.H., Scriptores, x, xiii. Gesta Regum Anglorum (449-1127), and Historia Novella (1125-1142), ed. W. Stubbs, R.S. **90** (1887-1889). Also ed. T. D. Hardy, E.H.S. (London, 1840); P.L. **179**; and in Savile's Scriptores. Selections in M.G.H., u.s.; B.R., x, xi, xiii. Tr. J. Sharpe (London, 1815); J. Stevenson, Church Historians, iii, **1** (1854); J. A. Giles (London, 1848).

I refer to pages of the volumes of 1870, 1887, 1889, after the abbreviations W.M.; W.M., i; W.M., ii, respectively.

William of Malmesbury is one of the soundest of medieval historians. His work is original for the 12th century.

William of Newburgh: Historia Rerum Anglicarum (1066-1198), ed. R. Howlett. R.S. **82**, i-ii (1884-1885). Also ed. H. C. Hamilton (E.H.S., 1856); and T. Hearne (Oxford, 1719). Tr. J. Stevenson, in Church Historians, iv, **2** (1856).

For the continuation (to 1298), see Annals of Furness.

William of Poitiers: Gesta Willelmi, ducis Normannorum et regis Angliae (1035-1067), ed. A. Duchesne, H.N.S., 178-213 (1619); and in Maseres (1807), and in P.L. **149** (1853). Also ed. Giles, Scriptores; and tr. Guizot, Collection de Mémoires, **29**, 325-439 (Paris, 1826).

William the Breton (the Armorican): De Gestis Philippi Augusti (to 1219; continued to 1222), ed. B.R., xvii. Also ed. H. F. Delaborde: Oeuvres de Rigord et Guillaume le Breton, i (Paris, 1882). Selections in M.G.H., Scriptores, xxvi. William borrows from Rigord, whose Gesta Philippi Augusti runs to 1208.

Wimmer, L. F. A., ed. Lis Jacobsen: De Danske Runemindesmærker (Copenhagen and Christiania, 1914).

Worsaae, J. J.: Minder om de Danske og Nordmændene i England, Skottland og Irland (Copenhagen, 1851); tr. into English: An account of the Danes and Norwegians in England (London, 1852). Another useful work by Worsaae is: Nordens Forhistorie, efter samtidige Mindesmærker (Copenhagen, 1881); tr. Simpson, The Prehistory of the North (London, 1886).

Wyntoun, Andrew of: The Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland (to 1408), ed. D. Laing, Historians of Scotland, ii, iii, ix (1872-1879). A better edition

by F. J. Amours, Scottish Text Society, nos. 63, 50, 53, 54, 56, 57 (Edinburgh, 1903-1914).

Wyntoun's work is outside the scope of the present collection, and I have seldom referred to it. Wyntoun was prior of St Serf.

Yellow Book of Lecan, the Trinity College of Dublin MS. H. 2. 16. Edited in facsimile for the Royal Irish Academy: The Yellow Book of Lecan; a collection of pieces, prose and verse, in the Irish language, in part compiled at the end of the fourteenth century. . . . With introduction, analysis of contents, and index, by R. Atkinson (Dublin, 1896). Cf. the facsimile page in National MSS. of Ireland, iii, no. 24.

CALENDAR NOTES

In the Roman calendar, the days are numbered backwards from the Kalends, Nones, and Ides, of each month. These are the 1st, 5th, and 13th days of the month; except in March, May, July, and October, in which they are the 1st, 7th, and 15th. The day reckoned from is included in the number. In leap-years, the 14th-24th of February are numbered as if February had only 28 days.

The day was reckoned to begin in the evening: either at sunset, or at 6 p.m. Cf. under Irish Annals.

In chronicles that use the Dionysian system, the year is reckoned to begin variously on 1st January, 25th December, or 25th March.

The year-numbers given by Marianus Scottus are greater by 22 than the year-numbers of the Dionysian era.

In the era of the Passion introduced by Victorius, 1 A.P. is equivalent to 28 A.D. in the Dionysian system. In the system of Isidore, 1 A.P. is 36 A.D. according to Dionysius. The year of the crucifixion is reckoned to be A.D. 29 of the Dionysian era, but the 33rd year of Jesus' life.

1st January, 1 B.C., in the Dionysian system, is 1st January, 3 A.C., in the "year of Christ" system (both systems beginning the year on 25th December); 1st Jan., Era 38, in the Era of Spain (used by Isidore; beginning on 1st January); 1st Jan., 752 A.U.C. ("from the foundation of Rome"; the year beginning on 21st April, although the consular year began on 1st January); 1st Jan., 2015 of Abraham (an era used by Jerome; the year beginning on 1st October). The Dionysian year 1 B.C. is equivalent to 3951 A.M. ("year of the world"), in the system of Bede; 4204 A.M., in some Irish annals; 5198 A.M., according to Jerome and Isidore; 5201 A.M., according to Victorius and Prosper.

To find the Dionysian number of a year dated in olympiads, multiply the number of the olympiad by 4 (adding the number of the year in the olympiad); and deduct 780. The remainder is the A.D. number for the 1st of January (the olympic year began in July).

The following formulae are useful when chronological tables are not immediately at hand. In these formulae, A.D. stands for the number of the year, according to the Dionysian system; R, for the remainder (fractions being neglected). When R=0, substitute for 0 the divisor.

$\frac{\text{A.D.}+3}{15}$; R = number of the year in the Roman indiction.

$\frac{\text{A.D.}+9}{28}$; R = number in the solar cycle of 28 years.

$\frac{(\text{A.D.}-1)\times 10\div 8}{7}$; R = ferial number (see the Bibliographical Notes, under Irish Annals). This is the number in the week of the day upon which 1st January fell (in the Old-Style calendar); the Dominical Letter is (in alphabetical enumeration) the number in the month of the first Sunday in January.

To find on which day of the week any given day fell, find the ferial number of the year; and add up the days from 1st January to the day in question, including both days. The formula is :—

$\frac{\text{no. of days} + \text{f.n.} - 1}{7}$; R = number of day in week. Only the excess over multiples of 7 days need be counted in each month.

From the ferial number, the Dominical Letter of the year is found; also the concurrent. These are the equivalents :—

1st January on	Σ	M	T	W	Θ	F	S	Σ
Ferial number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1
Dominical Letter	A	G	F	E	D	C	B	A
Concurrent	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6

Leap-years have two Dominical Letters: the first, for 1st January-24th February; the second, for 25th February-31st December. The second Dominical Letter is the one to the right (in the above table) of that which is equivalent with the year's ferial number. The second Dominical Letter must be used in calculating Easter in leap years.

All years whose A.D. number was evenly divisible by 4 were leap years in the Dionysian system (Old-Style calendar).

The Golden Number is the number of the year in the lunar cycle of 19 years. The formula is :—

$$\frac{\text{A.D.}+1}{19}; \quad \text{R} = \text{Golden Number.}$$

The Roman epact was the calendar age of the moon on 1st January. The formula is :—

$$\frac{\text{Golden Number} \times 11 - 2}{30}; \quad \text{R} = \text{epact.}$$

See the Bibliographical Notes, under Irish Annals.

Paschal new moon fell 1 to 29 days after 7th March. Easter Sunday was 14 to 20 days after the Paschal new moon.

32 -- epact = number of the day in March of the calendar new moon.
(1) If this number is above 7, add 13 days; next Sunday was Easter.
(2) If the number is below 7, add 43 days; next Sunday was Easter.

The following is a Table of the Paschal letters used by the Icelandic annalists (in the first column), with the corresponding Dominical letters and Golden Numbers:

	Easter.		D.L.	Golden Numbers.					
	March.	April.							
b.	22	...	D	...	...	...	...	...	16
c.	23	...	E	...	5	...	...	...	16
d.	24	...	F	...	5	...	...	...	16
e.	25	...	G	...	5	...	...	13	16
f.	26	...	A	2	5	...	...	13	16
g.	27	...	B	2	5	...	...	13	16
h.	28	...	C	2	5	...	10	13	16
i.	29	...	D	2	5	...	10	13	...
k.	30	...	E	2	...	...	10	13	18
l.	31	...	F	2	...	7	10	13	18
m.	...	1	G	2	...	7	10	...	18
n.	...	2	A	...	...	7	10	15	18
o.	...	3	B	...	4	7	10	15	18
p.	...	4	C	...	4	7	...	15	18
q.	...	5	D	...	4	7	12	15	18
r.	...	6	E	1	4	7	12	15	...
s.	...	7	F	1	4	...	12	15	...
t.	...	8	G	1	4	9	12	15	...
v.	...	9	A	1	4	9	12	...	...
.a	...	10	B	1	...	9	12	...	17
.b	...	11	C	1	6	9	12	...	17
.c	...	12	D	1	6	9	...	...	17
.d	...	13	E	...	6	9	...	14	17
.e	...	14	F	3	6	9	...	14	17
.f	...	15	G	3	6	...	...	14	17
.g	...	16	A	3	6	...	11	14	17
.h	...	17	B	3	6	...	11	14	...
.i	...	18	C	3	...	...	11	14	19
.k	...	19	D	3	...	8	11	14	19
.l	...	20	E	3	...	8	11	...	19
.m	...	21	F	...	...	8	11	...	19
.n	...	22	G	...	...	8	11	...	19
.o	...	23	A	...	...	8	...	...	19
.p	...	24	B	...	...	8	...	...	19
.q	...	25	C	...	...	8	...	...	...

Cf. e.g. Cottonian MS. Caligula A XV, fos. 123-124.

The above may be used as an old-style Easter Table, in conjunction with the formulae previously given. With the aid of tables of Dominical Letters and Golden Numbers, it shows in which years Easter fell upon a certain day.

Ash Wednesday (Caput Jejunii),	is	46	days before Easter ;
Maundy Thursday (Coena Domini),		45	„ „
Quadragesima (1st Sunday in Lent),		42	„ „
Middle of Lent (Laetare Jerusalem),		21	„ „
Passion Sunday,		14	„ „
Palm Sunday (Rami Palmarum),		7	„ „
Good Friday (Parasceve),		2	„ „
Low Sunday (Pascha Clausum),	is	7	days after Easter ;
Rogation Sunday,		35	„ „
Ascension Day,		39	„ „
Pentecost, or Whitsun-day,		49	„ „
Holy Trinity,		56	„ „

Other movable feasts, and saints' days, will be found in books of chronology, such as J. J. Bond's Handy-book of Rules and Tables for verifying Dates ; Sir Harris Nicolas's Chronology of History ; Dunbar's Scottish Kings ; A. Giry's Manuel de Diplomatique ; and L'Art de Vérifier les Dates.

For systems of computing Easter followed before the Dionysian system was adopted, see MacCarthy's Introduction to the Annals of Ulster (vol. iv).

For instance, to find Ash Wednesday in the year 1250 :—

(1) 19)1251
6
111
5
R = 16 = G.N.

(2) $\frac{16 \times 11 - 2}{30} = \frac{174}{30}$;
R = 24 = epact.

(3) 32 − 24 = 8 March ;
8 + 13 = 21 March.

(4) 8)12490
7) 1561
R = 7 = f.n.

(5) Jan. 3 days
Feb. 0 „
Mar. 0 „
f.n. − 1 6 „
9 − 7 = 2
∴ 21 Mar. = Monday.
∴ 27 Mar. = Easter.

(6) 27 Mar. = 55 Feb.
55 − 46 = 9 Feb. = Ash Wednesday.

To find the calendar age of the moon on any given day, in years whose Golden Number was not 5, 8, 11, 16, or 19, add up the days from 1st January to the day in question, including both days. The formula is :—

$\frac{\text{no. of days} + \text{epact} - 1}{59}$; R, or R − 30, was the age of the moon. If R is 0, her age was 29. Only the excess over 59 days in each couple of

months need be counted in the sum. Only 28 days are to be counted in February.

The following Table gives the new moons in the other years :—

G.N.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
5	9	7	9	7	7	5	5	3	2	2, 31	30	29
8	6	4	6	5	4	3	2	1, 30	29	28	27	26
11	3	2	3	2	1, 31	29	29	27	26	25	24	23
16	8	6	8	6	6	4	4	2	1	1, 30	29	28
19	5	3	5	4	3	2	1, 31	29	28	27	25	24

These seem to have been the lunations that were accepted in early times. The matter requires further investigation.

Regnal years of Scottish kings will be found in Dunbar ; of English kings, in Bond or Nicolas, after the Preface to Hardy's Syllabus, and in Selby's Date-book (1887) ; or J. E. W. Wallis, English Regnal Years and Titles (S.P.C.K., 1921). The dates of papal accessions will be found in the Regesta Pontificum of Jaffé and of Potthast, and in Dunbar. Dates of early popes (to 816) ; emperors (to 944) ; and consuls (to 613), will be found in the index-tables of Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi, vol. xiii. For consuls, see T. J. Almeloveen, Fasti Consulares (Amsterdam, 1740) Lists of popes are given by Nicolas ; of popes, emperors, and consuls, by Cappelli (Cronologia Calendario Perpetuo). Blair's Chronological Tables also are useful, and there are several historical dictionaries, the most valuable of which is the Dictionary of National Biography.

ORTHOGRAPHICAL NOTES

THE principle that names should be spelt according to the normal usage of the time to which they belong cannot be systematically obeyed in practice. It is impossible to follow from generation to generation the changes that were made. There was frequently no normal spelling. Names printed upon coins do not always conform to the standards that are now accepted for the languages of their inscriptions. The same name is frequently spelt in various ways in one charter.

My method is either to use the modern form of a name (when there is a modern English form in common use), or (when there is not) to give an early form, in normalized spelling. For the sake of consistency, I have here generally rejected intermediate Latin forms, which are more convenient to pronounce, and are a guide to the pronunciation; and which I adopted (for Anglo-Saxon names) in Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers. Here I follow with reluctance the established custom of rendering the different values of Anglo-Saxon ð by *th*.

There are, however, several exceptions to this method. Some intermediate forms of well-known persons' names are too familiar to be rejected. I retain, for instance, the name Alcuin, instead of the theoretically correct Ealhhwine; the names Siward and Turgot, instead of the Danish spellings Sigwarth and Thurgot; Somerled, instead of the Norwegian Sumarlidi. I have not discriminated between Icelandic and Norwegian spellings of names, nor in all cases between Norwegian and Danish (e.g., Halfdan, for Danish Haldan; Olaf, instead of Danish Anlaf, which appears on coins). I have used Anglo-Saxon forms of Danish names, when their bearers were English-born (e.g., Tostig and Waltheof, for Danish Tosti and Valthiuf). For Scandinavians in Ireland I have generally preferred Norwegian names (e.g., Norwegian Sigtryggr, for Danish Sigtrigg, Sigtriugg, Irish Sitriuc). I do not generally discriminate between Northumbrian and West-Saxon spellings.

I have allowed many unusual or doubtful names to stand as they appear in the original spelling; as, for instance, in some pedigrees. Also in notes I have occasionally followed the various spellings of different writers, when the variations are not entirely equivalent.

Epithets (excepting Irish and Welsh adjectives), whether standing after or before the name, I have translated into English, when that could satisfactorily be done. In other cases, I have given them untranslated, in normal spellings.

In place-names also, I generally use either the modern or an ancient form, notwithstanding considerable variations in the extent of the territory that they denote at different times. These must be understood according to their meaning in the time at which they occur (e.g., Lothian, Strathclyde, Galloway, Argyle, Ulster, Cumbria, Northumbria).

I have retained also a few intermediate forms, on the ground of their familiarity: e.g., John of Fordun (instead of Fordoun); Annals of Innisfallen (instead of Inishfallen); Roger of Hoveden (instead of Howden).

Accents are not regularly used in old texts. I have thought it better to use them as seldom as possible.

I have omitted the nominative case-ending *-r* in Scandinavian personal names; and *-us*, in several Latin names.

In spelling Danish names, I have preferred to use the letter v instead of w, because v had the sound of w in Icelandic and Norwegian also.

In reading early Irish, Welsh, and Scandinavian names, in normal spelling, it should be remembered that certain consonants have two functions. The letters b d g p t c have more or less the same value as in English, when they stand at the beginning of a word. When they do not begin words or syllables, Irish and Welsh p t c (written singly) have the sound of b d g (except p t c after l r s; p after m; and in Welsh, t after n); while b d g are usually spirants, somewhat like β δ γ in modern Greek (except d g after l n r; b after m). In the Scandinavian languages also, d g, when they did not stand at the beginning of a word, were usually spirants (except after l n).

In all these languages, g and c are never sibilant.

There were analogous variations, in Irish and Welsh, in the sounds of l m n r. The spirant sound of m was somewhat like v. Single l was unvoiced, in Irish and Welsh (like modern Welsh *ll-*), at the beginning of words.

Thus the name Tadc is pronounced *Taðg*. F is silent in Derbforgaill; s, in Maccintsacairt.

Scottish Gaelic names begin to be distinguished from Irish names in the twelfth century.

Many errors have resulted from neglecting the values of Irish letters. The adoption of a standard system is necessary. Adhering as closely as possible to early Middle-Irish forms, I have written in some words *nd* where *nn* would have been more correct (as in *cend*, *dond*). Standard spelling is equally necessary in the case of Welsh names; but the sources of information with regard to them are scanty.

TABLES OF THE SUCCESSION OF KINGS

KINGS OF NORTHUMBRIA.

Bernicia.		Northumbria.		Deira.	
		Ida	547-559		
Clappa	? 559 - ? 560			Ælle	559-588
Adda	? 560 - ? 568				
Theodric	? 568 - ? 575				
Frithweald	? 575 - ? 581				
Hussa	? 581 - ? 588				
		Æthelric	588-593		
		Æthelfrith	593-617		
		Edwin	617-633		
Eanfrith	633-634			Osric	633-634
		Oswald	634-642		
Oswiu	642-671			Oswine	642-651
				Æthelweald	651 - ca. 655
				Ealhfrith	- ca. 664
		Ecgfrith	671-685		
		Ealdfrith	685-705		
		Osred	705-716		
		Coenred	716-718		
		Osric	718-729		
		Ceolwulf	729-737		
		Eadbeorht	737-758		
		Oswulf	758-759		
		Æthelweald Moll	759-765		
		Ealhred	765-774		
		Æthelred	774-779		
		Ælfwold	779-789		
		Osred	789-790		
		Æthelred	790-796		
		Osbeald	796		
		Eardwulf	796-806		
		Ælfwold	? 806 - ? 809		
		Eardwulf	? 809 - ? 810		
		Eanred	? 810 - ? 843		
		Æthelred	? 843 - ? 850		
		Osbeorht	? 850 - ? 863		
		Ælle	? 863 - ? 868		

KINGS IN ARGYLE.

Kings of Dalriata.		House.
Loarn, s. Erc.		
Fergus, s. Erc.		
Angus, s. Erc.		
Domangart, s. Fergus	ca. 501 - † ca. 506	
Comgall, s. Domangart	ca. 506 - † ca. 537	
Gabran, s. Domangart	ca. 537 - † ca. 559	
Conall, s. Comgall	ca. 559 - † ca. 574	Cowal.
Aidan, s. Gabran	ca. 574 - † ca. 608	Knapdale.
Eochaid Buide, s. Aidan	? - † ca. 630	Knapdale.
Connad Cerr, s. Conall	† ca. 630	Cowal.
Donald Brecc, s. Eochaid	ca. 630 - † ca. 643	Knapdale.
Ferchar, s. Connad Cerr	? ca. 635 - ? † ca. 651	Cowal.
Conall Crandomna, s. Eochaid	? ca. 651 - † ca. 659	Knapdale.
Duncan, s. Duban	? ca. 651 - ? ca. 659	?
Domangart, s. Donald Brecc	? - † ca. 673	Knapdale.
Maelduin, s. Conall Crandomna	ca. 673 - † ca. 688	Knapdale.
Donald Dond, s. Crandomna	? - † ca. 696	Knapdale.
Ferchar Fota, s. Feradach	ca. 677 - † ca. 697	Lorn.
Eochaid, s. Domangart	ca. 695 - † ca. 697	Knapdale
Ainfcellach, s. Ferchar Fota	ca. 697 - ca. 698	Lorn.
Fiannamail, s. Ossene, s. Duncan	? - † 700	Antrim.
Selbach, s. Ferchar	ca. 701-723	Lorn.
Dungal, s. Selbach	? 723-726	Lorn.
Eochaid, s. Eochaid	726 - † 733	Knapdale.
Eogan, s. Findan	- ? 733	?
Dungal, s. Selbach	733-736	Lorn.
Muiredach, s. Ainfcellach	733 - ? 736	Lorn.
Alpin, s. Eochaid	? 736 - ? 741	Knapdale.
Indrechtach, ? s. Fiannamail	† 741	Antrim.
Eogan, s. Muiredach	? 741-747	Lorn.
Aed Find, s. Eochaid	? 748-† 778	Knapdale.
Fergus, s. Eochaid	? 778-† 781	Knapdale.
Eochaid	? 781	?
Donald, s. Constantine	? 781 - ? 805	Scone.
Dondcorci	? - † 792	? Antrim.
Conall Coem, s. Tadc	? 805 - † 807	? Scone.
Conall, s. Aidan	807 - ? 811	? Knapdale.
Constantine, s. Fergus	? 811 - † 820	Scone.
Angus, s. Fergus	820 - † 834	Scone.
Aed, s. Boanta	? 834 - † 839	? Scone.
Eoganan, s. Angus	? 836 - † 839	Scone.
Alpin, s. Eochaid	? 839 - ? 841	Knapdale.
Kenneth, s. Alpin	? 841 - ? 843	Knapdale.

KINGS OF THE PICTS.

Brude, s. Maelchon	ca. 555 - † 584
Gartnait, s. Domelch	† ? 601
Nechtan, gs. Verb	? 601 - † ? 621
Kenneth, s. Luchtren	? 621 - † 633
Gartnait, s. Foith	633 - † 637
Brude, s. Foith	637 - † 642
Talorc, s. Foith	642 - † 653
Talorcan, s. Eanfrith	653 - † 657
Gartnait, s. Donald	657 - † 663
Drust, br. Gartnait	663-672
Brude, s. Bile	672 - † 693
Tarain, s. Ainftech	693-697
Brude, s. Derile	697 - † 706
Nechtan, s. Derile	706-724
Drust	724-726
Alpin	726-728
Nechtan, s. Derile	728-729
Angus, s. Fergus	729-750
Brude, s. Maelchon (?)	? 750 - † 752
Angus, s. Fergus	752 - † 761
Brude, s. Fergus	761 - † 763
Kenneth, s. Feradach	763 - † 775
Alpin, s. Wroid	? 775 - † 780
Drust, s. Talorcan	? 780
Talorcan, s. Drostan	? 780 - † 782
Talorcan, s. Angus	? 782-784
Conall, s. Tade	? 784-789
Constantine, s. Fergus	789 - † 820
Angus, s. Fergus	? 820 - † 834
Drust, s. Constantine, and Talorcan, s. Wthoil	? 834 - ? 836
Eoganan, s. Angus	? 836 - † 839
Wrad, s. Bargoit	839-842
Bred	842-843

KINGS OF SCOTLAND.

Kenneth, s. Alpin	843 - † 858
Donald, s. Alpin	858 - † 862
Constantine, s. Kenneth	862 - † 877
Aed, s. Kenneth	877 - † 878
Eochaid, s. Run	878-889
Donald, s. Constantine	889 - † 900
Constantine, s. Aed	900 - 943
Malcolm, s. Donald	943 - † 954
Indulf, s. Constantine	954 - † 962
Dub, s. Malcolm	962 - † 966
Culen, s. Indulf	966 - † 971
Kenneth, s. Malcolm	971 - † 995
Constantine, s. Culen	995 - † 997
Kenneth, s. Dub	997 - † 1005

KINGS OF SCOTLAND.

Malcolm II	1005-1034, Nov. 25
Duncan I	1034-1040, Aug. 14
Macbeth	1040-1057, Aug. 15
Lulach	1057-1058, Mar. 17
Malcolm III	1058-1093, Nov. 13
Donald Bán	1093-1094, May
Duncan II	1094, May-Nov. 12
Donald Bán	1094-1097, Oct.
Edgar	1097-1107, Jan. 8
Alexander I	1107-1124, Apr. 23
David I	1124-1153, May 24
Malcolm IV	1153-1165, Dec. 9
William	1165-1214, Dec. 4
Alexander II	1214-1249, July 8
Alexander III	1249-1286, Mar. 19
Margaret	1286-1290, Sep.

KINGS OF ENGLAND.

Cnut	1016-1035
Cnut's sons	1035-1042
Edward Confessor	1042-1066
Harold	1066
William I	1066-1087
William II	1087-1100
Henry I	1100-1135
Stephen	1135-1154
Henry II	1154-1189
Richard I	1189-1199
John	1199-1216
Henry III	1216-1272
Edward I	1272-1307

INTRODUCTION

A. Kings' Reigns, Districts, and Pedigrees

with a collation of the unexpanded Chronicles of the Kings

De Situ Albanie, Skene's Picts and Scots, pp. 135-137

Of the situation of Scotland, which is shaped in the figure of a man; how it was first divided into seven districts; by what name it was formerly called, and by whom inhabited.

I consider it worth while to give to memory how Scotland was first inhabited, and by what inhabitants; and by what names it was called, and into how many parts it was divided.

We read in the histories and chronicles of the ancient Britons, and in the ancient histories and annals of the Scots and Picts, that the district that is now corruptly called Scotia was of old called Albania, after Albanectus, the younger son of Brutus, the first king of the Britons of Greater Britain; and after a long interval of time it was called Pictavia, from the Picts, who reigned in it for a period of 1070 years (according to others, 1360); and now it is corruptly called Scotia.[1]

And the Scots have reigned [there] for a period of 315 years, in the year in which king William the Ruddy, brother of

[1] Bede gives a legendary account of the settlement of the Picts in Scotland (Historia Ecclesiastica, I, 1; cf. below, p. 252). He says that the Pictish nation put to sea from Scythia, in a few long ships; and were driven by the wind beyond Britain, to the north of Ireland. The Irish Scots refused them settlement, but sent them to Britain, and promised them assistance, if they should be opposed. The Picts went to the northern part of Britain, since the Britons possessed the southern. And because the Picts had no wives, the Irish Scots gave them these, on condition that Pictish kings should inherit the throne through their mothers: a custom that prevailed in Bede's time (A.D. 731). Cf. the verses in the Irish Nennius, in Skene's P. & S., 39-40. See below, p. 252.

Malcolm, that man of honourable life and virtue, has received the kingdom.[1]

This district bears the form and figure of a man. Its chief part, that is to say, the head, is in Argyle, in the western part of Scotland, above the Irish Sea; and its feet are upon the sea of Norway. And the mountains and deserts of Argyle resemble the head and neck of a man. And his body is the mountain [range] that is called Mound, which extends from the western sea to the eastern sea; and his arms are the mountains that divide Scotland from Argyle. The right side extends along Moray, and Ross, and Mar, and Buchan; his legs are the two principal and notable rivers which descend from the mountains named above, that is, the Mound, and which are called the Tay and the Spey: one of them flows to this side of the mountain, and the other beyond it, into the Norwegian sea. Between this man's legs are Angus and Mearns, to this side of the mountain; and beyond the mountain other lands, between Spey and the mountain.

Now this land was divided anciently by seven brothers into seven parts. Of these the principal is Angus with Mearns, so named after Oengus, the eldest of the brothers. And the second part is Athole and Gowrie. The third part is Strathearn with Monteith. The fourth of the parts is Fife, with Fothreff; and the fifth part is Mar, with Buchan. The sixth is Moray and Ross. The seventh part is Caithness, to this side of the mountain, and beyond the mountain; because the mountain of Mound divides Caithness through the middle.

Each of these parts, then, was called a district[2]; and rightly, because each of them had in it a subordinate district.[3] For this reason were these seven brothers aforesaid regarded as seven

[1] William the Lion became king in 1165.

[2] *regio*, used in the sense of Irish *rige*.

[3] *subregionem*. There is little doubt that these words ("district" and "subordinate district") are used in the sense of "kingdom" and "subordinate state" or "duchy," districts ruled over respectively by a king and a duke (*toisech* or *dux*). These two rulers (king and *toisech* or duke) were required to complete the native idea of a kingdom. The *toisech* was very often preferred to take the risks of war; when he was successful, he became a dangerous rival of the king; when he was unsuccessful, the king's position was shaken.

kings, because they had beneath them seven under-kings. These seven brothers divided the kingdom of Scotland into seven kingdoms,[1] and each of them in his time reigned in his kingdom.[2]

As a trustworthy narrator has told me — Andrew, a

[1] *regnum Albanie in septem regna.*

[2] *in suo regno.*

A different (and older) account appears in the Chronicle of the Picts, version A, in Skene's P. & S., 4: "Cruidne, Cinge's son, the father of the Picts that dwell in this island, reigned for a hundred years. He had seven sons. These are their names: Fib, Fidach, Floclaid, Fortrend, Got, Ce, Circinn.

"Circin reigned for 60 years, Fidaich for 40, Fortrend for 70, Floclaid for 30, Got for 12, Ce for 15, Fibaid for 24."

In the additions to the Irish Nennius in the Book of Ballymote, the Book of Lecan, and the Trinity College (Dublin) MS. H 2.17, the legend stands thus (Skene's P. & S., 24-25): "*Of the origin of the Picts.*

"Cruithne, son of Cinge, son of Luchtai, son of Parthalan, son of Agnoinn, son of Buain, son of Mais, son of Fathecht, son of Jafeth, son of Noah. [For Parthalan, cf. P.R.I.A., xxviii, C, 6 (1910), 125-127, 145-146.]

"[Cruithne] was the father of the Picts, and he had 100 years in the kingdom. The seven sons of Cruithne here: Fib, Fidach, Fotla, Fortrend of battles [*cathach*], Cait, Ce, Cirig. And they divided the land into seven divisions, as Columcille said: 'Cruithne's seven children divided Scotland into seven parts: Cait, Ce, Cirig (a warlike family); Fib, Fidach, Fotla, Fortrend.'" (For *cethach* in the parenthesis reading *cathach* "warlike." The parenthesis is a cheville, but is connected by alliteration with the sons previously named. The third and fourth lines of the stanza are completely alliterative.) "And the name of each of them remains upon his land, e.g., Fib, and Ce, and Cait, and the rest. . . .

"Fib was 24 years in the kingdom; Fidach, 40 years; Fortrend, 70; Cait, 22 years; Ce, 12 years; Cirig, 80 years. . . ."

Cf. also the Chronicle of the Picts, version C; Skene's P. & S., 396: "Cruithne, Cinge's son, father of the Picts that dwell in this island, reigned for 100 years. He had seven sons. These are their names: Fib, Fidach, Foltlaig, Fortrend, Caitt, Ce, Circing.

"Circing reigned for 60 years. Fidach reigned for 40 years. Fortrend reigned for 40 years. Foltlaid reigned for 30 years. Gatt reigned for 12 years. Ce reigned for 12 years. Fidbaiid reigned for 24 years. . . ."

Cruithne and his sons were invented as eponymous rulers of the kingdom and its districts. The legend is evidence only of the early divisions of Scotland, and their names.

See the verses in the Irish Nennius, in Skene's P. & S., 41-44. It is there said (43) that after the Picts left Ireland, "from [Islay] they seized Scotland, high and clear, [a land] which nourishes fruits, without loss of their people; with its dwellings, from the territory of Cath to Foirciu" (read *Foirtriu?*).

venerable man, bishop of Caithness; by nation a Scot, and a monk of Dunfermline—the first kingdom [extended] from the excellent piece of water, called in Scottish the *Froch*, in British the *Werid*, and in Roman *Scottewattre*, that is, *Aqua Scottorum*[1] (which divides the kingdoms of Scots and of English, and runs near the town of Stirling); as far as to another noble river, called the Tay.

The second kingdom [extended] from the Tay to the *Hilef*,[2] encircling [the first] like the sea, as far as the mountain that is called *Athran*,[3] in the northern part of Stirling. The third kingdom [extended] from the *Hilef* to the Dee. The fourth kingdom [extended] from the Dee to the great and wonderful river that is called the Spey, the greatest and best [river] in all Scotland.

The fifth kingdom [extended] from the Spey to the mountain of Druimm-nAlban.

The sixth kingdom was Moray and Ross.

The seventh kingdom was Argyle.

The name Argyle means the shore of the Scots or the Irish, because all Irish and Scots generally are called Gaels, from one of their primeval leaders, Gaidel Glass. And the Irish used always to land there, to do injury to the Britons. Or for this reason, because the Scots [and] Picts first dwelt there after their return from Ireland; or because the Irish occupied these parts in opposition to the Picts; or because of what is more certain, that that part of the district of Scotland is nearest to the land of Ireland.

Fergus, Erc's son, was the first of the descendants of Conaire to receive the kingdom of Scotland; that is, from the mountain of Druimm-nAlban[4] to the Irish Sea and the Hebrides. Thereafter, kings of the line of Fergus reigned in Druimm-nAlban or Druimm-nErenn[5] till the time of Alpin, Eochaid's[6] son. Kenneth

[1] I.e., the Forth.

[2] According to Skene, the river Isla or the Liff, Perthshire; apparently modern Glen Isla, according to Professor W. J. Watson, Celtic Review, 1912, p. 383.

[3] According to Skene, Airthrey, near Stirling.

[4] *a monte Brunalban usque ad mare Hibernie et ad Inchegall.*

[5] *in Brunalban siue Brunhere.* Read *Drumalban* and *Drumheren?*

[6] *Eochal.*

this Alpin's son, the first king of the Scots, reigned prosperously in Pictland for sixteen years.[1]

Chronicle of the Kings of the Picts, version A ; Skene's Picts and Scots, pp. 6-8[2]

Talorc, Achivir's son, reigned for seventy-five years.[3]

Drust, Erp's son, reigned for a hundred years, and fought a hundred battles. In the nineteenth year of his reign, the holy bishop Patrick came to the island of Ireland.[4]

Talorc, Aniel's son, reigned for four years.[5]

[1] 843-858.

[2] The previous part of this list of Pictish kings contains certainly fictitious matter, but is not necessarily all fictitious.

In these chronicles, the number of a king's last year on the throne is often given as the number of years in his reign.

The spelling of names varies, and is often corrupt. I give in notes variations in the printed texts, except in cases where they lead to no uncertainty.

Versions B and C agree generally with A, and still more closely with one another ; versions DFIK represent a somewhat different original, and generally agree among themselves. ABC frequently present names in a Welsh form, when DFIK give them in forms derived from the Irish spelling.

[3] *Talore*, A ; *Talorc*, B ; *Tolorc*, C ; *Balarg*, D ; *Talarg*, FK ; *Talargh*, I ; *Thalarger*, Fordun.

filius Achivir, A ; *mac Achiuir*, B ; *mac Aithiuir*, C ; *filius Keothere*, D ; *filius Keother*, F and Fordun ; *filius Keocher*, I ; *le fitz Kecter*, K.

75 years, ABC ; 25 years, DFIK and Fordun.

[4] Similarly in versions B and C. Down to "battles," also in DFK ; down to "years," also in I.

"Reigned" ABC [IK] ; "lived" DF and Fordun.

"Fought" (*peregit*) ; "gained" K.

"Erp's" ABC ; *Ws*, D ; *Irb*, FK ; *Yrb*, I.

Patrick went to Ireland in 432. If 432 was Drust's 19th year, he would have become king in 414 or 413.

Fordun's version of the Chronicle of the Picts reads (Chronica, IV, 10 ; i, 153) : "To [Talorc succeeded] Drust (he was otherwise called Nechtan, Irb's son), for 45 years. He (it is asserted) lived for a hundred years, and fought a hundred battles. While he reigned, St Palladius, the first bishop of the Scots, was sent by the blessed pope Celestius, to teach the Scots, though they believed in Christ long before" (Fordun confuses Irish with British Scots).

[5] "Talorc" BCDFIK ; *Talore*, A, wrongly. *Thalarger*, Fordun.

"Aniel's" AC ; *Ainel*, B ; *Anuf*, D ; *Amile*, F ; *Anul*, I ; *Amil*, K ; *Anile*, Fordun.

4 years, ABC ; 2 years, DFIK and Fordun.

Nechtan Morbet, Erip's son, reigned for twenty-four years.[1]

In the third year of his reign, Dairlugdach, abbess of Kildare, came from Ireland to Britain, in exile for Christ. In the second year of her arrival, Nectonius offered up Abernethy to God and to St Bridget, in presence of Dairlugdach, who sang Alleluia over this offering.[2]

[1] "Nechtan": *Necton*, A; *Nectan*, BCI; *Nethan*, D; *Netthan*, F; *Nectane*, K and Fordun.

Morbet, A; *mor-brec*, B; *mor breac*, C; *chelemot*, D; *thelchamoth*, F; *celchamoch*, I; *Celtaniech*, K; *Chaltamoth*, Fordun. B and C have substituted Irish forms for the word in their exemplar.

"Erip's" AB; *Eirip*, C; omitted, DFIK.

24 years, AB; 34 years, C; 10 years, DFIK.

[2] This paragraph stands also in B and C. After "offered up," B adds "in one year." Instead of "second year of," C reads "next year after" (Skene). This paragraph, with the next two, is an insertion in the original chronicle. In this insertion Nechtan's name is spelt *Nectonius* in all three versions (ABC).

The monastery of Kildare was founded by Bridget, who was abbess there till she died about the year 524 (see below, p. 17). The mention here of a later abbess is an anachronism.

The Aberdeen Breviary (i, 8, xxii, December 23rd) says that Domath, king of the Picts, while fighting against the Britons, was warned divinely to call Bridget from Ireland. She founded the church at Abernethy, and the king and all his household were baptized.

The Life of Buitte says that Nechtan reigned over the Picts when Buitte returned from Italy to Ireland. Buitte sailed from Germania to the land of the Picts, and finding that Nechtan had just died resuscitated him. Plummer's Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae, i, 88-89 (and Skene's Picts and Scots, pp. 410-411): "[Buitte and his companions] coming to the sea took ship, and after a prosperous voyage landed in the territories of the Picts.

"*How he raised king Nectan from death.*

"It happened at that time that Nechtan, the king of that land, had gone the way of all flesh. They also were invited to his exequies to watch over the dead king and pray to the Lord for him. And when they came to the house where the dead body lay, the man of God, Buitte, shut out the others and began to pray. When the prayer was finished, behold, the dead man rose again from the jaws of death. All were amazed; grief was turned into joy; and God was glorified in his saint.

"Finally the king gave the castle in which the miracle had been done with all that pertained to it to the blessed Buitte; and [Buitte] consecrated it as a church, and left one of his companions to keep it."

This is surmised by Skene to have been a legend of the foundation of a church at Kirkbuddo (which he says means "Buitte's church"; but it is more probably a corruption of Carbuddo), near Dunnichen (which may

So Nectonius the Great, Wirp's[1] son, the king of all the provinces of the Picts, offered to St Bridget, to the day of judgement, Abernethy, with its territories, which are situated from the stone in Apurfeirt to the stone beside Ceirfuill, that is, Lethfoss, and thence upwards to Athan.

Now the cause of the offering was this. Nectonius, . . .[2] when his brother Drust expelled him to Ireland, begged St Bridget to beseech God for him. And she prayed for him, and said: "If thou reach thy country, the Lord will have pity upon thee. Thou shalt possess in peace the kingdom of the Picts."

Drust Gurthinmoch reigned for thirty years.[3]

mean "Nechtan's castle"). Buitte died in the year of Columba's birth; see year 521. This story implies that Forfarshire had become Christian some time before that date. We may compare with this the story that Palladius founded a church at Fordoun in 432.

Whether Buitte ever was in Strathmore or not, this story, taken with that of Palladius, suggests that one route of the Irish between the north of Ireland and the continent passed through Strathmore. During the 5th and 6th centuries they would have preferred to go through Pictish territory rather than through the land in which Britons and Saxons were at war. If any part of Pictish territory had respect for Christianity, they would naturally have gone through that part.

Ninian had introduced Christianity into Galloway in Roman times, and also apparently into Strathmore, which seems to have been the country of the "southern Picts" converted by him. Though not incorporated in the Roman empire, Strathmore had doubtless been considerably affected by Roman influence.

Perhaps ships were to be had at Stonehaven. Perhaps the causes that kept Saxons from settling there made the passage from that district more secure.

[1] *Wirp* appears to be a later form than the *Erip* or *Erp* of the original chronicle. It seems also to show that the writer of the insertion spoke a Welsh, not a Gaelic, language. The insertion was written at Abernethy; it suggests that a Welsh language was spoken in Abernethy at the time when version A was written—the end of the tenth century. But the equation *Erp* > *Wirp* assumes that the *E* of *Erp* was long; and that is very doubtful, seeing that *Erp* was in Welsh speech the equivalent of *Erc* in Irish.

[2] *in vita julie m[a]nens.* The text is corrupt. (Cf. Skene, P. & S., p. xix, note; and his facsimile of A.)

[3] *Drest Gurthinmoch*, A; *Drest Gurthimoth*, B; *Dartguitiimoth*, C; *Durst Gernot*, F; *Drust Gocineht*, I; *Drust Gortinoch*, K; *Durst Gornoth*, Fordun.

The name "Drust" occurs (in Skene's texts) as *Drest* 10 times in A, 9 times in B, 4 times in C (there also as *Drerst* and *Derst*). It is spelt

Galan Erilich reigned for twelve years.[1]

Two Drusts reigned together; Drust, Girom's son, for one year, and Drust, Wdrost's son, for five.[2]

Drust, Girom's son, reigned alone for five years.[3]

Gartnait, Girom's son, reigned for seven years.[4]

Cailtram, Girom's son, reigned for one year.[5]

Drust in the prefixed part of ABC; in B; so read for *Drusc* in C; 5 times in D; 6 times in F; 9 times in I; 10 times in K. It is spelt *Durst* 3 times in D, 2 times in F; *Drost*, once in C. *Drest* seems to be an earlier form of *Drust*.

For *Gurthinmoch* cf. Stokes, Philological Society, 1890, p. 395: "boch = Welsh *bôch*, Latin *bucca*"; and ibid., p. 406: "The *gurth* may be = Welsh *gwrdd* 'fortis, robustus, strenuus,' and the *inmoch* may be = Cornish *envoch* (gl. facies), the Irish scribe writing (infected) *m* for *v*, as in *Catmolodor* and *Simal*."

30 years, ABCFIK and Fordun; omitted, D.

Counting the regnal years backwards from Brude († 584), we find that Drust's death should have occurred a few years before the year 500.

[1] *Galanan Erilich*, A; *Galan Arilith*, B; *Galamarbith*, C; *Gulam*, F; *Galany*, I; *Galan*, K; *Galaam*, Fordun.

12 years in A and 25 years in F are probably textual errors; 15 years, in BCIK and Fordun. Omitted, D.

[2] "Girom's": *Gyrom*, *Girom*, A; *Giron*, *Girom*, B; *Girum*, *Girom*, C; *Gurum*, *Gigurum*, D; *Gigurum*, F, Fordun; *Gygurn*, I; *Gigurnus*, K.

"Wdrost's": *Wdrost*, A; *Budros*, BC; *Hudrossig*, D; *Hudresseg*, F; *Hudrosig*, I; *Hidrofigus*, K; *Othtred*, Fordun. Perhaps in the source of ABC a final syllable was contracted by suspension.

1 year, 5 years, A: in text *id est* (facsimile *i.*); read *uno*. B and C read: "Two Drusts . . . reigned for 15 years." DF and Fordun give Girom's son a reign of 5 years; I, of 6 years; K, of 50 years. DFIK and Fordun give Wdrost's son a reign of 8 years.

[3] 5 years, ABC; 4 years, DK and Fordun; omitted, FI.

[4] 7 years, ABC; 6 years, DFIK and Fordun.

This name occurs 20 times in versions ABC. In Skene's texts, it is spelt *Gartnait* once in A, 7 times in B, 5 times in C; and no two of the remaining seven spellings are alike. The form *Gartnait* does not occur in versions DFIK. The spellings *Garnard*, occurring in Fordun, once in A, twice in F, and once in K; *Garnart*, *Gartnart*, in A, *Gartnairt* in C, *Gernerd* in F, *Garnarde* twice in K, seem to indicate the existence of a variant form of the name. Other forms, derived from *Gartnait*, are *Gartnaith*, *Gartnaich*, *Garthnach*, in A; *Gernath*, in D; *Garnath*, twice in F; *Gercnath*, *Garnach*, in I.

[5] *Cailtram*, A; *Cailtarni*, B; *Cailtaine*, C; *Kelturan*, DI, Fordun; *Kelhiran*, F; *Kyburcan*, K. For "Girom's son" DFIK read "his [Gartnait's] brother."

1 year, ABC; 6 years, DFIK and Fordun.

Talorc, Muircholach's son, reigned for eleven years.[1]

Drust, Munait's son, reigned for one year.[2]

Galam Cennaleph reigned for one year,[3] and with Brude one year.[4]

Brude, Maelchon's son, reigned for thirty years.[5] In the eighth year of his reign he was baptized by St Columba.[6]

[1] *Muircholach*, A ; *Murtholoic*, B ; *Murtolic*, C ; *Mordeleg*, D ; *Madoleg*, F ; *Tauxdelog*, I ; *Mendeleghe*, K ; *Mordeleth*, Fordun.
11 years, ABCDFIK and Fordun.

[2] *Munait*, A ; *Munaith*, B ; *Manaith*, C ; *Moneth*, DF, Fordun ; *Monehet*, I ; *Menech*, K.
1 year, ABCDFIK and Fordun.

[3] *Galam Cennaleph*, AB ; *Galum Cenamlapeh*, C. *Talalad*, D ; *Tagaled*, F ; *Tagalad*, I ; *Talagach*, K ; *Thalaguth*, Fordun.
1 year, A ; 4 years, BCDFI and Fordun ; 3 years, K. C places this reign between those of Drust and Gartnait, Girom's sons.

[4] "With Brude 1 year" ABC ; omitted, DFIK and Fordun. Perhaps this was the Cennalath who died in Brude's reign ; see year 580.

[5] In the chronicle of the Brudes, prefixed to A (Skene's facsimile), this name is twice spelled in full, *Brude* ; once, *Brute*. In Skene's text of the same part of C, *Bruide* appears 6 times, *Bruige* 3 times, and *Bruigi* 23 times.

In this (the original) part of A, the name occurs in the form *Bredei* 3 times ; also in the forms *Breidei*, *Bridei*, and (in the ablative) *Briduo*. In Skene's texts, the spelling *Brude* occurs once in B, twice in D, 7 times in F, 9 or 10 times in I, 3 or 4 times in K. Forms allied to those in A occur in BCK. Fordun uses the forms *Brud*, *Brude*, *Brudeus*.

Forms of the type of *Bredei* are difficult to account for. Adamnan's *Brudeus* and Bede's *Bridius* forbid the equation **Brede* > *Bruide*.

"Maelchon's" : *Mailcon*, A ; *Melcon*, B ; *Maelcon*, C ; *Methon*, D ; *Melcho*, F ; *Melcon*, *Malcon*, I. *Drust fitz Methor*, K. *Merlothon*, Fordun (*Meilothon*, in insertion from Bede). This may have been the same person as *Mailcun* of the Annales Cambriae, *Maglocunus* of Gildas ; the king of North Wales who died in 547.

30 years, ABCDFI ; 25 years, K ; 19 years, Fordun.

See years 554, 559, 584.

[6] So in AB ; so read in C. (This is derived from Bede ; see below, p. 20.)

DF read : "St Columba converted him to the faith" (" . . . came to Scotland, and . . . " in Fordun, who cites also Bede here directly). I reads : "St Columba converted him," with additions quoted below at years 563, 597, and 603. K has here a still later addition (P. & S., 200-201), which declares that the Scots were converted only once.

Gartnait, Domelch's son, reigned for eleven years.[1]
Nechtan, Verb's grandson, reigned for twenty years.[2]
Kenneth, Luchtren's son, reigned for nineteen years.[3]
Gartnait, Foith's son, reigned for four years.[4]
Brude, Foith's son, reigned for five years.[5]
Talorc, their brother, reigned for twelve years.[6]
Talorcan, Eanfrith's son, reigned for four years.[7]
Gartnait, Donald's son, reigned for six years and a half.[8]

[1] *Domelch*, A ; *Domech*, B ; *Domnach*, C ; *Dormath*, D ; *Dompneth*, F ; *Donath*, I ; *Dompnach*, K, Fordun.

11 years, ABC ; 20 years, DFI and Fordun ; 30 years, K.

See year ?601. For additions in DK and Fordun, see year ?601, note.

[2] *Nectu nepos Uerd*, A ; *Nectan nepos Uerb*, B ; *Neachtan nepo[s] Uerp*, C ; *Netthad filius Irb*, F ; *Nactan filius Yrb*, I ; *Nectane filius Irb*, Fordun.

20 years, ABC ; 21 years, FI ; omitted, DK ; 11 years, Fordun.

See year ?621, note. For additions in F, see year ?601, note.

[3] *Cinioch filius Lutrin*, A ; *Ciniath filius Lutrin*, B ; *Cinhoint filius Luitriu*, C ; *Kynel filius Luthren*, D ; *Kinet filius Luthren*, F ; *Kynel filius Luchrem*, I ; *Kenech fitz Sugthen*, K ; *Kenel filius Luchtren*, Fordun.

19 years, ABC ; 24 years, DK ; 14 years, FI and Fordun.

See year 633.

[4] Instead of "Gartnait," DFIK and Fordun read "Nechtan, Foith's son."

"Foith's": *Wid*, A ; *Uuid*, BC ; *Fide*, D ; *Fotle*, F ; *Fochle*, I ; *Fode*, K, Fordun. D spells Nechtan here *Nethan*.

4 years, A ; 5 years, BCF ; 8 years, DIK and Fordun.

See year 637.

[5] "Foith's": *Wid*, A ; *Fruth*, D ; *Fathe*, FK ; *Fochle*, I ; *Fachna*, Fordun.

5 years, ADFIK and Fordun. BC in error omit this reign.

See year 642.

[6] "Their brother" ABC ; "son of Fethar" DFI (*Fethar*, D ; *Fetebar*, F ; *Fecharus*, I ; *Farchar*, Fordun). K has instead of Brude "Drust, his brother," with the years of Drust, Gartnait's brother (below), omitting the reigns between.

12 years, ABC ; 11 years, DFI, Fordun.

See year 653.

[7] "Eanfrith's": *Enfret*, AC ; *Enfreth*, B ; *Amfrud*, D and Fordun ; *Confrud*, F ; *Anfrud*, I. This name seems to be the Anglo-Saxon *Eanfrith* ; its bearer was almost certainly Eanfrith, king Æthelfrith's son.

4 years, ABCFI and Fordun ; omitted, K.

See year 657.

[8] "Donald's" (Irish annals): *Donnel*, A ; *Donuel*, BC ; *Dunal*, D ; *Donnall*, F (omitting *filius*) ; *Domnal*, I ; *Dompnal*, Fordun. (The forms in ABCDF look more like Dungal than Donald.)

6½ years, ABC ; 5 years, DF and Fordun ; 6 years, I ; omitted, K.

See year 663.

Drust, his brother, reigned for seven years.[1]
Brude, Bile's son, reigned for twenty-one years.[2]
Tarain, Ainftech's son, reigned for four years.[3]
Brude, Derile's son, reigned for eleven years.[4]
Nechtan, Derile's son, reigned for fifteen years.[5]
Drust and Alpin reigned together for five years.[6]
Angus, Fergus' son, reigned for thirty years.[7]

[1] 7 years, ABC ; 6 years, DFIK and Fordun.

See year 672.

[2] "Bile's": *Bili*, A ; *File*, B ; *Fle*, C ; *Bile*, DFI and Fordun ; *Hole*, K.

21 years, ABFI ; 20 years, CDK ; 11 years, Fordun.

See year 693. For additions in DFK, see year 693, note. The variations between version A and later versions, from this reign onwards, were tabulated by Skene in his Picts and Scots, pp. cxxiii-cxxiv. (Cf. his account of them, ibid., cxxv-cxxvi.)

[3] "Tarain": *Taran*, ABCDI ; *Turan*, F ; *Tharan*, K ; *Gharan*, Fordun.

"Ainftech's" (year 693): *Entifidich*, A ; *Enfidaig*, B ; *Enfidaid*, C (to be read as B) ; *Amfredeth*, D (attracted to *Amfrud*, above) ; *Amsedeth*, F ; *Anfudeg*, I ; *Amfodech*, K ; *Amfedech*, Fordun.

4 years, ABCK and Fordun ; 14 years, DFI.

See years 693, 697, 699.

[4] "Derile's son," ABC ; *filius Dergard*, D, *fitz Dergert*, K, i.e. "son of Dargairt" ; *filius Decili*, FI and Fordun.

11 years, ABC ; 31 years, DFIK ; 21 years, Fordun.

See year 706.

[5] "Nechtan," ABCI (spelt in A *Necthon*) ; *Ferthen*, F, *Jactan*, K, erroneously.

"Derile's son" ABC ; "his [Brude's] brother" DFI and Fordun ; "Brude's brother" K. D puts Nechtan's reign before Brude's, as if Nechtan had been Tarain's brother.

15 years, A ; 10 years, BC ; 18 years, DFIK and Fordun, correctly.

See year 724 ; also the note below.

[6] *Congregaverunt*, A ; *Conregnaverunt*, B ; *eonneganaveint*, C. D reads here instead: "Gartnait, Ferath's son, reigned for 24 years" ; similarly also in FIK. (*Ferath*, DF ; *Ferach*, I ; *Feradhegh*, K ; *Feredach*, Fordun.) Cf. the reign of Kenneth, Feradach's son, below, omitted by versions DFIK.

Fordun: "To this Nechtan succeeded Gartnait, Feradach's son ; and he reigned for 14 years."

See years 724, 726, 728.

[7] These Irish names occur in peculiar forms, such as for "Angus" (Irish *Oengus*): *Onnist*, A ; *Unuist*, AB ; *Onuis*, *Uidnuist*, B ; *Onust*, *Uidnust*, C ; *Hungus*, DIK and Fordun ; *Tenegus*, etc., FK and Fordun; *Onegussa*, DF ; *Oengusa*, *Oengus*, *Engus*, I ; *Oengussa*, Fordun.

"Fergus'": *Ur-*, *Wir-*, *Wrgust*, A ; *Ur-*, *Uurguist*, B ; *Ur-*, *Uurgust*,

Brude, Fergus' son, reigned for two years.[1]
Kenneth, Feradach's son, reigned for twelve years.[2]

C ; *Fergusa*, FK and Fordun (the Irish form) ; *Fergus*, I (as nominative in DK, correctly). *Fergusagin* in K is perhaps for Fergusan.

The forms in ABC are probably of a primitive Welsh type (unless the early Welsh forms were originally derived from Pictish), and seem to show that the original of these versions of the chronicle was composed in, or transmitted through, a district whose language was allied to Welsh ; that is to say, in a district where Pictish or Strathclyde Welsh was spoken. It is to be observed that Irish forms predominate in DFIK, and that the usual spelling of the name Nechtan is Irish in all the versions.

30 years, ABC ; 16 years, FIK and Fordun ; omitted, D.

The annals imply that Angus reigned from 729 to 761, with an interruption from 750 to 752 (see those years, below).

Versions FIK and Fordun place after Angus's reign the reign of "Nechtan, Derile's son, for 9 months." (*Decili*, F ; *Derili*, I ; *Fergaleg*, K, *Dereli*, Fordun. Nechtan is spelt *Netthan* in F ; read *Necthan?*) Nechtan reigned before Angus, from 728 to 729 ; see those years, below.

Here DFIK diverge from ABC. They place the following reigns before that of Brude :

D	F	I	K	Fordun
Angus, son of Brude, reigned 6 months.		Angus, son of Brude, 6 months.	Fergus, son of Brude, 1 month [*vn;* read *vi?*]	Angus, son of Brude, 6 months.
Alpin, son of Feret.	Alpin, son of Feret, 6 months.	Alpin, son of Angus, 8 years.	Alpin, son of Feradach, 6 months at one time ; he was expelled, but afterwards reigned 30 years.	Alpin, son of Feredeth, likewise 6 months. After him, the same Alpin reigned again for 26 years.
		Angus, son of Fergus, 10 years.		
	Angus, son of Brude, 6 months. The same again reigned 36 years.	Angus, son of Brude, again, 36 years.		

Corrupt and discordant as these accounts are, they contain evidence of rival claims laid to the kingdom by the rulers of its parts.

[1] "Fergus' son" ABC ; "Angus' son" DFIK and Fordun, wrongly. Brude, Angus' son, had died during his father's reign ; see year 736.

2 years, AIK and Fordun ; 15 years, BC ; 8 years, DF.

See year 763.

[2] "Feradach's" : *Wredech*, A ; *Uuredeg*, B ; *Iuuredeg*, C.

12 years, AB ; 15 years, C ; omitted, DFIK and Fordun. Cf. the

Alpin, Wroid's son, reigned for three years and a half.[1]
Drust, Talorcan's son, reigned four or five years.[2]
Talorcan, Angus' son, reigned two years and a half.[3]
Conall, Tadc's son, reigned for five years.[4]
Constantine, Fergus' son, reigned for thirty-five years.[5]
Angus, Fergus' son, reigned for twelve years.[6]
Drust, Constantine's son, and Talorcan, Wthoil's son, reigned together for three years.[7]

"Gartnait, Ferath's son" to whom DFIK give a reign of 24 years, after the first reign of Nechtan, Derile's son.

See year 775.

[1] "Wroid's son" ABC; "Angus's son" IK and Fordun, this being in I a repetition of the reign entered before. Cf. the Alpin of DFK and Fordun in the table above.

Wroid, A; *Uuroid*, B; *Uuoid*, C; (cf. C's *Uugut* for Fergus, Brude's father, where B has *Uurgut*, and A *Wirguist*;) and above, *Feret*, DF; *Eferadheche*, K. *Wroid*, *Feret*, and *Ferath*, appear to be different forms of one name, which K thought to be the same as the Irish *Feradach*. Cf. "Wrad," below.

$3\frac{1}{2}$ years, A; $6\frac{1}{2}$ years, B; 8 years, I; 2 years, K and Fordun. C reads "3 years and half the reign"; Todd and Skene would read *anni* for *regni* (i.e. $3\frac{1}{2}$ years); this is probably the true reading.

See year 780.

[2] 4 or 5 years, A; 1 year, BCDFIK and Fordun.

The text of A is to be corrected by the reading of B: "Drust, Talorcan's son, reigned one year.

"Talorcan, Drostan's son, reigned four or five years."

4 or 5 years, B; "or 15" C (omitting the first number); 4 years, DFIK and Fordun.

See year 782, note.

[3] $2\frac{1}{2}$ years, A; $12\frac{1}{2}$ years, BC; 5 years, DFIK and Fordun.

See year 782, note.

[4] *Canaul filius Tarl'a*, A; *Canaul filius Tang.*, C.

5 years, ABC; omitted, DFIK and Fordun.

See years 789, 807.

[5] 35 years, ABC; 45 years, D; 42 years, FI; 40 years, K and Fordun. Read 32 years.

See years 789, 820.

For additions in DFIK and Fordun see year 820, note.

[6] 12 years, ABC; 9 years, D; 10 years, FIK and Fordun.

See year 834. For additions in DFI and Fordun, see year 834, note.

[7] "Drust, Constantine's son" ABC.

"Talorcan" A; "Talorc" BC.

Wthoil, A; *Uuthoil*, BC.

3 years, ABC.

DFIK and Fordun run the two kings into one, who is construed in D

Ewen, Angus' son, reigned for three years.[1]
Wrad, Bargoit's son, reigned for three years,[2] and
Bred for one year.[3]

and Fordun with a singular verb. DFIK: "Drust-talorc [reigned (D)] for 4 years." To the same effect in Fordun. (*Dostolorg*, D; *Drustalorg*, F; *Dustalorg*, I; *Durstolorger*, Fordun; *Duf Tolorg*, K, i.e. "Dubthalorc.")

The period of their reign appears to have been from 834 to 836 or 837.

[1] "Ewen": *Uven*, A; *Unen*, B; *Uuen*, C; *Eogana*, D; *Coganan*, F; *Doganan*, I; *Egganus*, K; *Eoghane*, Fordun.

3 years, ABCDFIK and Fordun. Ewen's reign would thus have been from about 836 or 837 to 839 (q.v.), when he died.

[2] *Wrad*, A; *Uurad*, B; *Urad*, C; *Fergus*, D; *Ferat*, F; *Ferach*, I (read *Ferath*); *Feradagus*, K; *Feredeth*, Fordun.

Bargoit, ABC; *Barot*, D; *Batot*, F; *Bacoc*, I; *Badoghe*, K; *Badoc*, Fordun.

3 years, ABCDFIK and Fordun. This would place his reign from about 839 to 842.

[3] "And" ABC; omitted, DFIK.

Bred, AB; *Brod*, C; *Brud*, D; *Brunde*, F; *Brude*, IK and Fordun.

DFIK add "Wrad's son" (*Ferant*, D; *Ferat*, F; *Ferech*, I; *Feradhach*, K; *Feredeth*, Fordun).

1 year, ABCI; 1 month, DFK and Fordun. This reign may have been about 842-843.

Here the list of Pictish kings ends in versions ABC. But DFIK and Fordun continue it, still in close agreement with one another.

D reads (P. & S., 150-151): "Kenneth, Wrad's son, reigned for one year.

"Brude, Wthoil's son, reigned for two years.

"Drust, Wrad's son, reigned for three years. He was slain at Forteviot, some say at Scone, by the Scots."

F omits "by the Scots"; IK and Fordun omit the last sentence, and K reads instead: "He was the last king of the Picts, and was killed at Scone by treachery." Fordun reads in place of this: "Also in this king, Drostan [*Drusken*], the power of the Picts to reign came to an end [*regnandi defecit potestas*], and the kingdom was altogether transferred from them to the king of the Scots, Kenneth, and his successors; and the kingdom of the Scots became thenceforward one. Thanks be to God."

"Wrad's," both times, is spelt in all versions as before (in Skene's texts).

"Wthoil's": *Fodel*, D; *Fetal*, F; *Fokel*, I; *Fochel*, K.

1, 2, 3, years, DFIK.

Most likely these three were kings of some Pictish district. Probably Kenneth did not at once obtain dominion over all the Picts. (Cf. the Huntingdon Chronicle, year 843, note.) With the treachery involved in the death of Drust, Wrad's son, cf. the treachery described by Giraldus Cambrensis; year 843, note.

Chronicle of the Kings of Dalriata, version E; in Skene's Picts and Scots, pp. 130-131[1]

Chronicles of the kings of the Scots for three hundred and four years.[2]

Fergus, Erc's son,[3] was the first of Conaire's race to receive the kingdom of Scotland; that is, from the mountain of Druimm-nAlban[4] as far as to the sea of Ireland, and to the Hebrides.[5]

He reigned for three years.[6]

Domangart, his son, reigned for five years.[7]

[1] In the notes upon Chronicle E, the Duan Albanach is cited, but almost solely for the lengths of reigns. The Duan has little value for numbers.

[2] Cf. the conclusion in I: "The sum of the years from the time of Fergus, Erc's son, to the time of Alpin, 307 years and 3 months." In K: "The sum of the years of the reign of the Scots before the Picts, 305 years and 3 months."

D has this title and preface: "Short Chronicle. The sum of the years of the first Scots who reigned before the Picts, 260 years and 3 months. The sum of the years of the Picts, 337 years and 5 months. The sum total, 1668 years and 8 months. It is to be noted that the kingdom of Scotland begins 443 years before the Lord's Incarnation." This calculation would date version D in A.D. 1225, if its numbers and arithmetic are correct.

F has this title: "Names of the kings who first reigned in Scotland."

[3] "Erc's": *Eric*, E; *Herth*, D; *Erth*, F; *Herc*, I; *Ferthair*, K; *Her*, N. (With this exception, N omits all the notes of relationship.) This is a typical example of the variations in spelling, which will not be noted here unless some possible difference of meaning is involved.

[4] Instead of "from the mountain of Druimm-nAlban" (i.e., the "ridge of Scotland"), D reads: "beyond Druimm, and from Druimm-nAlban"; FI, "beyond Druimm-nAlban"; K, "beyond Dumbarton."

[5] *usque ad mare Hibernie et ad Inchegal*, E. For *ad mare Hibernie* D reads *Scuagh munere*; F, *Sluaghmaner*; I, *Stuagmuner*.

N reads: "Now the first of the Scots to reign from the mountain of Scotland to the Irish Sea [*Mare Scoticum*] was called Fergus, Erc's son; and he ruled for three years only. And he was killed by his followers."

[6] 3 years, DEFIKN; 27 years, Duan. See year 501.

The Duan places before Fergus a 10 years' reign of Loarn.

After Fergus, Fland (below) places "Angus Mor, Erc's son."

[7] "His son" E; "son of Fergus" DFIK.

5 years, DEFIKN and Duan. See year 506.

N adds: "And he was killed."

Comgall, Domangart's son, for thirty-three.[1]
Gabran, Comgall's brother, for twenty-two years;[2]
Conall, Comgall's son, for fourteen years;[3]
Aidan, Gabran's son, for thirty-four years;[4]
Eochaid Buide, Aidan's son, for sixteen years;[5]
Connad Cerr, Conall's son, for three months;[6]
Ferchar, his son, for sixteen years;[7]
Donald Brecc, Eochaid's son, for fourteen;[8]

[1] 33 years, E; 22 years, DK; 24 years, F and Duan; 12 years, I; 30 years, N (after Gabran). See year 537.

N adds: "And he was killed."

[2] "Comgall's brother" E; "Domangart's son" DFIK.

22 years, DEFK; 34 years, I; 20 years, N (before Comgall); 2 years, Duan. See year 559.

N adds: "And he was killed."

[3] 14 years, DEFKN; 15 years, Duan. Misplaced in K; omitted by I. See year ? 574.

N adds: "And he was killed."

[4] 34 years, DEFIK; 33 years, N; 24 years, Duan. Misplaced in F, after Eochaid Buide, with the note: "ought to be transposed." See year ? 608.

N adds: "And he was killed."

[5] "Buide" (i.e., "yellow") DFIK; *flavus*, E; omitted, N.

16 years, EFI; 15 years, D; 14 years, K; 6 years, N; 70 years, Duan (read 17). See year 630.

[6] "Connad": "Kenneth" DEFIKN.

"Cerr" (i.e., "askew"), DFIK; *sinister* ("left-handed"), E; omitted, N.

3 months, DEFIKN and Duan. See year 630.

N adds: "And he was killed."

[7] "His son" (*filius eius*) E; "Ewen's son" DFIK (for *Cuin* in I read *Euin* as in D). Probably E has the correct reading. Fland (below) reads "Conaing's son," meaning doubtless that he was the son of Connad Cerr, as the Duan says.

16 years, DEFNK and Duan; 21 years, I. See years 643 note, 694.

N adds: "And he was killed."

[8] "Brecc" (i.e, "freckled" or "pock-marked") FIK; *varius*, E; omitted, N.

"Eochaid's son" E; "son of Eochaid Buide" FIK.

14 years, EFK and Duan; 4 years, I; 13 years, N; omitted, D.

N adds: "And he was killed."

This reign appears to be wrongly placed in all the lists. Thus:—

Annals of Ulster.	Chronicles of Dalriata.				Fland.	Duan.
	D	E	FIN	K		
†694	Ferchar	Ferchar	Ferchar	Ferchar Ferchar Fota	Ferchar	Ferchar
†642 or †686		Donald Brecc	Donald Brecc	Donald Brecc	Donald Brecc	Donald Brecc
†660					Conall Crand-omna	Conall
					Duncan, Duban's son	Dungal
†696					Donald Dond	Donald Dond
†689			Maelduin	Maelduin	Maelduin	Maelduin
†697	Ferchar Fota	Ferchar Fota	Ferchar Fota		Ferchar Fota	Ferchar Fota
†697	Eochaid	Eochaid	Eochaid	Eochaid	Eochaid	Fochaid
-698	Ainfcellach	Ainfcellach	Ainfcellach	Ainfcellach	Ainfcellach	Ainfcellach
-723, †730,					Selbach	
[726-†733, Tigernach]					Eochaid	

Ferchar Fota, for twenty-one ;[1]

Eochaid the Crooked-nosed, son of Domangart, son of Donald Brecc, for three ;[2]

Ainfcellach, son of Ferchar Fota, for one year ;[3]

Ewen, Ferchar Fota's son, for thirteen ;[4]

Skene thought that the names omitted by version E were the names of rulers who had not the title of king, Dalriata having fallen under the dominion of Northumbria (655-685). But there is no likelihood that the title of king of Dalriata was given up during that time.

After the reign of Donald Brecc, F reads : "Maelduin, son of Donald Dond, [reigned] for sixteen years."

"Son of Donald Dond" FI ; "son of Donald Brecc" K. Fland, the Duan, and the Irish annals, call Maelduin the son of Conall Crandomna, in likelihood correctly. Donald Dond was the name of one of Maelduin's successors that have been omitted.

16 years, FIKN ; 17 years, Duan. See year 688.

N adds : "And he was killed."

Maelduin is omitted by DE ; his predecessors Conall Crandomna, and Duncan (see year 659), and Domangart (year 673), are omitted by DEFIK.

[1] "Fota" (i.e. "tall") DFIK ; *longus*, E ; omitted, N.

K places Ferchar Fota before Donald Brecc, and after Ferchar, "Ewen's son."

21 years, DEFIK and Duan ; 20 years, N. See year 697.

N adds : "And he was killed."

The Chronicles of Dalriata omit Ferchar's predecessor, Donald Dond. See year 695, and Fland.

[2] *Eochal habens curvum nasum*, E ; *Hecheđ monanle*, D ; *Heoghed Monanel*, F ; *Heochet Rounauel*, I ; *Eorhetinen Danel*, K ; *Etal*, N. The epithet is obscure ; for *mon-* read *sron-*? This seems to be the "Eochaid na n-ech" of the Duan ; the *Eocho Rianamhail* (*mac Aeda Find*) of Fland (although in that case Fland is wrong in calling him "Aed Find's son." Eochaid, Aed Find's son, is entered by Fland more correctly later, without any patronymic).

3 years, EFIKN ; 22 years, D ; 2 years, Duan. See year 697.

[3] "Ainfcellach" : *Arinchellac*, E ; *Amernikellethe*, D ; *Arenkelleth*, F ; *Armkellach*, I ; *Armelech*, K ; *Ormekellet*, N.

"Son of Ferchar Fota" E ; "son of Findan" DFIK. E's reading is supported by the Senchus.

1 year, DEFIKN and Duan : i.e., 697-698. See years 698 ; 719.

N adds : "And he was killed."

[4] "Ewen" E ; "Eogan" DFIK.

"Ferchar Fota's son" E ; "Findan's son" DFIK.

13 years, E ; 16 years, DFIK ; omitted, N and Duan. The Prose Chronicle in the Chronicle of Melrose says that Ewen died in 741 (see year 736, note).

Muiredach, Ainfcellach's son, for three years;[1]
Ewen, [Muiredach's] son, for three;[2]
Aed Find, son of Eochaid the Crooked-nosed, for thirty;[3]
Fergus, Aed Find's son, for three;[4]
Selbach, Eogan's son, for twenty-four;[5]
Eochaid the Poisonous, Aed Find's son, for thirty;[6]

See Fland, who diverges here from the Chronicles of Dalriata (below, p. cxlvii). Fland places here Alpin, Eochaid's son, instead of Ewen, after Selbach, Eochaid, and Dungal, all of whom the Chronicles of Dalriata omit. Cf. the table, below. See years 733, 736.

[1] "Muiredach" DFIK and Duan (*Murechat*, E; *Murdac*, F; *Minredhach*, I; *Moredath*, K). *Fertham filius Murdathe*, D.

"Ainfcellach's son" EFIK (*filius Arinchellac*, E; *filius Arinkellath*, F; *filius Armkellach*, I; *fitz Arnikelec*, K); "Ewen's son" Prose Chronicle.

3 years, EFIK, and Duan (misplaced); 2 years, D; omitted, N. This reign is placed 741-744 in the Prose Chronicle. But Muiredach, Ainfcellach's son, reigned in Lorn from 733 to 736. See the table, below.

[2] "Ewen" EN; "Eogan" FI.

"Muiredach's" FI; "Muirchertach's" E.

3 years, EN; 2 years, FI; omitted, DK and Duan. The Prose Chronicle says that this Ewen reigned 744-747 (see year 736, note).

N adds: "And he was killed."

[3] "Aed Find" (i.e., "Aed the white"): *Edalbus*, E; *Hethfyne*, D; *Hethfin*, F; *Edhfin*, I; *Hedaldus*, N. *Aed Airectech* (v.l. *Airgnech*) in Fland.

"Of Eochaid the Crooked-nosed"; *Eochal curvi nasi*, E; *Heorghet rannal*, D; *Heochetramele*, F; *Heochet* [*miniele* inter-lined], I; *Heochet rounauel*, K.

30 years, DEFIN and Duan; omitted, K. See year 778.

N adds: "And he was killed."

[4] 3 years, DEFIN; omitted, K and Duan. See years 778, 781.

[5] "Selbach" EIKN; *Sealthant*, D; *Icalulanc*, F.

"Eogan's son" EIK; "Eoganan's" D?, F.

24 years, EFIK; 14 years, D; 20 years, N. See year 781, note.

Here Fland and the Duan give an entirely different account. See below.

[6] "Eochaid the Poisonous": *Fochal venenosus*, E; *Herghed annune*, D; *Heogled annine*, F; *Heochet anuine*, I; *Ergheche*, K.

DFIK add "Aed Find's son."

30 years, DEFIK; omitted, N; omitted by Fland and the Duan, unless this be the Eochaid who succeeded Fergus in 781. See the table, below.

KINGS OF ARGYLE.

Annals of Ulster.	Fland.	Duan.	Chronicles of the Picts, ABC.	Prose Chronicle inserted in the Chronicle of Melrose
Dungal, Selbach's son, ? 723-726, ? 733-736 (captured by Angus in 736)	Dungal, Selbach's son, from some years after [743]	Dungal Dian, 7 years		
Alpin, king of the Picts, 726-728	Alpin, Eochaid's son	Alpin, 4 years		Ewen [† 741]
Muiredach, Ainfcellach's son, king of Lorn, 733-736	Muiredach Ua-Daithi	Muiredach Maith, 3 years		Muiredach, Ewen's son [741-744]
				Ewen, Muiredach's son [744-747]
Aed Find, Eochaid's son, king of Dalriata, † 778	Aed Airectech	Aed, 30 years [? 748-778]		Aed the White, Ewen's son [747-777]
Fergus, Eochaid's son, king of Dalriata, † 781	Fergus [? 778-781]			Fergus, Aed's son [777-780]
	Eochaid [? 781]			Selbach, Fergus' son [780-804]
	Donald, Constantine's son	Donald, 24 years [? 781 - ? 805]		

Conall, Tadc's son, defeated by Constantine in 789, and killed in Kintyre in 807, by	Conall Coem	Conall, 2 years [?805-807]	[Conall, Tadc's son] 5 years	Eochaid the Poisonous [804-834]
Conall, Aidan's son.	Conall, Conall's brother	Conall, 4 years [807-?811]		
Constantine, Fergus' son, king of Fortriu, ?811-†820	Constantine, Fergus' son	Constantine Cain, 9 years [?811-820]	Constantine, Fergus' son, 35 years	
Angus, Fergus' son, king of Fortriu, 820-†834		Angus, 9 years	Angus, Fergus' son, 12 years	
Aed, Boanta's son, [king] of Fortriu, †839	Aed, Boanta's son	Aed An, 4 years	Drust, Constantine's son, and Talorcan, Wthoil's son, together 3 years [834-?836]	Dungal, Eochaid's son, 834-841
Eoganan, Angus' son, [king] of Fortriu, †839	Eoganan, Angus' son	Eoganan, 13 years	Eogan, Angus' son, 3 years [?836-839]	
	Alpin, Eochaid's son		Wrad, Bargoit's son, 3 years [839-842]	Alpin, Eochaid's son, 841-843
	Eoganan		Bred, 1 year [842-843]	
Kenneth, Alpin's son, king of the Picts, †858	Kenneth, Alpin's son, to about [879] (wrongly)	Kenneth Cruaid, 30 years	Kenneth, Alpin's son, 16 years [843-858]	Kenneth, Alpin's son, 843-858

Dungal, Selbach's son, for seven ;[1]
Alpin, son of Eochaid the Poisonous, for three.[2]

[1] "Dungal, Selbach's son" DEI ; "Dungal, son of Eochaid Annine" F ; "Donald, Selbach's son" K (*Donald;* but K spells Donald Brecc *Dopnaldebreck*) ; *Conegal*, N.

7 years, DEFIKN, and (differently placed) in the Duan. See the table on p. cxxxv.

N adds : "And he was killed."

[2] "Of Eochaid the Poisonous" : *Eochal venenosi*, E ; *Hethed annune*, D ; *Heogled annine*, F ; *Heochet anuine*, I ; *Beghach*, K.

3 years, DEIKN ; 5 years, F (read 2?). See the table, below. For additions in DFIK see year 843, note.

N adds : "And he died."

"Almost all these were killed ; but they were not kings, because they did not rule by election nor by descent, but by treason" (*per prodicionem*).

We have contradictory accounts of the kings who reigned in Argyle from 741 to 843. At 741 begins the Prose Chronicle inserted in the Chronicle of Melrose : it agrees substantially with the Chronicle of Dalriata, but gives neither reign-lengths nor dates.

The Chronicle of Dalriata and the Prose Chronicle record a continuous succession of native kings, while in reality Dalriata had been annexed to Pictland, and there were native kings at intervals only. See Skene's Introduction to Fordun, Historians of Scotland Series, iv, pp. xli-xlvi ; and Skene's Celtic Scotland, i, 292-294.

It is necessary to tabulate the principal statements for the sake of comparison. There are three groups of authorities : (1) the Irish annals. Of these, Tigernach fails us from 766 to 974 ; and the Chronicon Scotorum, from 722 to 804. (2) Fland's Synchronisms, and the Duan Albanach. (3) The Chronicles of the Picts and of Dalriata, with the Prose Chronicle inserted in the Chronicle of Melrose. See the table, on the preceding pages.

Down to the year 781, the divergence is not very great. From 781 to 841, group (3) has nothing in common with the other two groups. The Irish annals support to some extent the account of Fland and the Duan.

Genealogies form another source of information. The only complete one here is that appended to Chronicle E (below, p. clvii). It gives the succession thus : Donald Brecc, Domangart, Eochaid, Eochaid, Aed Find, Eochaid, Alpin, Kenneth. (Cf. also the Genealogies that follow the Senchus, II ; below, p. cliv : and the Genealogy given by Ralph de Diceto ; English Chroniclers, p. 1.)

There were two Alpins, sons of Eochaid ; one, the father of Kenneth, may have reigned before Kenneth in Dalriata ; the other, the brother of Eochaid, Eochaid's son, reigned in Pictland from 726 to 728, and may have reigned nominally in Dalriata before 741. See years 841, 858, notes.

Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, version B; Skene's Picts and Scots, pp. 29-30[1]

Kenneth, Alpin's son, reigned for sixteen years.[2]
Donald, Alpin's son, reigned for four years.[3]
Constantine, Kenneth's son, reigned for twenty years.[4]
Aed, Kenneth's son, reigned for two years.[5]
Giric, Dungal's son, reigned for eleven or three years.[6]
Donald, Constantine's son, reigned for eleven years.[7]
Constantine, Aed's son, reigned for forty years.[8]

[1] Also in Todd's Irish Nennius, p. lxxvii.

Variations in the lengths of reigns in all the Chronicles are noted here. The expanded versions are entered below, usually under the death-years of kings.

Version F has this title: "[Here] follow the names of the kings of the Scots." L has this title: "Names of the kings of Scotland who reigned after the Picts"; and speaks *sub fine* of "other chronicles of the kings of Scotland."

[2] 16 years, ABCDEFGHIKLMN; 30 years, Duan; 28 years, Huntingdon Chronicle.

See years 843, 858.

[3] 4 years, ABCDEFGIKLMN and Duan; 3 years, H; 13 years Hunt. Chr.

See years 858, 862.

[4] 20 years, BCEN; 16 years, AFGIKM; 15 years, D; 19 years, H; 20 or 6 years, L; 30 years, Duan; 23 years, Hunt. Chr.; 5½ years, Berchan.

See years 861, 877.

[5] 2 years, B, Duan, and Hunt. Chr.; 1 year, ACDEFGHIKLMN.

See years 877, 878.

[6] *Giric*, B; "Ciricius" A; *Girig*, C; *Girg*, DI; *Grig*, ELMN; *Carus*, F; *Girgh*, G; *Tirged*, H; *Tirg*, K.

"Dungal's son" BCDEFGIKN; "Dugall's son" H; "Donald's son" LM and Hunt. Chr. (wrongly).

11 or 3 years, BC; 11 years, A, given to Eochaid, Run's son; 12 years, DEGHIK; 10 or 18 years, LM; 15 years, N; 13 years, Hunt. Chr.; omitted, Duan.

See years 878, 889.

[7] 11 years, ABCDEFHIMN and L (secondary source); 2 years, GK; 4 years, Duan; 9 years, Hunt. Chr. L's primary source omits Donald, Constantine's son, and says that Giric's successor was Constantine, Donald's son, who reigned for 2 years.

See years 889, 900.

[8] 40 years, ABDFGIKN; 45 years, CHLM and Hunt. Chr.; 25 years, E; 30 years, L (secondary source); 46 years, Duan. (For "Beth" in H

Malcolm, Donald's son, reigned for nine years.[1]

Culen, son of Indulf, son of Constantine, reigned for three years.[2]

Kenneth, Malcolm's son, reigned for seven years.[3]

Culen, Indulf's son, reigned for four years.[4]

read *Heth* "Aed"; there is frequent confusion between the letters *B* and *H*.) L's primary source omits Constantine (but see the previous note).

See years 900 and 943.

[1] 9 years, BCDEFGHI and Hunt. Chr.; 11 years, A; 10 years, K; 20 or 9 years, L; 20 years, M; 8 years, Duan; omitted, N.

See years 943, 954.

Version L concludes thus (ibid., 297): "It is to be noted that in other chronicles of the kings of Scotland, variations occur as well in the names of certain of the kings written above, as in the numbers of the years during which they are said to have reigned.

"Also it is to be noted that this name Malcolm, in the names of the kings mentioned above, is versified in metre as a name of four syllables; because it is placed at the end of pentameter verses; and the penultimate [syllable] is short. But commonly it is pronounced in three syllables, and the second syllable ends in *l* and the third begins with the letter *m*; so that it is pronounced Mal-col-mus." (The form *Malcolŏmus* occurs in the Verse Chronicle, ibid., 180; *sic lege*, 182. The name is derived from Irish *Mael-coluimb*, "devotee of Columba.")

[2] "Culen, son of Indulf, son of Constantine" BC; "Indulf, son of Constantine" DEFGHILM and Hunt. Chr., correctly; "Indulf" AN and Duan. Omit "Culen, son of."

3 years, B; 8 years, A and Duan; 4 years, C; 9 years, DEFGHILMN and Hunt. Chr.; 10 years, K.

See years 954, 962.

[3] "Kenneth": "or Dub" interlined in later hand in BC. This is a confusion with the Kenneth who followed Culen, and arises from the previous mistake of Culen for Indulf in BC. Read "Dub" (i.e., "the Black"): *Niger*, A; *Duf*, DEHIKLMN and Hunt. Chr.; *Duff*, F; *Dubhoda*, Duan.

7 years, BC and Duan; 5 years, A; 4 years, 6 months, DEFGIKLM and Hunt. Chr.; 10 years, L (secondary source); 3 years, 6 months, H; 4 years, N.

See years 962, 967.

[4] "Culen" (i.e. "whelp"): *Caniculus* and *Culenring* in A.

"Indulf's son" BCDEFHIKLM and Hunt. Chr.

4 years, BN and Duan; 5 years, A; 4 years, 6 months, DEFGHILM; 4 years, 7 months, K; 10 years, L (secondary source); 5 years, 3 months, Hunt. Chr. C omits everything between this occurrence of the name "Culen" and the next, and reads: "Culen, one year and a half": this is to be corrected to "[Constantine, son of] Culen." See below.

See years 967, 971.

Kenneth, Malcolm's son, reigned for twenty-four years.[1]

Constantine, son of Culen, [reigned] for one year and a half.[2]

Kenneth, Dub's son, reigned for eight years.[3]

Malcolm, Kenneth's son, reigned for thirty years.[4]

[1] "Malcolm's son" ADEGHIK and L (secondary source); "Colum's son" BF.

24 years, BN and L (secondary source); 24 years, 2 months, DFGIK; 22 years, 2 months, EH; 27 years, Duan (read 24); blank, A; omitted, CLM and Hunt. Chr.

See years 971, 995.

[2] 1 year, 6 months, BDFGHIK and L (secondary source); 1 year, 4 months, E; 2 years, N; 7 years, Duan. In C, read: "[Constantine, son of] Culen, 1½ years."

See years 995, 997.

[3] "Kenneth, Dub's son" BCE.

8 years, BC; 1½ years, E; omitted, DN.

LM read (after the reign of Dub, Malcolm's son): "To Dub succeeded Kenneth, his son; and he reigned for 1 year and three months."

FGIK place here instead: "Giric, son of Kenneth, Dub's son." (*Girus*, F; *Grig*, GI; *Grige*, K.) L's secondary source reads: "after [Constantine, Culen's son], Grim, Kenneth's son, 8 years."

8 years, FGIL; 9 years, K.

See year 1005.

[4] 30 years, BCDEFGHIKLMN, Duan, and Hunt. Chr. Malcolm reigned 1005-1034.

Versions E and H give the kings in correct order from Malcolm I to Malcolm II:

1.	Malcolm I, son of Donald II	[943-954
2.	Indulf, son of Constantine II	954-962
3.	Dub, son of Malcolm I	962-966
4.	Culen, son of Indulf	966-971
5.	Kenneth II, son of Malcolm I	971-995
6.	Constantine III, son of Culen	995-997
7.	Kenneth III, son of Dub	997-1005
8.	Malcolm II, son of Kenneth II	1005-1034]

1 is omitted by N.

2 is falsely given by BC as Culen, son of Indulf, son of Constantine.

3 is called Kenneth, son of Malcolm, by BC.

Between 3 and 4, N inserts Malcolm.

Between 4 and 5, A inserts Culenring.

5 and 6 are omitted by C (through a scribal error).

7 is omitted by N, and is called Girus, Grig, and Grim, son of Kenneth, in F, GIK, and L's secondary source.

L's primary source, M, and the Huntingdon Chronicle, omit 5 and 6, and place 7 between 3 and 4.

Duncan, Malcolm's grandson, reigned for six years.[1]
Macbeth, [Findlaech's] son, reigned for sixteen years.[2]
Lulach [reigned] for five months.[3]
Malcolm, Duncan's son, afterwards.[4]

Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, version L; Skene's Picts and Scots, pp. 296-297

Malcolm, Duncan's son, succeeded Lulach, and reigned for thirty-seven years and four months.[5] And this Malcolm was the husband of the queen St Margaret, and had by her four sons, Duncan, Edgar, Alexander, and David.[6]

Donald, Malcolm's brother, succeeded him, and reigned for three years and six months; in another book, for six months only.[7]

[1] "Malcolm's grandson" BC; "his grandson" HLM. (For *Enis* in text of H read *ejus*.)

6 years, BDFGIK, and L (secondary source), and Duan; 7 years, C; 5 years, 9 months, LM and Hunt. Chr.; 5 years, N; omitted, E. Duncan reigned 1034-1040.

[2] "Macbeth":—*Macbethad*, B; *Macbeathad*, C; *Mecbeathaidh* (in genitive case), Duan; *Maket*, D and Hunt. Chr.; *Macheth*, EG (a copyist's error, *h* for *b*); *Macbeth*, FL; *Machet*, H; *Macbet* (and previously *Macbeth*) in I; *Machbeht*, M; omitted, N. BC and Duan give the name in Irish dress.

"Findlaech's":—*Fin mic Laig*, BC; *Fyngel*, D; *Findleg*, E; *Finlen* (and previously *Fialeg*), F; *Fingel* (*Fyngel*), G; *Fineleth*, H; *Fynleth* (without "son of"), LM; *Fingel*, N; *Fionnlaoich* (in genitive case), in Duan. (These are the spellings in Skene's texts.)

16 years, BCK; 17 years, DEFGHIKLMN and Duan; 15 years, Hunt. Chr. Macbeth reigned 1040-1057.

[3] "Lulach": *Luluch*, B; *Lulach*, CDFIK; *Lulac*, E; *Dulach*, G; *Lusach*, H; *Luchlach*, L; *Luthlach*, M; *Gulak*, N; *Lughlaigh* (in genitive case), Duan.

5 months, BC; 4 months, DFGI; 4½ months, E; 4½ years (read "months"), H; 1 month, K; 3½ months, LM; 4 years, N; 7 months, Duan; omitted, Hunt. Chr. Lulach reigned 1057-1058.

[4] "Malcolm, son of Colum, son of Duncan, afterwards" C.

[5] 37 years, 4 months, L; 37½ years, 4 months, E; 37 years, 8 months, FGI; 37 years, H and Hunt. Chr.; 37 years, 6 months, K; 36 years, 4 months, M; 30 years, N. Malcolm III reigned 1058-1093 (November 13th).

L and M are here the only unexpanded versions.

[6] Duncan was the son of a previous wife. A similar error occurs in M.

[7] "Malcolm's brother": "his brother" EHLM; "Duncan's son" FGI.

Duncan, Malcolm's eldest son, succeeded Donald, and reigned for half a year.[1]

Edgar, Duncan's brother, succeeded him, and reigned for nine years; elsewhere it is said that, between Duncan and Edgar, Donald reigned again for three years.[2]

Alexander, the third brother, succeeded Edgar, and reigned for sixteen years and three months; in another book, for [seventeen] years.[3]

David, Alexander's brother, succeeded him, and reigned for thirty-nine years; in another [book,] for twenty-nine.[4]

Malcolm, son of Henry, earl of Northumbria, king David's son, succeeded David, and reigned for twelve years and a half, and three days.[5]

3½ years or 6 months, L; 3 years or 6 months, M; 3 years and 7 months, E; 1½ years, H; 4 years, N (including Duncan's reign).

The 3 years belong to Donald's second reign. The Huntingdon Chronicle places the sum (3½ years) under his second reign. Donald reigned during the winter and spring of 1093-1094, and from late in 1094 to late in 1097.

[1] "Malcolm's eldest son" LM; "Malcolm's son" EFGI; "illegitimate son of Malcolm" H.

½ year, ELM; 6 months, FG and Hunt. Chr.; omitted, HN. Duncan reigned during the summer and autumn of 1094.

[2] To the same effect in M.

FGIK place Donald's second reign (3 years) before Edgar's, correctly.

"Duncan's brother": "his brother" LM; "Malcolm's son" EI; "son of Malcolm and Margaret" H.

9 years, FHILM and Hunt. Chr.; 9 years, 3 months, G; 9 years, 4 months, K; 10 years, N. Edgar reigned 1097-1107 (January 8th).

[3] For "71 years" in text read 17.

16 years, 3 months, LM; 17 years, 3 months, EFH; 17 years, 3½ months, GIK; 16 years, Hunt. Chr.; omitted by N. Alexander I reigned 1107-1124 (April 23rd).

[4] 39 years, LM and Hunt. Chr.; 30 years, E; 29 years, 3 months, FGI; 29 years, HL; 39 years, 3 months, K; 20 years, N. (N transposes David and Malcolm, and, after David's reign, reads: "Henry reigned for 20 years, and was buried at Dunfermline.") David reigned 1124-1153 (May 24th).

[5] 12½ years, 3 days, LM; 12 years, 6 months, 13 days, E; 12 years, 6 months, 20 days, FGIK; 12½ years, H; 12 years, N (before David's reign); 12½ years, 14 days, Hunt. Chr. Malcolm IV reigned 1153-1165 (December 9th).

William, Malcolm's brother, succeeded him, and reigned for forty-nine years but sixteen days.[1]

Alexander, William's son, succeeded him, and reigned for thirty-six years and nine months; and in another [book,] for thirty-five.[2]

Alexander, Alexander's son, succeeded him, and reigned for thirty-six years and nine months.[3]

John de Balliol succeeded Alexander, after seven intervening years, and reigned for four years.[4]

Robert de Bruce, usurper, succeeded John, and reigned for twenty-four years.[5]

Fland Mainistrech, Synchronisms; Skene's Picts and Scots, pp. 18-22

Forty-three years from the time when Patrick came to Ireland, to the battle of Ocha.[6] Twenty years after the battle of Ocha, the children of Erc, son of Eochaid Muin-remar, went

[1] 49 years but 16 days, L; 52 years, FG: 49 years, HM; 50 years, IKN; 48 years, Hunt. Chr.; left blank in E, which stops here. William reigned 1165-1214 (December 4th).

[2] 36 years, 9 months, LM; 32 years, G; 35 years, HLN; 33 years, I; 37 years, K; 26 years, Hunt. Chr. N confuses Alexander II with Alexander III, whom it omits. Alexander II reigned 1214-1249 (July 8th).

[3] 36 years, 9 months, L; 36 years, G; 39 years, I; 37 years, KN. Alexander III reigned 1249-1286 (March 16th).

Version I concludes thus: "The sum of the years from the time of Kenneth to the time of the last Alexander [is] 567 [years]. And the land has been quiescent [*siluit*] without a king for as many years as have intervened." The number is wrong.

[4] 1292-1296.

[5] 27th March 1306-†7th June 1329.

L continues to the reign of David Bruce [1329-1371], and to the appearance of David's opponent, Edward Balliol.

[6] Patrick went to Ireland in 432; the battle of Ocha is placed in 482 or 483 by A.U. (i, 26), i.e. 482×484. (In the Ulster Annals the year $481 = 481$, but $486 = 487$; the intermediate years are not clearly indicated.) The Chronicon Scotorum (28) places the battle in [484] (f.n. 1, Hennessy's year 484). A.I. (O'Conor's year 477) place it 77 years before 559, i.e., in 482. Fland's calculation would place the battle in 474 or 475; the Annals of Clonmacnoise's version of Fland seems to have dated it in 478 (apparently reading *xlui* instead of *xliii*).

to Scotland; namely six sons of Erc: two Anguses, two Loarns, two Ferguses.[1]

Twenty-four years from the battle of Ocha to the death of Diarmait, Fergus Cerr-bel's son.[2] . . .

In this time five kings [reigned] in Scotland: Fergus Mor Erc's son; Angus Mor, Erc's son; Domangart, Fergus' son; Comgall, Domangart's son; Gabran, Domangart's son.[3] . . .

[1] Cf. Genealogy II after the Senchus (below, p. cliv). Fland's calculation would place the arrival of Fergus in Scotland in the year 495. But cf. the version in the Annals of Clonmacnoise, pp. 71-72: "There reigned in Munster two kings, Angus and Felim, 20 years after the battle of Ocha, where Ailill Molt was slain.

"The sons of Erc went over into Scotland in the year 498, which is the year 478[+]20, that is 483[+]15" (*anno* 498 *qui est anno* 478, 20 *sed so* 483-15). I.e., the calculation is 20 years from 478, but has been corrected in a gloss to 15 years from 483, the date of the battle of Ocha, derived from some other source. But that battle is placed by the Annals of Clonmacnoise in 487.

[2] Diarmait's death is recorded by A.U. (i, 60) under the year 564=565 (with f.n. and e. of 565); by A.I., in O'Conor's year 556=564 (35 years before 599). The period from 482/483 to 564/565 is 82 years; Fland's 24 must be the result of an error in transcription.

[3] Loarn, Fergus, and Angus, may have reigned together. Loarn's reign is said to have preceded that of Fergus. Angus's reign is not indicated by the chronicles.

For the deaths of Fergus, Domangart, Comgall, and Gabran, see below, years 501, 506, 537, 559.

Annals of Clonmacnoise, 72 (after the voyage of Erc's sons to Dalriata): "Pope Hilarius died, to whom succeeded pope Simplicius [468].

"The city of Ravenna was quite destroyed by an earthquake" (467; Marcellinus Comes, M.G.H., Auctores, xi, 89).

"During the reigns of the said kings, that is to say the reign of king Lugaid, Loegaire's son" (king of Ireland, 484-†507, 508, or 512), "king Muiredach, king Tuathal Maelgarb [537-544], and king Diarmait [544 or 545-†565 or 572], there reigned in Scotland five kings, who were Domangart, Fergus (whom I should first name), Angus, Comgall, son of Domangart, and Gabran his other son; during which time there reigned in Ulster four kings, namely Eochaid Conla's son [† 558], Fergna [† 557], Deman [† 572], and Baetan, Cairell's son" († 581 or 587. These four kings have 46 years' reign in the Book of Leinster's list of kings (facsimile, 41c): 20, 5, 11, 10.)

"In Munster there reigned three kings: Eochaid, Crimthan, and Scandlan. In Connaught also there reigned five kings, namely Owen or Oilill [† 550], Fitz-Owen or Duach Tenga-umai [† 502], Eochaid Tirm-charna, and Feradach Mac-Rosa." (Eochaid and Feradach have 20 and 30 years' reigns in the Book of Leinster, 41a.)

Thirty-six years from the death of Diarmait, Cerball's son, to the death[1] of Aed, Ainmire's son.[2] . . .

Two kings reigned in Scotland in that time: Conall, Comgall's son, and Aidan, Gabran's son. Aidan had five years after Aed, Ainmire's son.[3] . . .

Sixty-three years from the death of Aed, Ainmire's son, to the death of Donald, Aed's son.[4] . . .

Four kings [reigned] over Scotland in that time: Eochaid Buide (Aidan's son[5]); and Connad Cerr, [Eochaid Buide's] son, who killed (Fiach[n]a[6]) Deman's son; and

[1] Down to here the Edinburgh MS. is hardly legible; Skene's text is taken from the Book of Lecan. Henceforward the Edinburgh MS. is the basis of Skene's text: additions from the other MSS., *b* and *c* (the Book of Lecan and Rawlinson B 512), are indicated by round brackets.

I have compared Skene's text with the Edinburgh MS. The quotations from the other MSS. are taken uncorrected from Skene's notes.

[2] Aed died in 597=598, according to A.U., i, 76 (with f.n. and e. of 598); in [596]=600? according to T. and C.S. (Hennessy's year 598, f.n. 1). A.I. (O'Conor's year 593) place Aed's death 2 years after 599. Fland's calculation of 36 years after 564/565 would place Aed's death between 599 and 601. Perhaps 601 is the true date.

[3] Conall died ca. 574, Aidan ca. 608.

Annals of Clonmacnoise, 80, s.a. 547: "Diarmait, Fergus Cerball's son, began his reign [544 or 545] immediately after king Tuathal was killed [544] and reigned 20 years; from the beginning of the reign of king Diarmait to the death of Aed Ainmire's son [*Hugh mcAinnreagh*] was 36 years, during which time there reigned in Ireland the number of seven kings, viz. Donald [† 566], Fergus [† 567], Baetan [† 572], Eochaid [† 572], Baetan [† 586], Ainmire [† 575], and Aed his son. There reigned also in Scotland two kings, Conall Comgall's son, and Aidan [*Hugh*] Gabran's son. There reigned likewise in the province of Ulster two kings, Daig Cairell's son" [*David mcConnell*; † 587], "and Aed Dub, Suibne's son [† 588]. In Leinster there reigned two kings, Colman [† 555, 558, or 563] and Aed [† 598]; in Ossory two kings, Colman and Cendfaelad [*Ceanfoyla*]; and in Munster four kings reigned, Felim, Aed, Garvey, and Amalgaid [*Auley*]; and in like manner in the province of Connaught there reigned two kings, that is to say Maelcathaig [*Moylecahy*] and Aed."

[4] Donald's death is placed by the Irish annals in the same year as Donald Brecc's; see year 643, below. The length of Fland's next period shows that the number here is wrong. We should probably read *xliii* for *lxiii*, i.e. ca. 600 - ca. 643.

[5] "Aidan's son" not in the Edinburgh MS. (Skene's MS. *a*).

[6] "Fiacha" omitted by MS. *a*. See year 627.

Ferchar, Conaing's son; and Donald Brecc, Eochaid Buide's son.[1] . . .

A hundred and five years from the death of Donald, son of Aed (son of Ainmire[2]), to the death of Aed Alddain, the son of Fergal.[3] . . .

There were nine kings over Scotland in that time: Conall Crandomna, and Duncan, Duban's son, and Duncan Dond,[4] and Duncan,[5] and Ferchar Fota, and Eochaid Rianamail,[6] and

[1] Eochaid Buide died ca. 630; Connad Cerr died in the same year. Ferchar's reign is not noticed in the annals, but his death is entered by A.U. 50 years after Fland's limit of his reign; see year ? 651.

Donald Brecc died (apparently) ca. 643. For the divergence among the chronicles see the table, above, p. cxxxi. For the divergence among the Irish annals, see year 643, note.

Annals of Clonmacnoise, 97, s.a. 590 (after the death of Columba [† 597], and the battle of Dunbolg [598]): "Colman Rimid and Aed Slane reigned jointly seven years. There were 43 years [ca. 600-643] from the death of king Aed Ainmire's son to [the death of] Donald, Aed's son" (in text *mcEarcka*); "during which time there reigned in Ireland seven kings, viz. Colman [578-†604], Aed Slane [598-†604], Aed Uairidnech, Maelcoba [612-†615], Suibne Mend [615-†628], and Donald. There reigned in Scotland four kings, Eochaid Buide, Connad Cerr, Ferchar Duncan's son, and Donald. There reigned in Ulster four kings: Fiachna Baetan's son [† ca. 626], Fiachna [Deman's son, † 627], Congal [Caech, † 637], and Duncan [Fiachna's son, † 647]. In Leinster three kings, Brandub Eochaid's son [† 605], Ronan [† 624], Crimthan [† 633], Cualann, and Faelan" (king in 628). "In Ossory three kings: Scandlan Cendfaelad's son [*mcKinley*], Tuaimsnama [*Twaymsnawa*, † 678], and Faelchu [*ffoylcha*]; and in the province of Munster, Cathal, Failbe [† 637], Curaw, and Maenach son of Fingin [† 662]; and lastly in the province of Connaught there reigned Uata [*ffwadagh;* † 601 or 602], Colman Cobthach's son [† 622], and Ragall[ach] (of whom the O'Kellys) son of Uata [† 649 or 656]. . . . "

[2] Not in MS. *a*.

[3] I.e., from ca. 643 to 743 (A.U., i, 202, s.a. 742=743).

[4] Read with MSS. *b* and *c* "Donald Dond."

[5] Read with MSS. *b* and *c* "Maelduin, Conall's son."

[6] *Eocho rianamhail.* "Aed Find's son" is added in MSS. *b* and *c* (or one of them), incorrectly.

Eochaid, Aed Find's son, appears from the pedigrees to have been the grandfather of Kenneth, Alpin's son. The present Eochaid († ca. 697) was Domangart's son, and Aed's Find's grandfather. See year 697, and p. cxxxii.

Ainfcellach,[1] Ferchar's son, and Selbach, Ferchar's son, and Eochaid Angbaid.[2] . . .[3]

[1] *Anbceallach.*

[2] *Eochaigh Angbaidh* (i.e. "the pitiless"). Some words that I cannot read stand after this in MS. *a: . . . meadhon a flaith . . . cath muige Seiredh adhrochair Aed Allan,* probably meaning "the battle of Mag-sered, in which Aed Alddain fell, [occurred] in the middle of [Eochaid's] reign." See A.U., i, 202, s.a. 742=743.

[3] Conall Crandomna died ca. 659, q.v.

Duncan, Duban's son, is called "Dungal" in the Duan, where he is said to have reigned with Conall Crandomna. See year 659, note.

For the deaths of Donald Dond, Maelduin, and Ferchar Fota, see years 696, 688, 697. Fland and the Duan agree in misplacing the reign of Donald Dond (cf. the table, p. cxxxi).

Ainfcellach reigned ca. 697 - ca. 698 († ca. 719); Selbach reigned ca. 701-723 († 730).

Eochaid, Eochaid's son, reigned ca. 726 - † 733. According to Fland, the middle of Eochaid's reign was about [743]; i.e., 13 or 14 years later than the true date.

Annals of Clonmacnoise, 100-101, s.a. 627: "There were 105 years from the death of king Donald [† 642] to the death of king Aed Alddain [*Hugh Allen;* † 743]. During which time there reigned in Ireland 14 kings, namely Conall [† 654], Cellach [† 658], Blathmac [† 665], Diarmait [† 665], Sechnasach [† 671], Cendfaelad [† 675], Findachta [† 695], Loingsech [† 703], Congal of Kinnaweer [† 710], Fergal Maelduin's son [† 722], Fogartach [† 724], Flaithbertach Loingsech's son [dethroned 734, † 765], and Aed Alddain [† 743].

"There reigned in Scotland eight kings, viz. Conall, Duncan [*Donnogh*], Duncan [*Dongh*], Ferchar [*Ferall*], Eochaid, Cellach, Eochaid. In the midst of whose reign, Aed Alddain, king of Ireland, was killed, as shall be declared when occasion shall serve.

"There reigned in Ulster 7 kings, that is to say Maelcoba [† 647], Congal [† 674], Blathmac [† 670], Bec Boirche [*Beaghvarchye;* 674-707, † 718], Cu-chuarain [*Cowkowran;* † 708], Aed Roin [† 735], and Cathasach [† 749].

"There reigned in Leinster seven kings also, which were Bran [† 693], Cellach [† 715], Murchaid [*Morieagh;* † 727], Faelan [728 - † 738], Bran [† 738], and Muiredach, Murchaid's son [† 760]. There reigned likewise in Ossory seven kings, Cu-chercae [† 713], Faelan, Fland [*ffeann*], Oilill, Cellach [† 735], Anmcha, and Tuainn-snama [† 678]. There reigned likewise in Connaught 10 kings, viz., Laidgnen [*Laighnen*], Guaire [† 663 or 666], Cendfaelad [† 682], Cathal [† 735; perhaps read Cellach, † 705], Fergal [† 696], Muiredach, Cellach, Indrechtach Duncan's son [† 707], Indrechtach [† 723], and Donald Cathal's son the 10th" (he is given 2 years' reign in the Book of Leinster, 41a).

A hundred[1] and thirty-two years from the death of Aed Alddain to the death of (Aed[2]) Find-liath.[3] . . .

Sixteen kings[4] [reigned] in Scotland during that time; Dungal, Selbach's son; and Alpin (Eochaid's son[5]); and Muiredach Ua-Daithi; and Aed Airectech[6]; and Fergus[7]; and Eochaid; and Donald (Constantine's son[8]); and Constantine (Fergus' son[9]); and two Conalls before him[10] (namely Conall Coem, and another Conall, his brother[11]); and Constantine (Fergus' son[12]); and Aed (Boanta's son[13]); and Eoganan (Angus' son[14]); and Alpin, Eochaid's son[15]; and Eoganan[16]: and Kenneth, Alpin's son,[17] the first king from among the Gaels that assumed the kingdom of Scone.[18] . . .

[1] Blotted and illegible in MS. *a*.

[2] Not in MS. *a*.

[3] I.e., from 743 to 879 (A.U., i, 394, s.a. 878=879; cf. below, year 889).

[4] Skene's text reads "thirteen," incorrectly. "Fourteen" in MSS. *b* and *c*.

[5] Not in MS. *a*.

[6] *Airgnech* in MSS. *b* and *c*.

[7] Fergus is omitted by MSS. *b* and *c*, but he is needed to make up the number of kings to their 14.

[8 9] Not in MS. *a*.

[10] MSS. *b* and *c* place the two Conalls before Constantine.

[11 12 13 14] Not in MS. *a*.

[15 16] Alpin and Eoganan are omitted by Skene; they make up the number of kings to 16. Probably they are not in MSS. *b* and *c*, which give the number of the kings as 14 (according to Skene).

[17] Instead of "Kenneth, Alpin's son" MSS. *b* and *c* read "Alpin"; they have therefore omitted what stands between "Alpin" and "Kenneth mac Alpin": it is a case of homoioteleuton.

[18] Dungal reigned in Dalriata ?723-726, and ?733-736.

Alpin I reigned in Pictland 726-728; his reign in Dalriata is not recorded elsewhere, except in the Duan, which says that he reigned there for 4 years. For the kings from Alpin to Kenneth, see the table on pp. cxxxiv-cxxxv.

Muiredach reigned perhaps from 733 to 736, in Lorn; Aed perhaps from 748 to 778; Fergus, from ?778 to †781.

Eochaid's reign is not elsewhere recorded (?781). From this point Fland and the Duan diverge entirely from the Chronicles of Dalriata and the Prose Chronicle, but are supported to some extent by A.U.

Donald is given a 24-years' reign in the Duan (?781-?805).

Conall Coem has 2 years' reign (?805-†807) in the Duan; Conall, Conall's brother, has 4 years' reign (807-?811): the former was the Conall, Tadc's son, who reigned over the Picts ?784-789, and was killed in Kintyre

A hundred and thirty years from the death of Aed Find-liath to the death of Brian Boroime.[1] . . .

by Conall, Aidan's son, who may be the "brother" referred to (i.e., cousin, or brother-in-law? Cf. year 713, note).

Constantine has 9 years' reign over Dalriata in the Duan (?811 - †820). He was king of the Picts 789 - †820.

Aed, Boanta's son, has 4 years' reign in the Duan. He died in 839.

Eoganan has 13 years' reign over Dalriata in the Duan. He was king of the Picts ?836 - †839.

Alpin II probably reigned for a time in Dalriata before Kenneth.

Eoganan II is not elsewhere mentioned.

Kenneth, Alpin's son, was king of the Picts and of Argyle from 843 to 858. Fland's reckoning would place Kenneth's death about 879, i.e. about 21 years too late.

The Duan Albanach agrees closely with Fland from the reign of Ferchar Fota onwards, but omits Selbach and Eochaid, and Fergus and Eochaid; in Skene's P. & S., 61-62: "Seven years of Dungal the impetuous, and Alpin had four; three years of Muiredach the good, and Aed had thirty as sovereign. Donald passed twenty-four years with might. Two years of Conall (a brilliant step), and four of another Conall. Nine years of the fair Constantine, nine of Angus over Scotland; four years of glorious Aed, and thirteen of Eoganan. Thirty years of severe Kenneth. . . ."

The epithets in the Duan (Dungal Dian, Muiredach Maith, Cusaintin Cain, Aed An, Cionaith Cruaid) are selected for assonance. Sometimes perhaps the Duan's numbers also have been adapted to the metre.

Annals of Clonmacnoise, 115-116, s.a. 734=737: "Aed Alddain [*Hugh Allan*] reigned 9 years.

"There was 132 years between the death of Aed Alddain and the death of king Aed Find-liath [743-879]. During which time there reigned in Ireland 8 kings, which were Fergal, Niall Frossach [763 - †769], Aed Oirdnide [*Hughornye;* †819], Duncan [†797], Connor Duncan's son [†833], Niall Glundub [*Glunduffe;* read "Caille," †846], Maelsechlaind [†862], and Aed Find-liath [†879].

"There reigned in Scotland 26 kings, *videlicet:* Dungal, Alpin, Muiredach, Conall, Conall, Angus, Fergus, Eochaid, Donald, Constantine, Eogan [*Owen*], Alpin, Eogan Cendbuide" (*Owen Kymboye*, as if one man), "Fiachna, Eochaid [*Eochy*], Tomaltach [*ffomaltagh*], Carcall, Maelbressail [*Moylebressal*], Muiredach, Matadan Lethlobar [*Morieagh Madadan, Leathlovar*], Anfith [*Ainvith*], Eochagan, Eremon, Fiachna Eremon's son, Muiredach, and Eochaid" (*Ahagh;* 878-889. This is a padded list.)

"There reigned in Leinster 13 kings, *videlicet:* Cellach [†776], Ruadri [*Rory;* †785], Bran [†795], Findachta [†808], Muiredach [†829], Cellach [†834], Bran [835 - †838], Ruarc [†862], Dunlaing, Tuathal [†854], Dunlaing, and Donald [*Daniell;* †884]." These annals proceed to give lists of the kings of Ossory, of Munster, and of Connaught, within the same period.

[1] I.e. from 879 to 1014. (Skene's text reads "138 years," which is doubtless the reading in one or both of the other MSS.)

Fourteen[1] kings reigned over Scotland in that time, namely Donald, Alpin's son[2]; and Constantine, Kenneth's son[3]; and (Aed, Kenneth's son[4]); Giric, Dungal's son[5]; and Donald Dasachtach (Constantine's son[6]); Constantine, Aed's son[7]; and Malcolm, Donald's son[8]; and Indulf, Constantine's (son[9]); and Dub, Malcolm's son[10]; and Culen, Indulf's son[11]; and Kenneth, Malcolm's son[12]; and Constantine, Culen's son[13]; and Kenneth, Dub's son[14]; and Malcolm, Kenneth's son. . . .[15]

Continuation of Fland Mainistrech; Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 119[16]

A hundred and four years from the battle of Brian to the death of Muirchertach, Toirdelbach's son.[17] . . .

Five kings reigned in Scotland during that time: Duncan,

Annals of Clonmacnoise, 116: "There are 138 years from the death of king Aed Find-liath to the death of king Brian Boroime [879-1014], that was killed by the Danes in the battle of Clontarf. During which time there reigned in Ireland 6 kings, viz.: Fland, Maelsechlaind's son [† 915], Niall Glundub [† 919], Congalach [† 956], Donald [† 980], Maelsechlaind Donald's son [† 1022], and king Brian [† 1014]."

[1] "Fifteen" in MSS. *b* and *c*. "Fourteen . . . time" is now illegible in MS. *a*. "Fifteen" is the correct reading; MS. *a* has omitted Aed, Kenneth's son.

[2] Donald reigned probably 858-862.

[3] Constantine reigned probably 862-877.

[4] Not in MS. *a*. Aed reigned probably 877-878.

[5] Giric and Eochaid reigned 878-889.

[6] Not in MS. *a*. Donald reigned 889-900.

[7] Constantine, 900-943.

[8] Malcolm, 943-954.

[9] Not in MS. *a*. Indulf reigned 954-962.

[10] Dub, 962-966. After his reign, MSS. *b* and *c* insert: "and Aear, Malcolm's son" (Skene, P. & S., p. xxxi).

[11] Culen, 966-971.

[12] Kenneth, 971-995.

[13] Constantine, 995-997.

[14] Kenneth, 997-1005.

[15] Malcolm, 1005-1034.

[16] Edited by Skene (with a translation) from the Book of Lecan, and MS. Rawlinson B 512.

[17] Muirchertach Ua-Briain died in 1119, according to A.U., ii, 100; the continuation of Tigernach, Revue Celtique, xviii, 40; A.I., O'Conor's Scriptores, ii, 2, 103; Chronicon Scotorum, 320; and F.M., ii, 1008. The period intended is therefore 1014-1119.

Crinan's son [1]; Duncan, Malcolm's son [2]; Macbeth, Findlaech's son [3]; Lulach, Macbeth's son [4]; Malcolm, Duncan's son.[5] He it was who was killed by the French, along with Edward, his son.

Senchus Fer n-Alban, in the Book of Ballymote, facsimile, p. 148 [6]

Here begins the abbreviation of the history of the men of Scotland.

Two sons of Eochaid Muin-remor, namely Erc and Olchu. And Erc, Eochaid's son, had twelve sons; six of them took possession of Scotland:—two Loarns, Loarn Bec and Loarn Mor; and two sons of [Nes],[7] Macc-Misi Bec and Macc-Misi Mor; [and] two [sons] Fergus, Fergus Bec and Fergus Mor. Six others were in Ireland, namely Macc-Deichill; Angus, whose descendants are in Scotland; Enda, Bressal, Fiachra, Dubthach. Others say that Erc had another son, whose name was Muiredach.

Olchu, Eochaid Muin-remar's son, had eleven sons, who inhabited Muirbolg with the [men of] Dalriata; namely Muiredach Bolc, Aed, Guaire, Daire, Angus, Tuathal, Ánblomaid, Eochaid, Setna, Briasomu, Cormac.

Fergus, Erc's son, was another name of Macc-Misi Mor. He had one son, Domangart. Domangart had two sons, Gabran [8] and Comgall, both sons of Fedlim, daughter of Briun, son of Eochaid Muigmedon. Comgall had one son, Conall. Conall had seven sons:—Loingsech, Nechtan, Artan, Tuathan, Tutio, Coirpre.

Gabran had five sons:—Aed Find,[9] Eogan, Cuiltech, Donald, Domangart.

[1] Duncan, Crinan's son, reigned 1034-1040.

[2] Duncan, Malcolm's son, 1094.

[3] Macbeth, 1040-1057.

[4] Lulach, 1057-1058.

[5] Malcolm III, 1058-1093.

[6] Skene edited this tract, with a translation, from the Trinity College (Dublin) MS. H.2.7, collating the versions in the Book of Ballymote and the Book of Lecan, in his P. & S., 308-314.

[7] For *Misi* read *Nise;* so also below.

[8] In MS. *Garban;* so also below.

[9] Read "Aidan"; so also below.

Aed Find had seven sons:—two Eochaids, Eochaid Buide and Eochaid Find; Tuathal, Bran, Baithine, Conaing, Gartnait.

Eochaid Buide, Aidan's son, had eight sons:—Donald Brecc, and Donald Dond, and Conall Crandomna, Conall Breg, Connad Cerr, Failbe, Domangart, Cu-cen-mathir.

Eochaid [Find] had eight sons:—Baetan, Pertan, Pletan, Cormac, Cronan, Feradach, Fedlimid, Caplen.

These were the sons of Conaing, Aidan's son:—Rigallan, Ferchar, Artan, Arthur, Duncan, Domangart, Nechtan, Ném, Crumene.

Four sons of Gartnait, Aidan's son, namely [. . .].[1]

Two sons of Tuathal, son of Morgan, son of Eochaid Find, son of Aidan, son of Gabran, [grandson of Fergus Mor]. Now [Fergus Mor's] brother was Fergus Bec, son of Erc Geodnaid. He had one son, Setna, from whom descend the tribe of Setna, or Setne, son of Fergus Bec, son of Erc, son of Eochaid Muinremor.

Angus Mor and Loarn and Macc-Misi Mor were three sons of Erc, on that side.

Angus Mor, Erc's son, had two sons, Natsluaig and Fergna.

Fergna had seven sons:—Tuathal, Aed Letho, Riagan, Fiachu, Guaire, Canntann, Eocho.

And Natsluaig had two sons, Barrfind and Caiblene.

Two sons of Barrfind, Naem and Tulchan.

Tulchan had four sons:—Cronan, Breccan, Domancon, Mend.

Other people say that Natsluaig had three sons:—Lugaid, Conall, Galan.

Caiblene, Natsluaig's son, had four sons:—Aidan, Lugaid, Crumaine, Gentine, who was also called Min.[2]

Barrfind, Natsluaig's son, had three sons:—Lugaid, Conall, Canan. Their mother was a Pict,[3] and they divided the land in Islay.[4]

Now Angus Bec, Erc's son, had one son, Muiredach.

[There are] a hundred villages in Islay:—in Odeich, twenty

[1] There has been some omission in this sentence; but no gap appears in the text of the Book of Ballymote.

[2] *qui et min.*

[3] *Cruithneach.*

[4] *orba anili.*

houses; in Freg, a hundred and twenty houses; in Clad-rois, sixty houses; in Rosdeorand, thirty houses; in Ardbes, thirty houses; in Loichrois, thirty houses; in Ath-caisil, thirty . . .[1]

The tribe of Angus:—thirty houses in Caillnae, but the holdings are small, namely thirty-one men. The fighting-strength[2] of the army of the tribes of Angus, five hundred men. The fighting-strength of the tribes of Gabran, three hundred men; but if the expedition be by sea, forty-two men (?) go from them upon the campaign.[3]

Now the three parts of Dalriata are the tribe of Gabran, and the tribe of Angus, and the tribe of Loarn Mor.

These were the sons of Loarn Mor:—Eochaid, Cathba, Muiredach, Fuindenam, Fergus Salach, two Maines. Others say that Loarn had only three sons, Fergus Salach, and Muiredach, and Maine.

These are the three divisions of the tribe of Loarn:—the tribe of Fergus Salach, and the tribe of Cathba, and the tribe of Eochaid, Muiredach's son. The tribe of Fergus have sixty houses. The fighting-strength of the tribe of Loarn is seven hundred men; but the seventh hundred is composed of the people of Oriel.[4] But in the case of a sea campaign, fourteen go still from every twenty houses.[5]

Fergus Salach had five sons:—Caeldub, who had thirty houses; Eogan Garb, who had thirty houses; and his wife was Crodu, daughter of Dallan, son of Eogan, son of Niall; Fergna, who had fifteen houses[6]; Eogan, who had five houses; Baetan, who had five houses.

Muiredach, Loarn's son, had two sons, Cathba and Eochaid. Eochaid, Muiredach's son, had five sons:—Feradach, who had

[1] *ininsin;* possibly read *innisin* "in that [land]"?

[2] *fecht airmi.*

[3] *mad fecht imorro for imramh, uiishese[r] uaidib i fecht.* Skene's text has: *vij. vij. sese uaidibh*, which he translates "twice seven benches of them." The text is probably corrupt, and my rendering of it is merely conjectural. The calculation below gives 392 men. We might have expected here a number 140, or 150.

[4] *dinib Airgiall.*

[5] *da secht bes o cach xx. iteach dib.*

[6] *Fergna coig tigi dh~ lais.*

twenty houses; Cormac, who had twenty houses; Pletan and Cronan, who had twenty houses between them. And three sons of Cathba:—Brenaind, Ainmire, Cronan.

A hundred and fifty men were the navy that went with the sons of Erc; the third fifty were Coirpre with his people.

The tribe of Gabran [has] five hundred and sixty houses [in] Kintyre, and [in] the territory of Comgall,[1] with its islands. Fourteen to every twenty houses, for sea campaign. The tribe of Angus has four hundred and thirty houses; fourteen to every twenty houses, for sea campaign. The tribe of Loarn has four hundred and twenty houses; fourteen to every twenty houses, for sea campaign.

Genealogies from the Book of Ballymote, pp. 148-149[2]

Here begins the genealogy of the men of Scotland.

I

Constantine, son of [Culen],[3] son of Indulf, son of Constantine, son of Aed,[4] son of Kenneth, son of Alpin, son of Eochaid, son of Aed Find, son of Eochaid,[5] son of Domangart,[6] son of Fergus, son of Erc, son of Angus, son of Fergus Ulach, son of Fiachra Tathmael,[7] son of Fedlimid Lamdoit, son of Cince, son of Guaire, son of Cindtai, son of Coirpre Riata, son of Conaire Coem, son of Mug-lama,[8] son of Coirpre Crom-chend, son of Daire Dornmor,[9] son of Conaire Mor, son of Eterscel, son of Eogan, son of Ailill, son of Iar, son of Dedad, son of Sin, son

[1] I.e., Cowal, Argyleshire.

[2] Skene edited these pedigrees from the same three MSS. as the Senchus, to which they are appended, in his P. & S., 314-317. Cf. the slightly varying pedigree in Rawlinson B 502, facsimile, 162.

[3] *Coluim;* read *Coliuin?*

[4] "son of Aed," omitted by other pedigrees, is erroneous.

[5] Add here "son of Eochaid."

[6] Add: "Son of Donald Brecc, son of Eochaid Buide, son of Aidan, son of Gabran, son of Domangart," as in Rawlinson MS., and in B.B. pedigree II.

[7] "Erc . . . Tathmael," to be corrected by pedigree II.

[8] "Conaire . . . " The Rawlinson MS. reads "Conaire Coem, son of Lugaid."

[9] The Rawlinson MS. inserts "son of Coirpre."

of Ro-Sin, son of Trir, son of Ro-Thrir, son of Arnail, son of Maine, son of Forgo, son of Feradach, son of Ailill Erand, son of Fiachu Fer-mara, son of Angus Turbech of Tara.[1]

II

David,[2] son of Malcolm, son of Duncan, son of Malcolm, son of Kenneth,[3] son of Donald, son of Constantine, son of Kenneth, son of Alpin,[4] son of Eochaid, son of Aed Find, son of Eochaid,[5] son of Domangart (here the tribe of Gabran and the tribe of Comgall unite), son of Donald Brecc, son of Eochaid Buide[6] (here the children of Fergus Goll, son of Eochaid Buide, or Gabran's descendants, and the children of Conall Cerr, son of Eochaid Buide, or the men of Fife,[7] join the royal line, or the tribe of Kenneth, son of Alpin), son of Aidan (here the children of Eochaid Buide unite with the division of Conaing,[8] son of Aidan), son of Gabran, son of Domangart, son of Fergus Mor, son of Erc (here the tribe of Loarn, Erc's son, and the tribe of Angus, and the tribe of Gabran, and the tribe of Comgall, unite), son of Eochaid Muin-remor, son of Angus, son of Fedlimid Aislingthe, son of Angus Buaidnech, son of Fedlimid, son of Sen-chormac, son of Laithluaithi, son of Aithir, son of Eochaid Antoit, son of Fiachu Tathmael.[9]

[1] The Rawlinson MS. carries the pedigree 14 generations back to "Duach Land."

[2] Another hand has added "king of Scotland, 1125." Skene's MS. *a* and Rawlinson B 502 (facsimile, 162), begin: "Malcolm, son of Kenneth, son of Malcolm, son of Donald" etc.

[3] Insert here "son of Malcolm," with MS. *a* and Rawlinson MS.

[4] Here the pedigree in MS. *a* stops.

[5] Insert here "son of Eochaid." Both Eochaids are omitted by Rawlinson MS.

[6] The Book of Lecan omits "here . . . Buide."

[7] *Isunn condr*ecat *cland Fergusa Guill . . . .i. Gabranaig 7 cland Conaill Cirr . . . .i. fir ibe, fris in rigraig, .i. cland Cinaeda mic Ailpin.*

[8] *Isunn condr*ecat *cland Eachach Buide fri leithrind Conaing.* Skene reads: *fir leithrind Conaing*, and translates: "the men of the half-portion of Conaing." (These parentheses are not in the Rawlinson MS.)

The Book of Lecan adds *don leth tuaidh*, which Skene translates (S.C.S., i, 273) "half of the *tuath* or barony." The meaning is perhaps "of one of the two baronies."

[9] "Sen-Chormac . . ." The Rawlinson MS. reads: "Cormac, son of

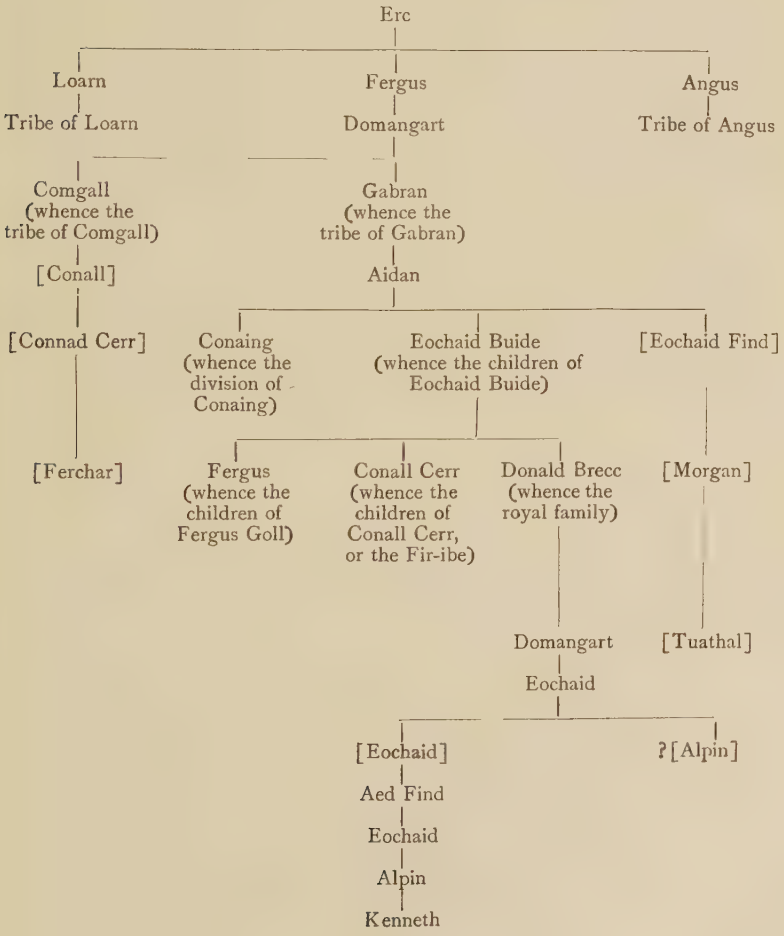
III

The four principal tribes of Dalriata are the tribe of Gabran, and the tribe of Loarn Mor, and the tribe of Angus, and the tribe of Comgall.

Gabran and Comgall were two sons of Domangart; their

Croithluithe, son of Findfeicce, son of Achir, son of Eochaid, son of Fiachu."

From these pedigrees we may draw up the following table:



mother was Fedlim Folt-choem, daughter of Briun, son of Eochaid Muigmedon.

IV

Congus, son of Consamla, son of Conai Garb, son of Gartnait, son of Aidan, son of Gabran.

V

Genealogy of the children of Loarn Mor.

Ainfcellach, son of Ferchar Fota, son of Feradach, son of Fergus, son of Nechtan, son of Colum, son of Baetan, son of Eochaid, son of Muiredach, son of Loarn Mor, son of Erc, son of Eochaid Muin remor.

Morgan,[1] son of Don[ald], son of Cathma[il], son of Ruadri, son of Ferchar, son of Muiredach, son of Baetan, son of Eochaid, son of Muiredach.

VI

Genealogy of the children of Comgall.

Eochaid, son of Nechtan, son of Ferchar, son of Fingin, son of Eochaid, son of Loingsech, son of Comgall, son of Domangart, son of Macc-Misi Mor, son of Erc.

VII

Genealogy of the children of Angus.

Angus, son of Boib, son of Ronan, son of Aidan, son of Coiblein, son of Natsluaig, son of Ronan, son of Angus, son of Erc, son of Eochaid Muin-remor.

VIII

Maelsnachtai, son of Lulach, son of Gillacom[gain],[2] son of Maelbrigte, son of Ruadri, son of Morgan, son of Donald,

[1] The *r* in Morgan has been added above the line. The Book of Lecan has *Mogan;* MS. *a* has *Mongan* (Skene, u.s., 316).

[2] *Gillicom.* Skene reads *Gillicomgan*, presumably from the Book of Lecan.

son of Cathmail, son of Ruadri, son of Aircellach, son of Ferchar Fota.[1]

Pedigree of the Scottish Kings, appended to version E of the Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland; Skene's Picts and Scots, pp. 133-134[2]

King William the ruddy [was] the son of Henry, the son of David, the son of Malcolm, the son of Duncan, who was the grandson of Malcolm, the son of Kenneth, the son of Malcolm, the son of Donald, the son of Constantine, the son of Kenneth, the son of Alpin, the son of Eochaid, the son of Aed Find, the son of Eochaid, the son of Eochaid, the son of Domangart, the son of Donald Brecc, the son of Eochaid Buide, the son of Aidan, the son of Gabran, the son of Domangart, the son of Fergus, the son of Erc, the son of Eochaid Muin-remor, the son of Angus Fir, the son of Fedlimid Aislingech, the son of Angus Buidnech, the son of Fedlimid Ruamnach, the son of Sen-chormac, the son of Cruitlinde, the son of Findfece, the son of Achircir, the son of Eochaid Antoit, the son of Fiachra Cathmail, the son of Eochaid Riata, the son of Conaire, the son of Mug-lama, the son of Lugaid, the son of Ellatig, the son of Coirpre Crom-chend, the son of Daire Dorn-mor, the son of Coirpre, the son of Admor, the son of Conaire Mor, the son of Eterscel, the son of Eogan. . . .[3]

Pedigree V appended to Annales Cambriae; Y Cymmrodor, vol. ix, pp. 172-173[4]

Run, son of Arthgal, son of Dumnagual, son of Riderch, son of Eugein, son of Dumnagual, son of Teudebur, son of Beli, son

[1] Pedigree VIII is not in MS. *a* (Skene). For "Aircellach" read "Ainfcellach." But this is not in agreement with pedigree V, above.

[2] Also edited by Innes in his Critical Essay, 420-421.

[3] The pedigree is carried up to "Adam, the son of the living God."

Cf. the pedigree in Fordun, Chronica, IV, 8 (i, 151): "For this Kenneth was the son of king Alpin, son of Eochaid [*Achay*], son of Aed Find, son of Eugenius, son of Findan, son of Eugenius, son of Domangart, son of Donald Brecc, son of Eugenius Buide, son of Aidan, son of Gabran, son of Domangart, son of Fergus, son of Erth."

[4] Also in Skene's P. & S., 15; Loth's Mabinogion (1889), ii, 308-309.

I give the names here as they are spelt in the pedigree.

of Elfin, son of Eugein, son of Beli, son of Neithon, son of Guipno, son of Dumngual Hen, son of Cinuit, son of Ceretic Guletic,[1] son of Cynloyp, son of Cinhil, son of Cluim, son of Cursalen, son of Fer, son of Confer. . . .[2]

[1] This seems to have been the Coroticus of Patrick's Epistle. See R.S. **89**, ii, 375-380; N. J. D. White, St Patrick (1920), 52-55, 111-112. Muirchu calls Coroticus *Coirthech regem Aloo*, i.e. "king of Dumbarton"; R.S. **89**, ii, 271; White, u.s., 100.

[2] This pedigree continues thus: *ipse est uero olitauc. dimor. meton. uenditus est.*

EARLY SOURCES OF SCOTTISH HISTORY

A.D. 500 TO 1286

EARLY SOURCES OF SCOTTISH HISTORY

VOL. I—PART I

Establishment of the Kingdoms of Dalriata and Northumbria

Giraldus Cambrensis, Topographia Hibernica. Opera, vol. v, p. 147

Note that the northern part of Britain is called Scotland, because it was inhabited by this nation of the Scots.

The northern part of the island of Britain also is called Scotland, because a nation originally sprung from [the Irish] is understood to inhabit that land. And this is shown even to the present day by their affinity both in language and in culture, also both in arms and in customs.[1]

ca. 501

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 124, s.a. [501][2]

Fergus Mor, Erc's son, with the nation of Dalriata, held part of Britain[3]; and there he died.[4]

[1] Cf. Giraldus's account of the Irish occupation of "the northern parts of Britain"; ibid., 162. See also below, year 843, note.

[2] With f.n. 1 (see pp. xcvi-xcvii for an account of Tigernach's chronology). This stands 5 year-sections after the record of an eclipse of the sun in [496], perhaps that visible at Rome in 496, on 22nd October, at 8 a.m. (Solar eclipses visible in Ireland occurred in 498, 499, and 502.) The A.U. record the eclipse under 495=496 (with f.n. and e. for 496).

Tigernach and C.S. notice in the same year-section as the death of Fergus, the battle of Druimm-loch-muide, which A.U. place under 502=503.

At the beginning of year [501] Tigernach quotes a passage about pope Symmachus [498-514] (his buildings, and his generosity to the bishops in exile in Africa) from the Liber Pontificalis, LIII, 10, 11 (M.G.H., Gesta Pontificum Romanorum, i, 124, 125) through Bede's Chronicle (M.G.H., Auctores, xiii, 306). The death of Symmachus's predecessor is noticed

under [498], and the succession of Symmachus under [499]. The latter is placed by A.U. in 498=499; but the accepted date is 498.

[3] Bede (H.E., I, 1), says: "... Britain received a third race, after the Britons and Picts, that of the Scots, in the region of the Picts" (E.C., 4). The earlier inhabitants of Kintyre were a Welsh-speaking race (K. Meyer: Zur keltischen Wortkunde, § 41; Sitzungsberichte der Königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, xxv, 445-446).

[4] This annal appears similarly in C.S., 34, s.a. [502] (f.n. 3; Hennessy's year 499). It is placed by F.M. under 498 (i, 160).

Fland places Fergus's accession about [495]; the Annals of Clonmacnoise's version of Fland, in 498.

Version D of the Chronicle of Dalriata, in Skene's P. & S., 148: "The sum of the years of the first Scots that reigned before the Picts, 260 years and 3 months." This would place Fergus's accession about 583.

Version I of the Chronicle of Dalriata, in P. & S., 288, concludes: "The sum of the years from the time of Fergus, Erc's son, to the time of Alpin is 407 years and 3 months." Alpin died probably in 843; therefore this summation would place Fergus's accession about 436.

Scots from Antrim had been settling in Kintyre long before 500. Probably at the same time Picts from Down had been settling in Wigtonshire; from which they had originally gone to Ireland.

The Chronicles of Dalriata give Fergus a reign of 3 years [ca. 498-ca. 501]; the Duan, of 27. His date is very uncertain. See ? 506, note, for his successor. For the extent of his kingdom cf. the Chronicle of Dalriata, above, p. cxxix, which erroneously implies that he reigned over the whole of the lands that belonged to Dalriata a century later.

Fergus's predecessor appears to have been his brother Loarn. Duan Albanach, in P. & S., 59: "Three sons of Erc, the son of pleasant Eochaid, three men who got the blessing" (? *beannachtair*, read *beannacht*) "of Patrick, took Scotland—great were their deeds—: Loarn, Fergus, and Angus. Ten years Loarn, with distinguished renown, was in the kingdom of Argyle [*Oirir Alban*]; Fergus for twenty-seven years, after generous Loarn, with vigour." The Duan's numbers are not trustworthy.

Loarn was the father of Erc (see below). Erc was the mother of Muirchertach († ? ca. 537), whose sons won the battle of Sligo (? ca. 542). Other grandsons of Erc were Columba (born ca. 521), and Baithine († ca. 601). Erc must have been born before 481, and have flourished in or before 500. Loarn probably flourished about 470, or earlier.

The battle of Sligo is placed in 543, 547, or 548, by A.U.; in [542] by T. and C.S. (Hennessy's year 543); by A.I., in O'Conor's year 536=541 (or =541×544).

Tripartite Life, i, 108: "[Patrick] went to the sons of Erc [Eochaid's son]. They stole Patrick's horses, and Patrick cursed them, saying, 'Your descendants shall serve your brother [Fergus's] descendants for ever.'"

Another account of Fergus's relations with Patrick (Tripartite Life, i, 162) is given below, year 573, note.

Loarn's daughter Erc was, according to Irish traditions of doubtful value, the ancestress of many families.

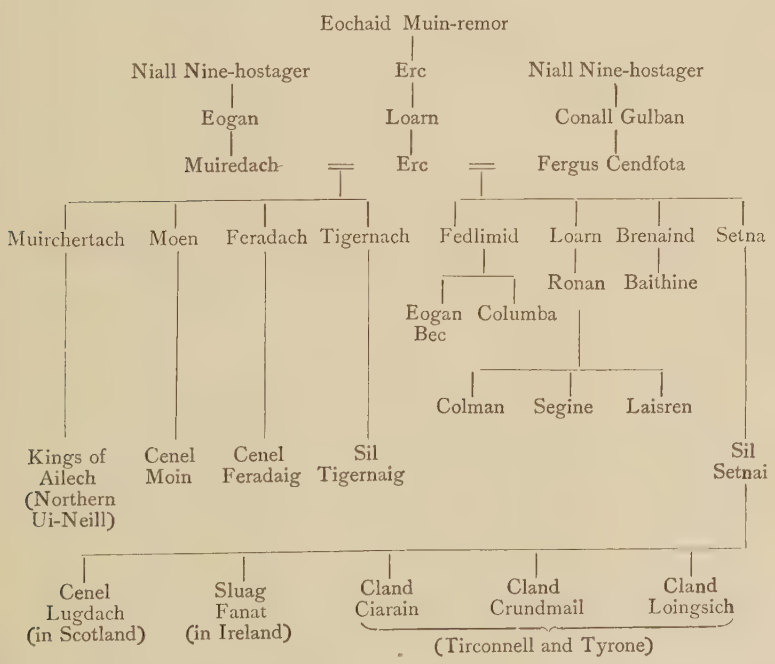
Cf. the story preserved by D.M.F., in Todd's Irish Nennius, pp. ci-cii:

"Muiredach, Eogan's son, had four sons; and they had one mother: [they were] Muirchertach, Moen, Feradach, and Tigernach. The mother of these four was Erc, the daughter of Loarn, king of Scotland. . . .

"After the death of Eogan's son, Fergus, Conall Gulban's son, took Erc, Loarn's daughter; and she bore him four other sons: Fedlim[id], Loarn, Brenaind, and Setna. . . ."

Cf. a poem ascribed to Fland Mainistrech in Advocates' Library Gaelic MS. 28 (Kilbride, 24), p. 4; and a poem edited by Todd in his Irish Nennius, civ-cix. Ibid., cvi-cvii: "Fedlim[id] left no children but Eogan Bec and Columba. Brenaind . . . left none but Baithine Frithbertach (or Frithcertach). Loarn, of strong grasp, noble was the firstborn of his sons, Ronan, the father of illustrious sons, Colman [St Columbanus], Segine, and Laisren. . . . From Setna, son of Fergus of Fál [i.e. of Ireland], are the noble descendants of Setna from the east, the tribe of Lugaid in the east [i.e. in Scotland]; and on this side [i.e. in Ireland], the people of Fanat" etc.

From these and other sources quoted by Todd (ci-cvi) the following table may be drawn up:—



The fabulous tale of Erc (quoted below) in the Book of Ballymote says

? ca. 506

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 125, s.a. [506][1]

The death of Domangart, Ness's son, king of Scotland.[2]

that Erc's son, Muirchertach, was expelled from Ireland, then killed his grandfather Loarn and was expelled from Scotland also.

According to the fabulous 14th-century tale of Sín and of Muirchertach Erc's son, in Y.B.L., 317, Muirchertach says: "It was prophesied to me that my death would be like the death of Loarn, my grandfather; for he did not fall in combat, but was burned none the less." Muirchertach was, it is said, drowned in a vat of wine in a burning house at Cletty. His death is placed in 534 or 536, or after 537, by A.U., i, 44, 46; see T., s.a. [532] (f.n. 5; so also in C.S., Hennessy's year 531); and F.M., s.a. 527. See Annals of Clonmacnoise, 77, s.a. 529.

Fordun's account (II, 12, 13; III, 1) differs from that of the older authorities.

For the history of Erc, Loarn's daughter, cf. the Book of Ballymote, 208 (Skene's P. & S., 52):

"Then Sarran took kingship over Britain, and took authority over the Saxons and the Picts. And he married the daughter of the king of Scotland, Babona, the daughter of Loarn, Erc's son.

"It was not she that had been given to him, but her sister, Erc, daughter of Loarn; but Muiredach, son of Eogan, Niall's son, had seduced her to Ireland, and she bore him four sons, Muirchertach, Erc's son, and Feradach, and Tigernach, and Maian. And Sarran impregnated Babona, and five sons were born to them: Luirig, and Cairnech, and bishop Dallan, and Coemlach; and he died after victory and triumph [over this world,] in the house of Martin" (i.e. at Whithorn).

The remainder of this story is quite mythical (ibid. 53-56), and perhaps the part quoted above has little foundation in fact. (The text, with translation, was edited by Todd, Irish Nennius, 178-180. Skene's translation is based upon Todd's.) For Saran's pedigree, see 1905 Oengus, 72; 1880 ed., lxxxix.

According to the tract on the Mothers of Irish saints (L.L., 372; cf. B.B., 212), "Pompa, daughter of Loarn, son of Erc, [was] the mother of Carnech, and Breccan, son of Saran, and Ronan [Find, B.B.], son of Saran"; and "Erc, daughter of Loarn, son of Erc, king of Scotland, [was] the mother of Maelumai, son of Baetan." The "elopement of Erc, Loarn's daughter, with Muiredach, Eogan's son," was one of the subjects of Irish literary compositions; Book of Leinster, 190a.

[1] F.n. 1. In the same year-section Tigernach places the death of Brude, Maelchon's son; see year 586.

[2] A.U., i, 36, place Domangart's death in 506 = 507: ". . . the death of Lugaid, Loegaire's son; and, as others say, Domangart Ness's son died at Rete [?] in his thirty-fifth year [*Domhangart mac Nisse reti secessit.*] Repose of Macc-Nisse, bishop of Connor." (Again under 513=

ca. 517

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 38, s.a. 516=517[1]

The repose of Darerca of Cell-Slebe-Cuilind,[2] on the third day[3] before the Nones of July.

514: "Macc-Nisse, i.e. Oengus, bishop of Connor, reposed.") At 506=507, in margin of MS. A, erroneously, "bishop Domangart."

With *reti secessit*, literally, "withdrew from Rete" (or possibly "withdrew from the net" [of the world; or as a pun on a place-name?]), cf. A.I., below, year 537, note, where this king is called "Domangart of Rete" (*retis*). This seems to show that Rete was a place. (Whitley Stokes held that *reti secessit*, "like the *resticuit* of the Book of Armagh, ff. 11a 1, 14a 1, seems for *reciescit*, the Irish spelling of *requiescit*, as in the A.L.C., i, p. 53, n. 5." The Academy, 1889, p. 208.)

Also under 466=466 (but with e. 20 in MS. A, instead of 29): "Domangart, son of Nes, reposed" (*quievit*); and so also in C.S., 26, f.n. 2=468, Hennessy's year 464.

A.I., 5, O'Conor's year 495=?501 (58 years before 559): "The repose of Domangart of Kintyre." "Repose" (*quies*) usually means the death of a man in religion. Seven years before this, these annals record Patrick's death.

The deaths of Brude, Maelchon's son, king of Pictland; and Domangart, son of Ness, are erroneously placed in one year, s.a. 509, in the Annals of Clonmacnoise, 74.

The Chronicles of Dalriata (above, p. cxxix) say that Domangart was the son of Fergus: Ness (or Cness?) was apparently his mother's name.

Fland places the reign of "Angus Mor, Erc's son" between the reigns of Fergus and of Domangart.

The Duan Albanach, in P. & S., 59: "Domangart, a son to high Fergus, [was in the sovereignty of Argyle for the] number of five ever-turbulent years."

All the Chronicles of Dalriata, and the Duan, and Tigernach, agree that Domangart reigned for 5 years. For the date of his son's accession, see year 537, note.

A chronological tract in Lebar Brecc (R.S. 89, ii, 552) in an unhistorical passage says that Domangart, Fergus' son, was king of Scotland at the time of Patrick's death.

[1] With f.n. and e. of 517. Darerca's death is repeated in A.U., 40, under 518=519 (with f.n. and e. of 519):—"The repose of Darerca, who was called Moninne."

A.I., 5, O'Conor's year 507=512 (47 years before 559): "The repose of Darerca."

C.S., 38, Hennessy's year 514=516 (f.n. 6): "The repose of Darerca, of Cell-Slebe-Cuilind; she was afterwards named Moninne (Aninne Sanatho)." The last words seem to be the beginning of a Latin hymn (*O Ninne Sanato*).

[2] "Church of the mountain of Cuilend."

[3] 5th July. Moninne (Darerca) is entered at 6th July by the Martyr-

ca. 521

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 128, s.a. [520][1]

Buitte, son of Bronach, died; Columcille was born. And of them it was said: "The fair birth of Columba, our priest, [took place] to-day, upon learned Ireland, on the same festival[2] (no vain saying) as the death of Bronach's fair-haired, victorious son."[3]

ologies of Oengus, Gorman, Tallaght (Brussels version; ed. Kelly, p. xxviii), and Donegal.

Darerca, Moninne, Modwena, or Medana, is said to have founded many churches in southern Scotland; many churches were dedicated to her. Besides Kirkmaiden, near the Mull of Galloway, there was an ancient parish of Kirkmaiden, now included in Glasserton parish, also in the south of Wigtonshire.

[1] For f.n. 7 (uii) in Stokes's text read 4 (iiii, with O'Conor), i.e. [520] instead of [522]: otherwise the order of the annals is incorrect.

[2] Buitte's death-day was the 7th of December, according to the Martyrology of Oengus (7th December 520, according to the Martyrology of Donegal). The Martyrology of Gorman, p. 234, places Buitte's death and Columba's birth on 7th December. Cf. Stokes, Lismore Lives, 308.

For the year, cf. years 563, 597, notes.

[3] The passage in inverted commas is in verse in the original.

The whole passage stands similarly in C.S., 38, Hennessy's year 518=520 (f.n. 4).

A.U., i, 40, enters these deaths twice; s.a. 518=519: "The nativity of Columcille, on the same day upon which Buitte, son of Bronach, slept"; and s.a. 522=523: "Buitte, son of Bronach, died. Columcille was born" (with f.n. and e. of 519 and 523). The latter entry appears in A.B., 3, O'Conor's year 499.

A.I., 5, O'Conor's year 511=516 (23 years after 493, 43 years before 559): "The birth of Columcille. The slumber of Buitte, Bronach's son."

A.C., s.a. [521] (7 years after the "70th year" after 444): "St Columcille was born."

Columba's birth is placed 4 year-sections before Bridget's death, in T. (but the ferial numbers are here confused); 5 years before Bridget's death, in C.S. and A.B.; 3 years, in A.I. The two events are erroneously placed in the same year by A.C. See below, p. 17.

The Tripartite Life (ii, 150) quotes a stanza in which Patrick is said to have prophesied the birth of Columba, and another stanza in which Bridget is represented as welcoming Columba in his infancy.

Berchan's Prophecy (stanzas 3, 97, 102) places Columba's birth 60 years after the death of Patrick († ? 461).

See an account of St Patrick's prophecy of St Columba's birth in the Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 92.

Ibid. 93: "He was born the 17th of the Ides of December, on

Early 6th century : ca. 525 ?

Preface to the hymn *Parce, Domine ;* Liber Hymnorum, vol. i, p. 22 [1]

Parce, Domine. Mugint composed this hymn in Whithorn. The cause [of its composition was that] Finnian of Moville [2] went forth [from Ireland] for instruction to Mugint; and with him [were] Rioc and Talmach and others. The king of the Britons at that time was Drust, and he had a daughter whose name was Drusticc.[3] And [Drust] gave her to Mugint for [instruction in] reading. And she loved Rioc, and said to Finnian: "I will give thee all the books that Mugint has to write [4] if thou give me Rioc in marriage." And Finnian sent Talmach to her that night in Rioc's shape, and he knew her,

Thursday, in a place called Gortann ; and as soon as he was born he was brought to that venerable and worthy priest Cruinneachan mcKellaghan, who christened him by the name of Columb. . . ."

Buitte was the founder of Monasterboice. For the story of Buitte's raising king Nechtan from the dead, see above, p. cxx.

Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 76, s.a. 519: "St Columcille was born this year. He was born the night that St Baithine" (*Boyhinn*, but read "St Buitte") "died. They were of one family, and both of the families of O'Donnell of Tirconnel, as may appear by St Columba's genealogy, as Columcille was son of Felim, who was son of Fergus Cendfota, who was son of Conall Gulban, who was son of Niall of the nine hostages, etc. We will leave to speak here of St Columb, until we come to make mention of him at the time of his death. St Baithine [*Boghinn*] was his cousin-german (he errs)." Baithine, not Buitte, was Columba's first cousin ; their grandfather was Fergus Cendfota.

[1] Also in Todd's Book of Hymns, i, 95 ; Stokes, Goidelica, 96-97. See Todd's Notes, u.s., 97 ff. ; and Bernard and Atkinson, ii, 112-113.

This story is mere legend.

[2] Finnian of Moville's death is placed by A.U. s.a. 578=579 ; by T., s.a. [577] ; by C.S., under Hennessy's year 578=577 (f.n. 5) ; and in A.I., under O'Conor's year 572=580 (19 years before 599).

[3] Book of Leinster, 373a (list of mothers of saints) : "Dustric, daughter of Drust [*Truist*] king of the Britons of the north, and mother of Lonan Talmach's son. Of her it is said : 'Drust, king of the free estuary from the shore [*Trust rí in tsaer inbir ontraig*] had one perfect daughter, Dustricc, very haughty to others ; the mother of Lonan, Talmach's son.'"

[4] *Quos habet Mugint scribendum* ; possibly books lent by her to Mugint to be copied.

and thereby Lonan of Treoit[1] was conceived and born. But Drusticc imagined that Rioc had known her, and she said that Rioc was the father of her son. This was false, because Rioc was a virgin.

Then Mugint was angry, and sent a lad to the church, and said to him: "Whoever comes first this night to thee in the church, strike him with an axe." He said this because Finnian used to go to the church first. Nevertheless that night, by the Lord's instigation Mugint himself reached the church first; and the lad struck him, according to the words of the prophet: "His sorrow shall be turned about, and his wickedness shall fall upon his own head." And then Mugint said the *Parce*, because he thought that enemies were harrying the people; or else [it was] that this hymn was composed for this reason, that his fault should not be visited upon the people.

Or Ambrose composed it when he was ill. Or David composed it, as others say, but not truly; but from [David] was taken [the part] from *Dic angelo tuo percutienti* to *populo tuo*.[2]

[1] Treoit seems to have been a place in Galloway.

Martyrology of Oengus, 4th December: "The modest Fer-dá-leithe" ("man of two sides") "was one of our noble elders"; with this note in L.B. (1880 Oengus, clxxx): "Berchan of Clonsost in Offaly"; and in Laud MS. 610 (ibid.): "or Fer-da-leithe in Laid-Treoit in Scotland; he was a priest. 'Man of two parts,' that is [he spent] half his life in the world and the other half in pilgrimage, as they say." The Franciscan MS. (ibid.): "half his life in Scotland, and the other half in Ireland." (Cf. 1905 ed., 256.)

Cf. the Martyrology of Donegal, December 4th, p. 327.

Another Galloway saint was apparently Colman. Cf. a note in the Franciscan MS. of the Martyrology of Oengus (1905 ed., 246): "Colman of the ink of Cuilend in the Rhinns, that is of Dunragit [*duib Chuilind isna Rennaib .i. o Dhun Reichet*], and of Belach Congais in Leinster, and of other places. . . ." But MS. Rawlinson B 505 calls him "Colman Dub of Cuilend, that is a mountain at Belach Conglaiss, in Leinster." Cf. the notes in L.B. (1880 Oengus, clxxi), with an account of Colman's miraculous conception from ink, through virtue of Comgall of Bangor.

[2] The hymn *Parce, Domine* is in Bernard and Atkinson, i, 23-24; Todd's Book of Hymns, i, 95-96. It is quite unconnected with the story in its preface; see Bernard and Atkinson, ii, 113.

? ca. 537

Annales Cambriae, Y Cymmrodor, vol. ix, p. 154; s.a. [537][1]

The battle of Camlann,[2] in which Arthur and Medraut fell; and there was a plague in Britain and Ireland.[3]

[1] Placed 3 years after "the 90th year" after [444]. Geoffrey dates this battle in 542; see below. 542 would have been 93 years after 449, which Geoffrey may have thought to have been the initial year of the A.C. (cf. Bede's rendering (I, 16) of Gildas).

[2] *Gueith Camlann*; *bellum Camlan* in MS. B, which reads (Ab Ithel's ed., 4, note): "The battle of Camlann, in which the renowned Arthur, king of the Britons, and his betrayer Medraut, fell by mutual wounds." This is derived by MS. B from Geoffrey of Monmouth, who places the battle beside the river Camel (*flumen Cambula*) in Cornwall. Geoffrey's evidence is not conclusive against the identification of Camlann with Camelon near Falkirk. But there is a 13th-century family name, de Camelyn (or Camelin); and if that is "of Camelon," the form of the name would absolutely rule out any connection between the names Camlann and Camelon. The land of Camelyn was in the fee of Calacmane, i.e. presumably Clackmannan (St Andrews, 398-399).

[3] The last sentence is not in Ab Ithel's MSS. BC. In MS. A, "the battle . . . plague" is written over an erasure.

A plague reached Ireland, according to A.U., in 544=545; cf. A.I., O'Conor's year 534=539 (20 years before 559; 57 years before 599); and T. and C.S., under f.n. 1 (Hennessy's year 541)=[540]. This was the plague in which Mobí died.

The battle of Camlann is mentioned in the Welsh Triads. See M.A. (1870), 396, 397, 398, 393; Loth's Mabinogion (1913), ii, 237, 246, 253, 265, 283, 290; cf. i, 269-270, 277, 353-354.

The "slaying of Arthur" is placed last among the destructions that were the subjects of Irish literary compositions: L.L., 190.

W.N., i, 14, says in his Preface: "It is quite plain that everything that that man [Geoffrey of Monmouth] took pains to write concerning Arthur and his successors and predecessors, after Vortigern, was invented, partly by him, partly also by others; either in unbridled lust of lying, or also for the sake of pleasing the Britons [i.e. the Welsh]; of whom we hear that very many are so irrational that they are said to await Arthur as still to come; and they will not hear of his being dead. . . ."

For an instance of this belief, in Cornwall, shortly before Geoffrey wrote, see Hermann of Laon, De Miraculis S. Marie Laudunensis, II, 15; P.L. **156**, 983. Cf. i.a. R. H. Fletcher, Arthurian Material in the Chronicles (1906), 101.

ca. 537

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 136, s.a. [537][1]

Comgall, Domangart's son, king of Scotland, fell in the thirty-fifth year of his reign.[2]

546

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 50, s.a. 545=546[3]

Derry of Columcille was founded.[4]

[1] F.n. 5. The previous year-section records the death of Pope Agapitus († 536), and the next contains the death of Pope Silverius after a pontificate of "1 year, 5 months, and 11 days." (Similarly A.U. under 537=538 and 538=539.) This is taken from the Liber Pontificalis, LX, 1; M.G.H., G.P.R., i, 144. Silverius was deposed in 537.

[2] A.U. also read (i, 48, s.a. 537=538): "Death of Comgall, son of Domangart, in the thirty-fifth year of his reign," although "thirty-second" would be in agreement with the dates they give; and in order to allow him a reign of about thirty-five years they repeat, s.a. 541=542, "Death of Comgall, son of Domangart" (i, 48). Again, i, 50, s.a. 544=545 (with f.n. and e. of 545): "The death of Comgall, Domangart's son, as others say." Under the same year (545), A.U. place: "The first mortality, which is called *blefed*; and in it Mobí Clar-ainech died."

A.I., 6, O'Conor's year 531=536 (23 years before 559): "The death of Comgall, son of Domangart of Rete." This stands 35 years after the death of Comgall's predecessor, Domangart (see above, ca. 506).

Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 78, s.a. 539: "Comgall, Domangart's son, king of Scotland, in the 35th year of his reign, died."

The Duan Albanach, in Skene's P. & S., 59: "Comgall, Domangart's son, had twenty-four [years] without contention [in the sovereignty of Argyle]."

The Chronicles of Dalriata are at variance about the length of Comgall's reign, giving him 33 (E), 22 (DK), or 24 years (F). See p. cxxx. The Irish Annals are in agreement about it; they say that he died in his 35th year, which not only does not agree with any of the Chronicles of Dalriata or with the Duan, but also does not agree with their own dates. T. says that he reigned from [506] to [537]; A.U., from 507 to 538, but with alternative death-dates 542 and 545; the Annals of Clonmacnoise, from 509 to 539. A.I. alone give him unequivocally 35 years' reign, from 501 to 536. For the succession of his brother Gabran, see year 559, note.

In his De Bello Gothico, II, 6, Procopius says that the Roman leader, Belisarius, in jest made over Britain to the Goths in 537 (Hodgkin, England, 112-113); Niebuhr's Procopius, ii, 171.

[3] With f.n. and e. of 546.

[4] F.M., i, 178, s.a. 535 (and "the 8th year of Tuathal" as sovereign

547

Annales Cambriae, in Y Cymmrodor, vol. ix, p. 155, s.a. [547][1]

A great mortality, in which Mailcun, king of Guenedota, reposed.[2]

547

Historia Brittonum, Genealogies; in M.G.H., Auctores, vol. xii, p. 205

Ida, son of Eobba, held the districts in the northern part of Britain; that is, [to the north] of the sea of Humber. He reigned for twelve years; and he united Dinguayrdi [and] Guurth Berneich.[3]

At that time Dutigirn fought valiantly against the nation of the Angles. At that time Talhaearn Tataguen was renowned in verse; and Neirin, and Taliessin, and Bluchbard, and Cian,

of Ireland): "The church of Daire-Calgaig was founded by Columcille, after the place had been offered up to him by his own tribe, the kindred of Conall Gulban, Niall's son."

Cf. the Irish Life of Columba, Stokes's Three Homilies, 106-108; and Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 94.

[1] Placed 3 years after the "100th year" after 444.

[2] MS. B, Ab Ithel's ed., 4, adds: "Hence it was said, 'The long sleep of Mailcun in the castle of Ros'" (*Hir hun Wailgun en llis Ros;* evidently the title of an elegy).

[3] The version of Nennius (ibid.) is: "Ida, son of Eobba, held the districts to the northern side of the sea of Humber, for twelve years; and he united the citadel, that is, Din Gueirm, with Gurd Birnech. These two districts were in one district, that is Deura Bernech, in English Deira and Bernicia."

With this union, compare the separation mentioned in the Historia Brittonum's Genealogies, u.s., 204: ". . . Sebald begot Zegulf, [who] begot Soemil. [Soemil] first separated Deira and Bernicia [*Deur o Birneich*]. Soemil begot Sguerthing, [who] begot Guilglis, [who] begot Usfrean, who begot Iffi, [who] begot Ulli, [who begot] Edgum, [who begot] Osfird and Eadfird. Edgum had two sons . . . ." See year 633, note.

Soemil appears to be omitted by the pedigree in A.S.C. (B, s.a. 560; C, s.a. 559); Sguerthing seems to be the Westerfalca of A.S.C., which reads: "Ælle was Yffe's son, Yffe Uxfrea's son, Uxfrea Wilgils' son, Wilgils Westerfalca's son, Westerfalca Sæfugal's son, Sæfugel Sæbald's son. . . ."

Ida's death and Ælle's succession are placed by A.S.C. in 560 (ABE) or 559 (CF). See year 559.

C.H., 8, s.a. 547, notes the reign of Ida verbatim from Bede's Recapitulatio.

who was called Gueinth Guaut, were famed together at one time in British verse.

The great king Mailcun reigned over the Britons, that is to say, in the district of Guenedota. . . . [1]

559-685

Kings of Bernicia

Historia Brittonum, Genealogies; in M.G.H., Auctores, vol. xiii, pp. 206-208

Adda, Ida's son, reigned for eight years.[2]
Æthelric, [Ida's] son, reigned for four years.[3]
Theodric, Ida's son, reigned for seven years.[4]

[1] Here (205-206) follows the account of Cuneda's migration from Manau (East Stirlingshire): "because his grandfather's grandfather [*atavus*], Cunedag, had formerly come with his sons (whose number is eight) from the northern region, that is to say, from the district that is called Manau Guotodin, 146 years before Mailcun reigned; and they expelled the [Irish] Scots from these districts [of Gwynedd] with the greatest slaughter, and never again did [the Scots] return to dwell there."

Mailcun is made the great-grandson of Cuneda in the genealogies after A.C. They seem to have omitted two generations.

Genealogy XXXII, after A.C.; Y Cymmrodor, ix, 182-183: "These are the names of Cuneda's sons, whose number was nine: Typiaun" (in text *Typipaun*) "the eldest, who died in the district that is called Manau Guotodin [*Guodotin*], and he did not come hither with his father and with his brothers afore[said]" (in text *pre*; read *predictis*, with Meyrick, Phillimore); "Meriaun, [Cuneda's] son, divided the possessions among his brothers, 2nd Osmail, 3rd Rumaun, 4th Dunaut, 5th Ceretic, 6th Abloyc, 7th Enniaun Girt, 8th Docmail, 9th Etern. This is their territory [*terminus*], from a river that is called Dubr Duiú to another river, Tebi. And they held very many districts in the western part of Britain."

[2] I.e. in Bernicia; while Ælle reigned in Deira, from 559 or 560 to 588 (A.S.C., ABCEF).

The reign of Clappa for one year has been omitted from this list. Cf. E.C., 5. Other kings have been omitted; and probably for several years Ælle reigned over Bernicia also: but early evidence is scanty for this period.

[3] For "Adda's son" in the text, read "Ida's son"; cf. ibid. 202, and A.S.C. s.a. 593. Æthelric reigned over Northumbria from 588 to 593 (A.S.C., ABCE).

[4] Probably before 588. This appears to have been the same Theodric who was the opponent of Urbgen (below).

Frithweald reigned for six years.[1] In his time the kingdom of Kent received baptism, at the sending of Gregory.[2]

Hussa reigned for seven years.[3] Four kings strove against him: Urbgen, and Riderch Hen, and Guallanc, and Morcant.[4] Theodric fought manfully against this Urbgen and his sons. And in those days sometimes the enemy, sometimes the citizens, conquered.[5] And [Urbgen] shut them in for three days and nights in the island called Metcaud.[6] And while he was upon the expedition, he was assassinated by contrivance of Morcant, through jealousy; because among all the kings [Urbgen] had the greatest courage in conducting war.

[1] I.e. ca. 593-599: perhaps in northern Bernicia.

[2] Augustine was sent by Pope Gregory I in 596, and arrived in spring of 597.

[3] I.e. ca.599-ca.606. But the same authority (below) implies that Hussa's reign ended in 605.

Æthelfrith appears to have been king of all Northumbria at this time, from 593 (Bede, I, 34; E.C., 11) to 617 (A.S.C., E). But probably Hussa held the northern part of Bernicia under him; and Hussa's son, Hering, led the Northumbrian forces against the Scots in 603 (E.C., 12, note).

[4] Apparently these were kings of Welsh districts of Cumbria and Strathclyde.

For Riderch Hen, cf. Adamnan, below, p. 73; also years 573, 612, notes.

The Genealogies that follow A.C. (P. & S., 15) give this king's pedigree thus: "Riderch Hen, son of Tutagual, son of Clinoch, son of Dumnagual Hen." For Dumnagual Hen, see above, p. clviii; and cf. the pedigree (u.s. 15-16): "Clinog Eitin, son of Cinbelim, son of Dumnagual Hen."

Cinbelin, son of Dumnagual Hen, is mentioned in Welsh Triads; Loth's Mabinogion, ii, nos. 16, 38; M.A., 396 (11), 397 (31).

Aidan, Gabran's son, appears to have been Dumnagual Hen's grandson. See S.C.S., i, 160, note.

Urbgen's pedigree also appears after A.C. (u.s. 16): "Urbgen, son of Cinmarc, son of Merchiaun [*Merchianum*], son of Gurgust, [son of Ceneu] son of Coil Hen."

For "Guallanc" we should read Guallauc. Guallauc's pedigree (ibid. 16): "Guallauc, son of Laenauc, son of Masguic Clop, son of Ceneu, son of Coyl Hen." See year ?632.

Morcant's pedigree (ibid. 16): "Morcant, son of Coledauc, son of Morcant Bulc, son of Cincar Braut, son of Bran Hen, son of Dumnagual Moilmut, son of Garbaniaun, son of Coyl Hen"; and Coil Hen's pedigree is carried back through 15 generations to Beli. These are pedigrees VI-X after A.C. in Y Cymmrodor, ix, 173, 174.

[5] I.e. the Welsh of Cumbria or of Strathclyde, regarded as survivors of the Romans. This is an echo of Gildas.

[6] I.e. Lindisfarne; cf. the Irish Annals, below, year 634, note.

Æthelfrith Flesaurs reigned for twelve years in Bernicia, and other twelve in Deira; he reigned for twenty-four years, between the two kingdoms. And he gave Dinguoroy to his wife. She was called Bebbab; and from the name of his wife [the castle] received its name of Bebbanburch.[1]

Edwin, son of Ælle, reigned for seventeen years. And he occupied Elmet, and drove out Ceretic, the king of that district.[2]

Eanflæd, [Edwin's] daughter, received baptism on the twelfth day after Pentecost, and all her people with her, both men and women.[3] And Edwin received baptism on the following Easter; and twelve thousand men were baptized with him.[4]

If any wish to know who baptized them[5]: Run, Urbgen's son,[6] baptized them; and for forty days he did not cease baptizing the whole race of Ambrones.[7] And through his preaching many believed in Christ.[8]

[1] According to A.S.C., Bamborough Castle was built by Ida; it took the place of the British capital of Deira. See year 547. Æthelfrith (here called *Eadfered Flesaurs*; cf. ibid. 202) reigned for 24 years in Northumbria (593-617). According to this authority, he was sole king there only from 605 to 617.

[2] Edwin would thus have reigned from 616 to 633: perhaps, however, 617 is the true year of his accession (A.S.C., E).

A.C., 6, s.a. [616]: "Ceretic died"; and immediately after, s.a. [617]: "Edwin began to reign."

[3] Nennius adds: "And she was the first to be baptized."

Pentecost in 626 was June 8. Eanflæd was baptized in her infancy on that day, with eleven others, according to Bede. She had been born on the night of Easter (April 19 × 20).

[4] Nennius adds (ibid. 207): "in one day." Edwin was baptized in 627 (A.S.C.), on April 12 (Bede). 12th April was Easter in that year (Dionysiam system). See the account in Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica, II, 9-14.

[5] Nennius adds (u.s.): "Thus bishop Renchidus, and Elbobdus, the holiest of bishops, have related (*tradiderunt*) to me." Possibly these were the writers of the Genealogies in Historia Brittonum.

[6] *Rum map Urbgen.* Nennius adds (u.s.): "That is to say, Paulinus, archbishop of York." Bede implies that Paulinus was the baptizer. From this passage of Historia Brittonum it has been deduced that Paulinus was the assumed name of Run; for whom see below, p. 150.

[7] *genus ambronum*, an echo of Gildas. Cf. Adam of Bremen's *crudelissimi ambrones* (M.G.H., Scriptores, vii, 375); rendered by Wilmans, Latrones, i.e. "robbers," which would agree with the meaning in Gildas. But here, and in Geoffrey of Monmouth (VIII, 8, 14, 23; XII, 15) the word seems to be used as a proper name, perhaps equivalent to Angles.

[8] Here Nennius continues (ibid. 207): "But since the genealogies of

Oswald, Æthelfrith's son, reigned for nine years; he is [called] Oswald Lamnguin.[1] He slew Catguollaun, king of the district of Guenedota, in the battle of Catscaul, and made a great slaughter of his army.[2]

Oswiu, Æthelfrith's son, reigned for twenty-eight years and six months.[3] While he reigned, and Catgualart after his father reigned over the Britons, a pestilence came, and in it [Oswiu] died.[4] And [Oswiu] killed Penda[5] in the plain of Gai; and now was made the slaughter of Gai Plain.[6] And [there] were slain the British kings, who had gone out with Penda[5] upon this expedition, as far as the city that is called Iudeu. Then Oswiu rendered all the riches that were with him, in the town, as far as Manau, to Penda; and Penda distributed

the Saxons and the genealogies of the other nations seemed useless to my master, the priest Beulan, I have refrained from writing them; but I have written about the cities and marvels of the island of Britain, as the writers before me have written."

[1] In L.B.'s notes upon Oengus, the name Fland Fína is given to Ealdfrith Oswiu's son (1880 Oengus, cxxix; Flann Fína in the Franciscan MS., 1905 Oengus, 182), apparently in error. See year 704, note.

[2] In the battle of Denisesburna, in 634; Bede, H.E., III, 1-2. Oswald reigned from that battle to 642 (A.S.C., A; 641, BCEF). He was killed in the battle of Maserfelth (perhaps Oswestry) on 5th August, 642 (Bede, H.E., III, 9). See years 634, 642.

[3] Oswiu reigned from August 642 to 671 (A.S.C., ABCEF), February 15th (E; Bede, H.E., IV, 5).

Historia Brittonum's Genealogies, u.s. 203: "And Oswiu had two wives: one of them was called Riemmelth, daughter of Royth, daughter of Rum; and the other was called Eanflæd, daughter of Edwin, son of Ælle."

[4] Robertson (Early Kings, i, 17) and Skene (F.A.B.W., i, 73-74) understand this to mean that Catgualart died of the pestilence. The passage is so understood by A.C.; Y Cymmrodor, ix, 159, s.a. [682] (8 years after the "230th year" after 444): "There was a great pestilence in Britain; and in it Catgualart, Catguollaun's son, died." And immediately afterwards, s.a. [683]: "Pestilence in Ireland." A.U. record, s.a. 683=684 ("bissextile"), a "mortality of children," which began in October of the previous year. Under the succeeding year both A.C. and A.U. record an earthquake in Man.

We should have to read *regnans* for *regnante* in the text of Historia Brittonum, to make it agree with the statement in A.C.; and even then A.C. must have misplaced Catgualart's death. A.C. has no independent authority when it uses the Historia Brittonum, as it seems here to do.

[5] *Pantha.* The receiver of the concession at Iudeu is called *Penda;* possibly for *Peada* (king of Mercia, 655-656)?

[6] See year 655.

them to the kings of the Britons; that is, the "restitution of Iudeu."[1] And Catgabail alone, the king of the district of Guenedota, fled with his army, arising by night; wherefore he was called Catgabail Catguommed.[2]

Ecgfrith, Oswiu's son, reigned for nine years.[3] In his time, the bishop St Cuthbert died in the island of Medcaut.[4] Ecgfrith is he who made war against the Picts, and fell there.[5]

[1] *Atòret Iudeu.* Skene (F.A.B.W., i, 87-89; S.C.S., i, 253-256) explains the text without verbal alteration, by placing the "ransom of Iudeu," as he translates it, before the battle of Gai. This is possible. Bede (H.E., III, 24; cf. E.C., 24, note) says that Oswiu offered Penda a large price for peace, but that Penda refused it; Skene's account would imply that Penda accepted the price without giving peace. If this is right, the six sentences in the above paragraph should be re-arranged in the order: 1, 5, 6, 3, 4, 2. Perhaps the writer combined accounts taken from different sources. Cf. year 642. It seems more reasonable to read "Peada" in sentence 5.

Iudeu may be Giudi on the Forth; Manau may be the Manau on the Forth, but, since a wide distribution of lands seems to be indicated, may also mean some other Manau, perhaps the island of Man. The British kings seem to have received their lands in subjection to Oswiu throughout northern Britain, perhaps from the Forth to Man. No reliance can be placed upon this passage. The words "as far as Manau" may be a displaced gloss upon "as far as . . . Iudeu," and may mean no more than that Iudeu was within Manau.

Bede says that the battle in which Penda was killed was fought "to the great benefit of both peoples: because [Oswiu] both freed his own nation from the hostile ravaging of pagans, and (by cutting off their faithless [*perfidus*] head) converted that nation of the Mercians and of the neighbouring provinces to the grace of the Christian faith" (H.E., III, 24).

Oswiu gave Peada, Penda's son, rule over the Mercians to the south of the Trent, "because he was his relative"; also, perhaps, because Oswiu's son, Ecgfrith, was a hostage in the hands of the Mercians. Peada was killed in spring, 656 (ibid.).

[2] This probably means "the battle-fighter who evades battle."

[3] Ecgfrith reigned 15th February 671 to 20th May 685 (E.C., 43).

[4] I.e., in Lindisfarne; see above. But Cuthbert died in Farne Island on Wednesday, 20th March [687] (or rather the preceding evening; *consuetum nocturnæ orationis tempus.* Vita S. Cudbercti, XXXVI, XXXIX. H.E., IV, 29), after two years in the episcopate (Anonymous Life; E.H.S. Bede, ii, 281). He had been made bishop during Ecgfrith's reign, but survived Ecgfrith by 22 months.

[5] See year 685. For the continuation of this passage, see year 642.

PART II

Christianization of the Picts. Life of Columba

Before 524 and before 558

Life of Brendan, in Plummer's Vitæ Sanctorum Hiberniae, vol. i, p. 143

After this,[1] [Brendan of Clonfert] came to a certain island of Britain called Auerech,[2] and there he founded a church, proposing to remain there to the end. . . .[3]

[1] After an episode related of Brendan and Gildas (for whom see year 570). Cf. another Life, quoted in S.C.S., ii, 77, note.

[2] In three versions this name appears as *Ailech*, which would stand for one of the Garvelloch Islands. It is almost certainly the island called Elachnave (*Eileach nan naomh*).

For a short description of the ruins in Elachnave see Cosmo Innes, Origines Parochiales, ii, 1, 277 (Edinburgh, 1854). Cf. Joseph Anderson, Scotland in Early Christian Times, i, 95 ff. (Edinburgh, 1881). These so-called bee-hive structures had no arch. The existing chapel has a small window at the east end.

[3] A miraculous incident sent him back to Ireland, to consult St Bridget.

A.U., s.aa. 523=524 and 525=526: "Repose [524; Sleeping 526] of St Bridget, in the 70th year of her age"; s.a. 527=528: "Or in this year the sleeping of Bridget, according to the Book of Mochod."

T. (R.C., xvii, 129) under f.n. 2=524: "Sleeping of St Bridget in the 88th year of her age; or the 70th only, as others say." Similarly in C.S., 40, Hennessy's year 523 (between years with f.n. 3 and 4); but with the false reading "or 77th" for "70th."

Bridget's death stands in A.I., 5, under O'Conor's year 514=519 (40 years before 559); in A.C., under [521], with the birth of Columba; but A.C. places her birth in [454], and its Irish source might have been expected to have had her death under 524.

Alberic of Trois Fontaines (M.G.H., Scriptores, xxiii, 692) notes Bridget's death under 519.

Gilla-Coemáin (R.S. 89, ii, 536): "From the death of Patrick" (traditional date, A.D. 493) ". . . 30 years to the death of Bridget. 20 years after the death of Bridget . . . the death of Tuathal Maelgarb with horror, a year before Ciaran's decease." Tuathal died in 544 or 549, Ciaran in 549, according to A.U. Both these deaths are placed in A.I. under

St Brendan set out again for Britain, and founded a church there, called Bledach, in the district that is named Heth[1]; and there he worked many miracles. . . .[2]

Sigebert of Gemblours, Chronica; Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, vol. vi, p. 318, s.a. 561

At this time Brendan was renowned in Scotia [Ireland]; and he sought the Fortunate Islands in a seven-years' voyage, and saw many things worthy of marvel.

Macutes, also called Maclovus, regularly trained by him, and the companion of his voyage, was famed in Britain for sanctity and miracles[3]; but provoked by the Britons, he cursed

O'Conor's year 538=543 (16 years before 559). Interpreted by A.U., Gilla-Coemáin places Bridget's death 523×524. It may be dated with sufficient accuracy in or before 524. Therefore the biographer places Brendan's first visit to Scotland before 524.

"Ninnid, Eochaid's son, from the regions of Mull" (*de partibus Mula*), also called "Ninnid Lam-idan" (clean-handed), left Britain to administer the communion to Bridget before she died. "Mull" may have been the island of that name. (See Colgan's Acta Sanctorum, 18th January, 112, 113-114.) Ninnid's pedigree stands thus in the Book of Leinster (347d) and the Lebar Brecc (13 f.): "Ninnid Lamidan, son of Eochaid, son of Aed, son of Loegaire, son of Niall Nine-hostager. He had a sister, Cerc, Eochaid's daughter" (in Lebar Brecc, "Erc, daughter of Eochaid, son of Aed, was his sister").

[1] Tiree. "In the district of Heth, he dedicated a church, and a village around it" Life quoted in S.C.S., u.s. This means that a monastic settlement was established.

[2] A vision caused him to return to Ireland. This stands before the foundation of Clonfert in 558; see below, p. 55.

The Brussels Life of St Brendan says (Smedt and De Backer, Acta, 769; S.C.S., ii, 77):—"Afterwards, while all wept, [Brendan] set out and returned to Britain, and founded two monasteries, one in the island of Ailech, the other in Tiree [*terra Ethica*], in the place called Bledua. And being warned in dreams, he returned to Ireland. . . ."

Various churches in Scotland were dedicated to Brendan of Clonfert. For Kilbrandon, see Cosmo Innes, Origines Parochiales, ii, 1, 102.

[3] Down to this point Sigebert is copied by Fordun, Chronicon, III, 23 (i, 108). Fordun imagined that Scotia meant Scotland here.

Immediately before this, Fordun reads: "And at this time in the city of Rome [Dionysius] constructed the decemnovenal cycle of Easter, and it began in the year of the Lord 532." Hence the Breviary of Aberdeen says that "St Brandanus, confessor and abbot," flourished A.D. 532.

Breviary of Aberdeen, i, 8, 98-99: "Brendan flourished among the

them, and crossed over to France; and was renowned for virtues for a long time under Leontius, bishop of Saintes. The Britons were afflicted with various disasters because of his curse; and he gave them again his blessing, and absolved and cured them.[1]

553

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 52, s.a. 552=553[2]

Thus I have found in Cuanu's Book:

Patrick's remains were placed in a shrine by Columcille, three score years after Patrick's death.[3] Three noble relics

Scots when 532 years from the birth of Christ had passed: a man renowned for great abstinence and virtues; the father of nearly three thousand monks, he was held in the greatest esteem during those times for his extreme sanctity and his doctrine. Of him some marvels are written, in the little book about his life.

"He also explored in a seven-years' voyage the Fortunate Islands, and saw very many marvels; and by him St Machutus was baptized, and regularly trained in Christian doctrine, and [made] the companion of his voyage; and we read that he was distinguished in Scotland for many miracles. . . .

"St Brendan . . . saluted the brethren and commended them all to the prior [*preposito*] of his monastery, whom afterwards he left as his successor in the same place. And he set out towards the western district or region [*partem sive plagam*], with twenty-four brethren, to the island of a certain holy father, by name Penda [*nomine Pende*]; and there he stayed for three days and three nights.

"After this he received the blessing of the father and of all the monks, and set out to the remotest part of his province [*in ultimam partem regionis sue*], where his relatives [*parentes eius*] lived; yet he would not see them, but he pitched his tent upon the summit of a certain mountain which projects into the ocean, in the place that is called Brendan's Seat [*sedes Brandani*]. There was [room for] the entrance of [but] one ship."

Breviary of Aberdeen, ii, 3, v-vii: "Molocus, who had had his birth from a noble family of the Scots, was from his infancy instructed in liberal and divine studies under the blessed abbot Brandanus, a man of great sanctity and devotion." Molocus sailed on a rock to Lismore. He became a monk in Melrose, and was sent to convert the people of Lismore. Then he went to Thule (*Tyle*, Iceland), and afterwards "went to the northern parts of Scotland, namely Rossia," or Ross. He died in old age on the 25th June, and "was buried in great veneration in the church of the blessed bishop Boniface, in Rosemarkie." This is a tradition of Moluoc; see year ca. 592.

[1] Machutus is the St Malo of Brittany.

[2] With f.n. for 553.

[3] Reckoning from the traditional date, 493.

were found in the sepulchre: his cup, and the Gospel of the Angel, and the Bell of the Testament.[1] Thus did the angel divide the relics for Columcille:—the cup to Down[patrick], and the Bell of the Testament to Armagh, and the Gospel of the Angel to Columcille himself. It was called the Angel's Gospel, because Columcille received it from the angel's hand.

553

Tirechán's History of Patrick; in Stokes's Tripartite Life, vol. ii, p. 332

Columcille, inspired by the Holy Ghost, showed Patrick's burial-place, and confirmed where it is, namely in Sabal Pátraic,[2] in the church nearest to the sea, where is the collection of relics, that is, of the bones, of Columcille [brought] from Britain, and the collection of all the saints of Ireland on the day of Judgement.

?555

Herimannus Augiensis, Chronicon; M.G.H., Scriptores, vol. v, p. 88, s.a. 557

In Britain, Brude became king of the Picts.[3]

[1] The bell may be that preserved in the Royal Irish Academy's collection (see Coffey's Guide (1910), 47-48). The Gospel of the Angel was a book preserved until 1007 (q.v.): it has been supposed to be the Book of Kells, but without evidence.

For Patrick's Bell, cf. Stokes's Tripartite Life, i, 114, 170.

[2] Saul, county Down.

[3] This is derived from Bede's clear statement that 565 was Brude's ninth year (English Chroniclers, 8). (Hermann's Chronicle was edited as a continuation of the Chronicle of Marcellinus Comes, e.g. in Bouquet's Recueil, ii, 20).

The Chronicle of the Picts (ABC) says that "Brude, Maelchon's son, reigned for thirty years. In the eighth year of his reign he was baptized by St Columba." This statement appears to have been derived from Bede's, with the change of "ninth" to "eighth." (Fordun, Chronica, IV, 10, quoting Bede, reads "ninth.")

If Brude's ninth year was 564-565, his thirtieth would have been 585-586. But the A.U. and the A.I. place his death in 584 (below). If his thirtieth year began in 584, his ninth would have been 563-564; and his first, 555-556. It seems probable that Columba came to Dalriata in 563; and that Bede's statement applies to that year. But Columba may not have visited King Brude until the following summer. Adamnan does not say that Brude was baptized in the year of Columba's arrival in

ca. 559

Tigernach, Annals; in Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 142[1]

The death of Gabran, Domangart's son, king of Scotland.[2]

Flight of the Scots before Brude, Maelchon's son, king of the Picts.[3]

Scotland, or even upon Columba's first visit to the Pictish court. See below, years 563 and 584.

[1] Under f.n. 1, which may indicate a continuation of year 557; but placed between years [559] and [560]. Perhaps we should read f.n. 4, i.e. 559; and (with C.S.) attach the previous year-section (which has no f.n.) to the one before it (f.n. 3, i.e. 558).

[2] The Chronicle of Dalriata allows Gabran a reign of 22 years; i.e., perhaps 537-559.

The Duan Albanach (P. & S., 59): "Gabran had two years [of prosperity?] without reproach, after Comgall" (*Da bhliadhan Conaing gan tair* [read *tár*] | *tar es Comhghaill do Gobhran*; which as it stands would mean: "Gabran had . . . two years of Conaing," and is here senseless. Skene translates it "two prosperous years," following O'Conor, Scriptores, i, 2, cxxvii. If this is the meaning, we should read *chonáigh* for *Conaing*. Pinkerton's transcript (Enquiry, ii, 323) has *chonnail*; wrongly (O'Conor). The facts seem to require the substitution of *fichead* for *Conaing*; i.e. "22 years"; but that is not what the writer intended).

[3] Both events are similarly entered in C.S., 52, s.a. [559] (Hennessy's year 560). Both events appear twice in A.U. (i, 54, 56); s.a. 557=558 (with f.n. and e. of 558): ". . . A flight before Maelchon's son; and the death of Gabran, son of Domangart"; and s.a. 559=560: ". . . The death of Gabran, son of Domangart [according to others, MS. B]. An expedition by Maelchon's son, king Brude." A.U. allow Gabran a reign of 20 or 22 years (counting from their earlier date of Comgall's death).

A.I., 6, O'Conor's year 551=556 (three years before 559): "The death of Gabran, son of Domangart" (for *Garbain* in MS., read *Gabrain*). This stands 20 years after the death of Comgall.

The Annals of Clonmacnoise, 88, place both events under 563, in the same year-section with Columba's journey to Scotland.

Under the same years, T. and A.U. place the Feast of Tara. It is placed by A.I. in the previous year.

A.C., in Y Cymmrodor, ix, 154, s.a. [558] (4 years after the "110th year" after 444): "Gabran, Dungart's son, died." MS. B (Ab Ithel's ed., 4): "Gabran the treacherous [*Gawran Wradouc*], son of Dinwarch, died." The annal is not in MS. C. The same epithet is given to Aidan, Gabran's son, in the Welsh Triads.

Fordun's account is fabulous. He says (III, 21) that Gabran was "a man advanced in age" when he came to the throne; and (III, 24) that he was killed by Eochaid Hebdre, Comgall's son, who succeeded him. For the succession of Gabran's nephew, Conall, see year 574, note.

Adamnan, Life of Columba; Secunda Praefatio, pp. 4-5[1]

There was a man of venerable life and blessed memory, father and founder of monasteries,[2] having the same name as the prophet Jonah; for although it sounds differently in the three different languages, yet this signifies one and the same thing, which in Hebrew is called Iona, in Greek Peristera, and in the Latin tongue Columba. . . .[3]

Adamnan, Life of Columba; Secunda Praefatio, pp. 8-9[4]

St Columba, then, was born of noble parents, having as his father Fedelmid the son of Fergus; as his mother, Ethne,

[1] Skene's edition, 106.

[2] For a list of foundations ascribed to Columba, see Reeves' Adamnan, 276-285, 289-298 (Skene's edition, xlix-lxxi).

[3] This paragraph is copied by Fordun, III, 26 (i, 113). It is derived from letters of Columbanus; M.G.H., Epistolae Karolini Aevi, i, 169, 176.

The name *Colum* meant "dove." This etymologizing may have helped to give Iona its present name. The earliest text of Adamnan reads always *Ioua insula*; later texts read *Iona insula*. The Verse Chronicle reads *Ioua*. Cf. *Eueam insulam, quae nunc Iona dicitur*, in the Life of Catroe (below, p. 44). Irish writers spelt the name *í* or *hí* (later *Hii* or *Hith*, with similar sound), and in the genitive *ia, iae, ia Coluim chille*.

Notes on Fiacc's Hymn, Franciscan Liber Hymnorum, Thesaurus, ii, 306: "Columcille. His baptismal name was Cremthand; but he read his psalms at Telach Dubglase, to the priest of the church; and he came frequently to the plain beside the church" (remainder illegible).

Cf. the Lebar Brecc, margin of p. 89; 1880 Oengus, p. xcix:—"He was called *Colum*" [a dove] "because of his simplicity; *cille*" [of the church] "because he often came from the church, where he had read his psalms, into the company of the neighbouring children. And they used to say this among themselves, 'Has our little pigeon come from the church?"; that is, from Telach-Dubglaisse in Tír-Lugdach in the [land of the] tribe of Conall" [Temple Douglas in Tirconnell]. "But Columcille's original name was Crimthan. And this Columcille from his youth gave very great love to Christ. . . ." Cf. the other versions, 1905 ed., 144-146. Adamnan, Praefatio II, states that he was called Columba not only "from the days of infancy," but even prophetically before his birth, by St Mochta, Patrick's disciple.

Calum at the present day passes as the Gaelic equivalent of "Malcolm," which was originally *Mael-Coluimb*, "Columba's devotee." In this work, I translate *Colomb*, or *Colum*, by "Columba" when St Columba is meant; and give the compound name "Columcille" when it occurs.

[4] Skene's edition, 107-108.

whose father may be called in Latin Filius Navis, but is in the Irish tongue called Mac Naue.[1]

[1] "Noah's son." For Columba's birth, see year ca. 521.

Cf. also the Continuation of Adamnan (in MS. B), in ed. Reeves, 246-247) (Stokes and Strachan, Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus, ii, 281): "St Columba's relatives:—Fedelmid, his father, the son of Fergus; Ethne, his mother, the daughter of Filius Navis. Iogen, Columba's younger brother german. Also his three sisters german, Cuimne, the mother of Macc-Decuil's sons, who are called M'Ernoc, and Cascene, and Meldal, and Bran (who was buried in Derry), St Columba's cousins; Mincholeth, mother of Enan's sons, of whom one was called Calman; Sinech, mother of Mocu-Cein's sons in Cúil-uisci, whose names are the monk Aidan (who was buried in Cuil-Uisci), and Conrí Mocu-Cein (who was buried in Durrow), and grandmother of To-cummi Mocu-Cein, a holy priest, who ended the present life in the island of Iona, very wearied with age."

(The expression "brother german" stands for Irish *derb-brathir* "full-brother"; *brathir* "brother" sometimes means "cousin.")

Cf. the note in L.B. (1880 Oengus, p. xcix): " . . . Columcille, son of Fedlimid, son of Fergus. Columcille's name was Crimthan at first.

"And Columcille's mother was Ethne, daughter of Dimma, son of Noah, son of Etine, son of Coirpre the poet, son of Ailill the great, son of Breccan, son of Fiacc, son of Daire Barrach, son of Cathair the great. And Columcille's three sisters were Cumíne, Minchloth, and Sinech."

For Columba's kindred, cf. the Book of Ballymote, 84-85. Cf. the Life in the Salamanca MS., Smedt and De Backer's Acta, 845.

Genealogies of Saints, in the Book of Leinster, facsimile, p. 347, column 2: "Columcille, son of Fedlimid, son of Fergus, son of Conall Gulban, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, son of Eochaid M[uinremor], son of Muiredach T[irech], son of Fiachu Srop[tine], son of Corpre Lifechar, son of Cormac Ul[fota], son of Art Oenfer, son of Cond Cetchathach, son of Fedlimid R[echtaid]." (Cf. also ibid. 366, top margin. For these kings, from Fedlimid to Niall, cf. Coir Anmann, Irische Texte, iii, 2, 334-338.) The first part of the pedigree is also in L.B., 12 d; B.B., 215 f. Cf. A.U., s.aa. 546=547 and 585=586; and the Irish Life, in Stokes's Three Homilies, 100 (below).

Cf. the verse in the preface to the Amra, Liber Hymnorum, i, 165: "Ethne, distinguished in her time, the queen of the Corpraige, was the mother of Columba, a bright conjunction; the daughter of Dimma, Noah's son." (Cf. Book of Leinster, 366, top margin.)

She is called "long-sided Ethne" (*Eithne tóebfhotta*) in the verse in which Bridget welcomes Columba, in the Tripartite Life, i, 150.

Amra Coluimchille, Liber Hymnorum, i, 182, Atkinson's translation, ii, 80: "May the descendant of the body of Cathair with nobility see me without stain. (I.e., may he look on me without stain, a descendant of Coirpre Nia-fer of Leinster; for Ethne daughter of Dimma macc-Noe was his [Colum Cille's] mother, of the Carburys of Leinster; and he [Coirpre] was a descendant of Cathair Mor, son of Fedelmid the All-wise.")

In the second year after the battle of Cuil-dremne, in the forty-second year of his age, he sailed over from Ireland to Britain, wishing to live in pilgrimage for Christ's sake.[1]

For the story of Columba's grandmother, Erc, see above, p. 4.

The Lebar Brecc (facsimile, 236 b, foot) represents Columba as saying: "The Irish are dearer to me than [the rest of] the men of the world; and the tribe of Conall, than the [rest of the] Irish; and the tribe of Lugaid, than the [rest of the] tribe of Conall."

Columba's uncle, Ernan, is mentioned by Adamnan, I, 45 (below, p. 63). Adamnan speaks also of a relative of Columba's mother (II, 40; ed. Skene, 184).

Columba's sister, Uthende, and her six sons, are mentioned in L.B. (1880 Oengus, p. liv): "Their mother was of the eminent descendants of Conall Mor" (i.e. of Conall Gulban, ancestor of the Cenel-Conaill). Cf. "Seven sons of Uthenne, Fedlimid's daughter," in MS. Rawlinson B. 512; 1905 Oengus, 78.

Reeves has drawn up a genealogy of Columba and the abbots of Iona (Adamnan, after p. 342; Skene's ed., p. clxxxv. Cf. ed. Reeves, 8; ed. Skene, 249. See also Fowler's ed., after p. xciv).

[1] Cuil-dremne was in Carbury, between Drumcliff and Sligo; see Hogan's Onomasticon.

Tigernach dates the battle of Cuil-dremne in [560] (f.n. 5); Revue Celtique, xvii, 143-144: "The battle of Cuil-dremne [was gained] over Diarmait, Cerball's son. Forgus and Donald, two sons of Muirchertach, Erc's son; and Ainmire, Setna's son; and Nindid, Duach's son; and Aed, king of Connaught, son of Eochaid Dry-flesh, were the conquerors, through the prayer of Columcille, who said: 'O God, why clearest thou not away the mist, that we might reckon the number of the host that reaps judgements off us?

"'A host marching round a cairn, the son of storm [i.e. the wind] betrays them; [because] my wizard, who will not deny me, is God's son, who will assist me.

"'Baetan's steed before the host makes the advance beautiful; Baetan of the yellow hair thinks it well, it will bear its burden upon it.'

"It was Fraechan son of Teniusan that made the Druids' Fence for Diarmait. It was Tuatan, son of Dimman, son of Saran, son of Cormac, son of Eogan, that overthrew the Druids' Fence. Maiglinde went across it, and he alone was killed."

This passage appears with little difference in C.S., 52-54, s.a. [560] (Hennessy's 561).

A.U. give two dates for the battle; i, 56, s.a. 559 = 560: "The feast of Tara [was held] by Diarmait, Cerball's son. . . . The battle of Cuil-dremne." Ibid. s.a. 560=561: "The battle of Cuil-dremne [was gained] over Diarmait, Cerball's son, and there three thousand fell."

A.I., 7, O'Conor's year 553=558:—"[A year] in which the battle of Cuil-dremne was fought; and in it Ainmire, Setna's son, and Ainnedid,

Fergus's son, and Donald, were the conquerors ; while Diarmait fled. And on that day Clonfert of Brendan [*Brenainn*] was founded, at an angel's command [*angelus imperante*].

[O'Conor's 554=559] "The end of the cycle of Victorius." The Victorian paschal cycle, introduced in 457, was issued as a calendar of 532 years, from 28 to 559 A.D. (1-532 A.P., Victorian system). Although Victorius numbered his years from the Passion, he made them correspond with the consular year, and therefore begin upon 1st January. In the same year-section [=559] is noticed (from Bede's or Isidore's Chronicle) Tiberius' succession to Justinus, an event of 578.

The year-section preceding that describing Cuil-dremne in T. contains the "flight of the Scots" (above, year 559), and the following (R.C., xvii, 142-143): "The last Feast of Tara [was held] by Diarmait, Cerball's son. . . .

"The death of Curnan, son of Aed, son of Eochaid Dry-flesh, [king of Connaught,] by Diarmait, Cerball's son, [although Curnan was] under Columcille's protection. And this was one of the causes of the battle of Cuil-dremne." So also, with little difference, in C.S., 52, Hennessy's year 560=559.

The Annals from the Book of Leinster (p. 246 ; R.S. 89, ii, 514), s.a. 565 : "The battle of Cuil-dremne [was gained] against Diarmait, Cerball's son." (The date 566, attached to this event in Stokes's edition, belongs to the next entry, the one-year reign of Donald and Fergus, Erc's grandsons ; in these annals dated 565-566.)

F.M., i, 190-192, s.a. 554 (and "the 16th year of Diarmait," sovereign of Ireland): "The last Feast of Tara was held by Diarmait, king of Ireland.

"Curnan, son of Aed, son of Eochaid Dry-flesh, that is to say the son of the king of Connaught, was killed by Diarmait, Cerball's son, in spite of Columcille's sureties and protection, after having been dragged out of his hands ; and this was the cause of the battle of Cuil-dremne." And ibid., 192-194, s.a. 555 (and "the 17th year of Diarmait"]: "The battle of Cuil-dremne was gained over Diarmait, Cerball's son, by Fergus and by Donald, two sons of Muirchertach, Erc's son, and by Ainmire, Setna's son, and by Ninnid, Duach's son, and by Aed, Eochaid Tirmcharna's son, king of Connaught. The clans of the Ui-Neill, of the north and of Connaught, fought this battle of Cuil-dremne against the king, Diarmait, because he was guilty of the slaying of Curnan, son of Aed, son of Eochaid Dry-flesh, in Columcille's protection ; and further because of the unjust judgement given by Diarmait against Columcille, concerning Finnian's book (which Columcille had copied without letting Finnian know), when they asked for Diarmait's decision : and Diarmait had pronounced the famous judgement, 'To every cow belongs her calf,' etc. . . ." (Here follows, with little difference, the verse passage translated above from Tigernach.)

O'Donnell, Life of Columba, in Colgan's Trias Thaumaturga, 409 a : "The king . . . pronounced judgement for Finnian, and he uttered the

Devoted even from his boyhood to Christian discipleship,[1] and by gift of God, through his zeal for wisdom, preserving integrity of body and purity of soul, he showed himself fitted

judgement in Irish verse, famous to this day among the Irish, in this fashion: '*Le gach boin a boinin, agus le gach leabhar a leabhran*'; that is, 'Let the calf belong to its mother, and the copy to its original.'" O'Donnell's, though late, is the fullest account; q.v., u.s., 408 a - 409 b.

Immediately after the battle of Cuil-dremne, Tigernach gives under [561] (f.n. 6): "The battle of Cuil-Uinnsenn in Teffia [was gained] over Diarmait, Cerball's son, by Aed, Brendan's son, the king of Teffia; and there Diarmait fled." So also in C.S., 54, s.a. [561] (Hennessy's 562). Aed had previously granted Durrow to Columba, for the foundation of a monastery; see T. and C.S., in their notice of Aed's death, s.a. [587]; MS. A of A.U., i, 72, s.a. 588=589.

Immediately after the battle of Cuil-Uinnsenn, both T. and C.S. place Columba's voyage to Scotland.

These events appear in A.I., 6-7; the Feast of Tara under O'Conor's year 550=555, the death of Curnan under O'Conor's 552=557, the battle of Cuil-dremne under O'Conor's 553=558, the battle of Cuil-Uinnsenn under O'Conor's 554=559. A.I. agree with the other Irish Annals in placing Columba's arrival in Scotland two years after the battle of Cuil-dremne. (So also in the Annals of Boyle.)

See also the Preface to the Altus Prositor, below, p. 97.

Chronological tract (of 11th century; Stokes) in Lebar Brecc; Stokes, Tripartite Life, ii, 552: "33 years from Patrick's death" (placed by this tract in [493]) "to the death of Bridget, in the 70th year of her age [526] in the same year [were] Bridget's death and [that of] the first Ailill, abbot of Armagh.

"36 years from Bridget's death to the battle of Cuil-dremne [562].

"35 years from the battle of Cuil-dremne to the death of Columcille, in the 76th year of his age [597].

"43 years from the death of Columcille to the battle of Moira [640].

"25 years from the battle of Moira to the pestilence [*buidechar*] of which died Diarmait and Blathmac, two sons of Aed Slaine [665]. . . ." (They died in 665 or 668, according to A.U.) The dates in square brackets are those deducible from the tract.

Marianus Scottus, in M.G.H., Scriptores, v, 546, s.a. 585=563, and the 37th of Justinian, inserts: "Columcille fought the battle of Cuil-dremne."

[1] *Tirocinio*, the monastic noviciate.

A.I., 5, O'Conor's year 527=532 (64 years before 599), read: "Loss of bread of Columba." A.U., i, 46, s.a. 535=536, read simply "loss of bread"; but possibly Columba's dedication may be meant (cf. Ecclesiastes, XI, 1). Columba would in 536 have been about 15 years old. There seems to be nothing else in the Lives to which these words could refer. (Under the same year, A.U. notice the death of Pope John II, an event of 535. This is taken from the Liber Pontificalis; M.G.H., Gesta Pontificum, i, 141.)

for heavenly customs, though placed on earthly soil. For he was angelic in appearance,[1] polished in speech, holy in work, excellent in intelligence, great in resourcefulness; having lived for thirty-four years as an island soldier. He could not pass the interval of even one hour without setting himself either to prayer, or to reading, writing, or even to some [manual] labour.[2] He was also so constantly occupied, day and night, without any intermission, with indefatigable labours of fasts and vigils, that the weight of each particular labour seemed beyond human capacity to bear. And with all this he was dear to all, showing his holy face ever cheerful; and he rejoiced in his inmost heart with the joy of the Holy Spirit.[3]

[1] Cf. verses in L.B. (1880 Oengus, p. ci) and in MS. Laud 610 (1905 Oengus, 148), thus translated by Stokes (1905 Oengus, 149): "Colum, fair, mighty form, face ruddy, broad, radiant, body white, fame without falsehood, hair curly, eye grey, luminous."

[2] *vel etiam alicui operationi.* Cf. the *fratres operarii* mentioned by Adamnan, III, 23; below, year 597.

Cf. the account given by Sulpicius Severus of the constant activity of St Martin, in prayer and reading (Life of Martin, P.L. 20, 175, 176); a passage doubtless known to Adamnan.

[3] Cf. the Life in the Salamanca MS., Smedt and De Backer's Acta, 853: "*Note Columba's manner of life.* He applied his mind more indefatigably than could be believed to fasts and vigils and prayers, also to meditations upon the scriptures and to preachings of the faith, and to the other works of charity. And when he did allow himself some time for sleep, he lay with his head supported on a stone and his body thrown upon the bare ground, with nothing but a skin between. But although he afflicted his body with such labours, yet by provision of divine favour he was held worthy of admiration by all for beauty of countenance, ruddy cheeks and condition of body."

Amra Coluimchille, Liber Hymnorum, i, 178: "He assailed the fatness of his side (i.e., he betrayed the fatness of his side; for the mark of his ribs was apparent through his linen shirt [*blái*] upon the shore). The desires of his body, he destroyed. (I.e., he destroyed the desires of his body.)"

Cf. a verse in the preface to the Amra, i, 166: "[Columba] used to lie bare" (*glé;* "openly," Atkinson) "in the sand; in his resting there was much affliction. When the wind blew his clothing, the course of his ribs was visible through it."

The Amra Coluimchille, ibid., i, 170: "He kept vigil as long as he lived; (i.e., he made twelve hundred genuflexions daily, except only on festivals; so that his ribs became apparent through his linen shirt [*blái lín*]). He was of brief age (i.e., straight, or trifling, or small, i.e. 76 years, as the poet said); he was of small sufficiency (i.e., trifling was [the amount of food] that satisfied him)." The same, ibid., i, 172: "He suffered briefly,

and conquered. (I.e. fairly he has conquered his desires in the short time during which he existed.)" Most of this obscure composition is eulogy of Columba. See Atkinson's and Stokes' translations.

Amra Coluimchille, Liber Hymnorum, i, 173, 174: "He commented on" (*sluinnsius;* Atkinson's translation) "law-books, books which Cassian loved [?]. (I.e., he so read books of law, as he read books of John Cassian for their clearness; or he read books of law as John Cassian did.) . . . He divided part from figure, among the books of law. (I.e., he put the history of the law on one side, and its meaning on the other side.)"

For his knowledge of the calendar, we may compare the same work, ibid., i, 174, translated ii, 68-69.

Amra Coluimchille, Liber Hymnorum, i, 180: "He conversed with an angel. He discussed [? *atgaill*] Greek grammar. (I.e., he held converse with an angel, and he studied grammar like the Greeks. Or, he conversed with grammarians and with Greeks)" ("grammatically and in Greek," Atkinson. The meaning is obscure.)

Amra Coluimchille, Liber Hymnorum, i, 180-181: "Not with Niall's strength is he, . . . who injured not, when he died [Stokes' translation; R.C., xx, 407]. ([I.e.] he did not commit any injury for which he should have died, if it were a cause for [death] in other cases.)" The glossator means that Columba did nothing for which a smaller man would have died. Atkinson follows the glossator, though doubtfully, in translating the text: "He did not commit an injury for which one dies." Cf. with this Adamnan, below, years 686, 688.

Amra Coluimchille, Liber Hymnorum, i, 176: "The art of his priesthood" (i.e. hymn-writing?) "was melodious, was unique. (I.e., all thought that his voice was sweet; and all were satisfied with the unique art which he had of priesthood. Or priesthood was only one of his arts, because he was a poet, he was a prophet, he was a sage.)

"To mankind he was unintelligible. (I.e. his hymns were unintelligible to other people.)

"He was a shelter to the naked, a shelter to the poor. (I.e., clothing and feeding them.)"

With the words "He was a poet . . . prophet . . . sage," cf. the second line of the stanza in which, according to the Tripartite Life, i, 150, Patrick foretold the birth of Columba ("He will be a sage, a prophet, a poet" tr. Stokes); and the first line of stanza 103 of Berchan's Prophecy (P. & S., 79). The notator of the Amra seems to quote some verse that has been copied also by the writers of Berchan and the Tripartite Life.

According to Adamnan, I, 1 (ed. Skene, 113-114), Columba had from early years the gift of prophecy, or rather of second-sight. There are many stories of this faculty in Adamnan and in the Irish Life. According to Giraldus Cambrensis, Columba was one of the four prophets of Ireland (Expugnatio Hibernica; v, 384-385, cf. 341-342).

Adamnan says also (I, 1; ed. Skene, 111): "And he by himself alone repulsed, with God's aid, and drove back from this our primary island [of Iona], attacking and innumerable troops of demons fighting against him, seen by his bodily eyes, and beginning to bring upon his monastic company

Irish Life of Columba; Stokes's Three Homilies, pp. 122-124[1]

Now there never was begotten of the Gael a person nobler, or wiser, or of higher descent, than Columcille: there never came to them one more lowly, more humble, more modest. Great indeed was Columcille's modesty, since he used himself to take off his monks' sandals, and to wash them for them. He used often to carry his share of corn on his back to the mill, and he ground it and bore it back to his house. He never wore linen or wool next his skin. He slept not except with his side against the bare earth; with nothing under his head but a pillar of stone for a pillow. And he slept not at all, except for the time that his disciple Diarmait chanted three chapters of the *Beatus*. After that he rose up, and made lamentation and hand-clapping like a loving mother weeping for her only son.

deadly diseases." This story is told more fully, and attributed to Columba himself, in III, 8; it is also in Cummine, IX, who attributes their repulse to the assistance of angels (Pinkerton, Vitae, 32-33).

Poems written by Columba were believed to have miraculously protective powers in battle (Adamnan, I, 1).

When Columba was a boy novice, he had a tutor [*nutritor*] called Cruithnechan, according to Adamnan, III, 2 (ed. Skene, 195). Later, while he was a young man and deacon, he had an old man Gemman as instructor (Adamnan, II, 25; ed. Skene, 169). Afterwards St Finnian [of Moville] was his teacher (Adamnan, II, 1, III, 4; ed. Skene, 152, 196. Cf. Cummine, III, IV; and the Salamanca Life, ed. Smedt and De Backer, 847). Finnian died in 579, according to A.U.; in [577] according to T. (an old entry; but without year-heading. Supply f.n. 5, as in C.S., Hennessy's year 578).

The Lebar Brecc, in a mythical account, says that Columba received priest's orders from bishop Etchen of Clonfad (1880 Oengus, pp. l-li; other versions in 1905 ed., 72. Cf. J. H. Todd, Introduction to Obits and Martyrologies of Christchurch, pp. liii-lv. Cf. also Martyrology of Donegal, 44; Colgan's Acta Sanctorum, 304-306; and O'Donnell's Life of Columba, in Colgan's Trias Thaumaturga, 396-397). Etchen died on 11th February, according to the martyrologies and F.M.; in 577=578, according to A.U. and F.M.; in [576] according to T. (R.C., xvii, 152) and C.S., 60, Hennessy's year 577; in the same year as Brendan of Clonfert, according to A.B.

For Columba's creation of the monastery of Derry, see year 546; for his elevation of Patrick's remains, and distribution of relics, see year 553. His life-history is traced by Reeves (Adamnan, lxviii-lxxx; ed. Skene, xxxiii-lxxix). Cf. the Irish Life, below.

[1] Very similarly also in the Book of Lismore; Stokes, Lismore Lives, 32-33.

With the Irish Life, cf. the life in the Annals of Clonmacnoise, 92-96.

After that he sang the hundred-and-fifty [psalms] until morning, [lying] in the sand of the shore, as [the poet] said: "The three fifties, heavy was the vigil; in the night, the torment was great. In the sea by the side of Scotland, before the sun had risen; bare he laid himself, noble afflictions, in the sand; great was the affliction. The course of his ribs was plain through his clothing, when the wind blew it."

That was his night-work. In the day he attended at the canonical hours; he offered the body of Christ, and his blood. He preached the gospel, baptized, consecrated, anointed; he healed lepers, and blind, and lame, and all other diseased persons; he raised the dead.

Irish Life of Columba; Stokes's Three Homilies, pp. 96 ff.[1]

The time when the Christians keep the festival and celebration of Columcille's death is the fifth day[2] before the Ides of June, as regards the day of the solar month. Every year on this day,[3] etc.

And the wise men of the Gael relate at this season every year an abridgement of the exposition of the nobility[4] and noble parentage of St Columcille, and moreover of the innumerable miracles and wonders that the Lord worked for him while he lived in this world; and of the perfecting and distinguished conclusion which [the Lord] gave at last to [Columba's] victorious career, when he reached his own true fatherland and true native country, the abode of Paradise, in the presence of God for ever.

Columcille's descent was noble, as the world is concerned; he was of the descendants of Conall, Niall's son. He had by descent the right to the kingship of Ireland, and it would have been offered to him had he not renounced it for God. But it is clear that he was a chosen son of God, because the elders of Ireland prophesied of him before his birth. . . .[5]

[1] Also (a somewhat later text) in the Book of Lismore; Stokes's Lismore Lives, 22 ff.

[2] 9th June.

[3] This Life was meant to be read on 9th June.

[4] *shocheneoil* "noble descent" in L.B.; *shochair* "privilege" (Stokes), in Book of Lismore.

[5] Here are cited predictions of Columba attributed to Mochta of Louth, Patrick, Bec Macc-Dé, and Eogan of Ardstraw.

Buitte, Bronach's son, prophesied of Columcille, and said to his household: "This night has been born a son, glorious, honourable before God and men; and he will come here thirty years from to-night, accompanied by twelve men; and he will reveal my grave and point out my burial-place, and we shall be one[1] in heaven and on earth."

As Columcille's birth was foretold by the elders of Ireland, so also it was displayed in visions and in dreams. Thus it was displayed in the vision that was shown to his mother. She imagined that a great mantle was given to her, and that it stretched from Insi-Mod to Caer-Abrocc,[2] and every colour was present in it. And a youth saw the splendid garment, and took the mantle from her into the air. And Ethne was sorrowful because of it. And she imagined that the same youth came to her again, and said to her: "Good woman," said the youth, "thou needest not to grieve, but gladness and delight are meeter for thee; because this cloak portends that thou wilt bear a son, and Ireland and Scotland will be full of his doctrine."

Likewise the waiting-woman[3] saw a vision; she imagined that the birds of the air bore Ethne's bowels throughout the territories of Ireland and Scotland. Ethne herself interpreted this vision, and spoke then thus: "I shall bear a son, and his doctrine will extend throughout the territories of Ireland and Scotland."

As it had been predicted by the elders of Ireland, and had been seen in visions, so Columcille was born. And Gortán is the name of the place where he was born; and he was born upon the seventh day[4] before the Ides of December, as regards the day of the solar month, and on Thursday, as regards the day of the week.

Wonderful was the son who was born there; a son of the king of heaven and of earth: Columcille, son of Fedlimid, son of Fergus, son of Conall Gulban, son of Niall Nine-hostager.

[1] *biaid ar n-oentu*, literally "our unity will be"; Stokes translates this "our union shall abide."

[2] *co Caer nambrocc* in Lebar Brecc; *co Caeir n-Abrocc* in Book of Lismore, i.e. "to York." The Insi-Mod are Inishymoe, the islands in Clew Bay, off the coast of Mayo, according to Reeves; Adamnan, 191.

[3] *anben imtha sin*, Lebar Brecc; *a ben imthasi*, Book of Lismore.

[4] 7th December, a Thursday in 521.

His mother was of the Corprige of Leinster: Ethne Olmar, daughter of Dimma, son of Noah.

Immediately after his birth he was taken [away], and Cruithnechan, Cellachan's son, the noble priest, baptized him; and thereafter he fostered him, at the command of angels of God.

Now when he reached the age for study, the priest went to a certain seer,[1] to ask him when the boy ought to begin. When the seer had scanned the sky, he said: "Write his alphabet for him now." Thereupon it was written on a cake.[2] And Columcille consumed the cake thus, half of it to the east of a water and half of it to the west of a water.

The seer said, by grace of prophecy, "So shall the territory of this boy be, half of it to the east of a sea, that is, in Scotland, and half of it to the west of a sea, that is, in Ireland." . . .[3]

Thereafter [Cruithnechan] offered Columcille to the Lord of the elements, and [Columcille] asked three boons of [God]: charity, and wisdom, and pilgrimage. All three were granted to him in full.

He bade farewell to his foster-father, and his foster-father gave him leave to go, and blessed him fervently. Then [Columba] went to study wisdom with the noble bishop, Finnian of Moville. . . .[4]

[Columba] then bade farewell to Finnian, and went to Gemman the Master. . . .[5]

He then bade farewell to Gemman, and went to Finnian of Clonard. . . .[6]

Columcille then bade farewell to Finnian, and went to

[1] *fáith*: "spaeman," "prophet" Stokes.

[2] I.e., that time was propitious, and his education was symbolically begun.

[3] Columba chanted a psalm for Cruithnechan, although he had learned only the alphabet; and he raised Cruithnechan from death caused by falling in a wood.

[4] Columba turned water to wine for the mass.

[5] Here is related the episode, told also by Adamnan, of Columba's curse killing a man who had killed a girl in his presence.

[6] Finnian bade Columba build his hut in the door of the church. Columba was relieved by an angel of his share in the quern-grinding. Finnian had a vision of a golden moon and a silver moon—Columba and Ciaran, the Wright's son.

Glasnevin; because fifty were studying there with Mobí, including Cainnech and Comgall and Ciaran. . . .[1]

On one occasion a great church was built by Mobí, and the priests were considering what each of them would like to have the church filled with. "I should like," said Ciaran, "to have it filled with sons of the church to attend at the canonical hours." "I should like" said Cainnech, "to have it filled with books for the use of the elect."[2] "I should like" said Comgall, "to have it filled with tribulation and disease, that they might enter my own body to oppress and to chastise me." But Columcille chose that it should be filled with gold and silver with which to cover relics and monasteries. Mobí said that it would not be so, but that Columcille's community would be richer than any other congregation, either in Ireland or in Scotland. . . .[3]

Then another time when he was in Derry, he planned to go to Rome and to Jerusalem.[4] On another occasion he went from Derry to Tours of Martin, and took away with him the gospel that had been in the earth on Martin's bosom for a hundred years. And he left it in Derry.

God did many miracles and wonders for Columcille in Derry. [Columba] loved that city greatly, and said:

"I love Derry for these reasons: for its smoothness; for its purity; because it is full of holy angels, from one end to the other."

Thereafter Columcille founded Raphoe. There he raised the carpenter from death, after he had been drowned in the

[1] Columba miraculously transferred monastic huts across a flooded river.

[2] *do macaib bethad.* For the meaning of this expression cf. the Life of Cainnech, Plummer's Vitae, i, 167, where *filius vitae* means "one of the elect."

[3] Mobí predicted plague; Columba stopped it at the river Biur. Derry was founded (see year 546); see the preface to the hymn *Noli, Pater.* Wattles were taken without permission, and paid for with barley seed. Columba drew water from a rock to baptize a child.

[4] *nosimraid dula do Roim ocus do Jerusalem*, Lebar Brecc; *no imraideth dula*, Lismore Life. "He bethought him of going" Stokes. This surely means that he went. The same expression is used of his going to Britain, below.

This voyage to Rome never occurred. An altogether miraculous visit to Rome (through the air, fighting for king Brandub's soul) is described in O'Donnell's Life (III, 45); Colgan's Trias Thaumaturga, 439 a. See Reeves's Adamnan, 205. Cf. Tallaght Discourse, 133.

mill-pond. Still in Raphoe his community needed a ploughshare; and he blessed the hands of the little boy that was with him, Fergna by name, and he made the ploughshare; and through [Columba's] blessing [Fergna] was skilled in metal work thenceforward.

Then [Columba] went on a preaching-circuit to the king of Teffia, who was named Aed, Brendan's son. And [Aed] gave him the place where Durrow is to-day; and a monastery[1] was made there by [Columba]. . . .[2]

After that he blessed Durrow, and left there as keeper one of his community, Cormac Ua-Liathain.

Then he went to Aed Slane, Diarmait's son; he came to the place where Kells is to-day. It was a castle of the king of Ireland at that time; the castle of Diarmait, Cerball's son. . . .[3]

There was a great oak under which Columcille remained, so long as he was in that place. This oak lasted for many ages, but fell in the uproar of a great wind. A certain man took some of its bark to tan his shoes; and as soon as he wore his shoes after they had been tanned, leprosy seized him from his soles to his crown.

Then Columcille went to Aed Slane, and prophesied on his behalf, and said that he would live long unless he committed parricide; but if he did parricide, he would live only four years afterwards. And he blessed a cowl for him, and said that he should not be wounded so long as he wore that cowl. But Aed Slane did do parricide, contrary to the word of Columcille, upon Suibne, Colman's son; and after four years he went upon an expedition; he forgot his cowl; he was killed upon that day.

After that, Columcille founded many churches in Brega. He left in them two elders and many relics. He left Ossine, Cellach's son, in Clonmore of Ferrard; [and] he went after that to Monasterboice. There his staff struck the ladder of

[1] *recles.*

[2] He turned bitter apples sweet; he sent to Colman Mor, Diarmait's son, a sword so blessed that none could die beside it.

[3] Columba foretold the future of Kells and Killskeer; and "he marked out that city [of Kells] as it is now; and he blessed it earnestly; and he said that it would be the chief possession he should have among the lands, although his resurrection would not be there" (i.e., although he should not be buried there). But the Columbite monks did not get Kells until the year 804, q.v. This was written long after that date.

glass by which Buitte had climbed to heaven; and the sound of it was heard through the whole church. And he revealed the grave of Buitte. And he marked out [Buitte's] church,[1] as Buitte himself had prophesied upon the day of his death.

For he marked out many churches, and wrote many books,[2] as the poet has said: "He marked out, without relaxing,[3] three hundred fair churches (it is true); and he wrote three hundred bright, noble, miracle-working books. . . .[4]"

Any book that his hand had written, though it were long under water, not even one letter in it was washed out.

He founded a church in Rechraind[5] in the east of Brega, and left deacon Colman there. . . .[6]

He founded a church in the place where Swords[7] is to-day. He left there an elder of his community, Finan Lobur; and he left the gospel which he had written with his own hand. And he marked out a well there, called *Sord*, that is "pure." And he blessed a cross. For he was accustomed to make crosses and book-satchels and book-covers[8] and altar vessels,[9] as [the poet] said: "He blessed three hundred miracle-working crosses, three hundred rushing wells; and a hundred splendid . . . satchels,[10] and a hundred croziers, and a hundred book-covers.[11]" . . .[12]

[1] *dororaind a chill;* Stokes's translation. Not in the Lismore Life.

[2] The Lismore Life adds, "namely three hundred churches and three hundred books," and omits the stanza quoted in Lebar Brecc.

[3] *cen mannair* "without loosening" Stokes.

[4] *trebon;* "lasting(?)" Stokes (*is ccc. buadach trebon. lebor solas saer roscríb*).

[5] *irrachraind oirthir breg;* "now Lambay, Adamnan's *Rechrea insula*," Stokes. This is Lambay, but in Adamnan Rathlin may be meant.

[6] Cainnech and Comgall saw a pillar of fire over Columba's head while he celebrated mass there. See Adamnan, below, pp. 55-56.

[7] "About seven miles north of Dublin" Stokes.

[8] *polaire ocus tiaga lebor;* "writing-tablets and book-satchels" Stokes, Lismore Lives.

[9] *aídme eclastacda.*

[10] *cét polaire an anathach;* "a hundred tablets," Stokes (Lismore Lives). This seems an unlikely meaning here.

[11] *cet tiag;* "satchels," Stokes. The Lismore Life omits the quotation, and reads: "and he blessed 300 crosses and 300 wells, and 100 *polaires* and 100 *tiags*."

[12] Two instances of second-sight stand here, one in connection with Cainnech's monks, another with Bridget (who died ca. 524; see above, p. 17).

Afterwards he went to Leinster, and left many churches founded there, including Druimm-Monach, and Moone, and many other churches.

Afterwards Columcille went to Clonmacnoise, with the hymn that he had made for Ciaran,[1] for he made many praises for God's community; as [the poet] said, "Noble hundred-and-fifty [hymns], nobler than [those of] any apostle; the number of miracles are [as] grass[2]; some [of the hymns were written] in Latin, which was obscure[3]; others in Irish, fair is the tale."

Now in Clonmacnoise a little boy came to him and took a small hair from [Columba's] clothing, without his perceiving it. But God revealed the matter to [Columba.] He prophesied of the boy that he should be a wise man and religious. That is Ernan of Clondara to-day.

Afterwards Columcille went into the territories of Connaught on a preaching-circuit, and he founded many churches and establishments in that province; among them Assylyn[4] and Drumcliff. And he left Mothoria in Drumcliff,[5] and left with them a crozier which he himself had made. Columcille then went past Assaroe and founded many churches in Tirconnell and Tyrone. He founded [the church] in Tory Island, and left in it an elder of his community, Ernaine.

Now when Columcille had made the circuit of all Ireland, and had sown faith and belief, after he had baptized many peoples, after he had founded churches and establishments, after he had left in them elders and relics of saints and of martyrs,[6] there came to his mind the resolution he had determined upon from the beginning of his life, namely to go into pilgrimage. Then he planned to go across the sea to preach God's word to Scots and to Britons and Saxons.[7]

[1] Cf. Liber Hymnorum, i, 157.

[2] *itlín ferta fír;* Stokes's translation (Lismore Lives.)

[3] *soebail;* "beguiling," Stokes.

[4] *Ess-mic-Eirc.* Assylyn, on the Boyle, according to Reeves, Adamnan, 281.

[5] This clause is not in the Lismore Life.

[6] *minda ocus martire;* perhaps "reliquaries and relics," with Stokes.

[7] Similarly in the Life of Columba in the Salamanca MS., Smedt and De Backer's Acta, 847-848: "And after the holy man saw that a fitting time had arrived to carry out what he had formerly purposed, that is to

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Adamnan, Life of Columba, book III, c. 3 [1]

Concerning the apparition of holy angels, that St Brendan had seen passing along the plain in company of the blessed man.

After the interval of many seasons,[2] when St Columba was being excommunicated by a certain synod for some venial and indeed excusable causes, unjustly, as afterwards became plain in the end, he came to the same assembly that had been collected against himself. And because St Brendan (the founder of the monastery called *Birra* in Irish [3]) had seen him coming, far off, he quickly rose and bowed his face, and reverently kissed him. Some of the elders of the assembly separated from the rest, and rebuked him, saying, "Why dost thou not refuse to rise in presence of one excommunicated, and to kiss him?" Then he spoke to them and said, "If you could see what the Lord has not disdained to reveal to me this day concerning this his chosen one, whom you dishonour, you would never have excommunicated him whom God by no means excommunicates in accordance with your unjust decree, but even exalts by more and more." They retorted, saying,

say for his purpose to go into pilgrimage, and for converting the Picts to the faith, he left his native land and sailed with prosperous passage to the island of Iona, which is situated in the northern ocean between Ireland and Britain; and there he built a most noble monastery, and fed white flocks of monks with the salutary nutriment of doctrine. He also converted the Picts to the faith of Christ."

[1] Reeves's ed., 192-194; Skene's, 195-196.

[2] After the time of a miraculous occurrence in Columba's boyhood.

[3] The death of Brendan of Birr was revealed to Columba in Iona when it occurred, according to Adamnan, III, 11 (ed. Skene, 201), and Cummine, VII; and Columba instituted the day as Brendan's festival. Cf. the Life in the Salamanca MS., ed. Smedt and De Backer, 851.

Brendan died either in 564=565 or in 571=572, according to A.U., i, 60, 62; in [565] or [572], according to T., u.s., 147, 150, and C.S., 56, 58, Hennessy's years 566 and 573. A.I. place his death under O'Conor's year 565=573 (26 years before 599). Cf. A.C. s.a. [574]. The Annals from the Book of Leinster, R.S. 89, ii, 514, place his death in 580; F.M., on 29th November 571.

Brendan of Birr died in the year of the battle of Femin, according to D.M.F., I, p. 6, first year-section ("about the year of Christ 571"). This battle was fought in 573, according to A.U. and A.I. Perhaps 573 is the true year of Brendan's death.

"How, we should like to know, does God glorify, as thou sayest, him whom we have excommunicated, and not without cause?" "I have seen" said Brendan, "a column streaming with fire, and exceedingly bright, preceding this man of God whom you despise; and holy angels accompanying him on his journey through the plain. So I dare not slight this man whom I perceive to be preordained by God to live as leader of the peoples."

After he had said this, they not only desisted, without venturing to excommunicate the holy man further, but even honoured him with great reverence. This affair occurred in Teltown.[1]

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Adamnan, Life of Columba, book III, c. 4[2]

About the same time[3] the saint sailed over to Britain with twelve fellow-warriors as his disciples.[4]

[1] The later accounts which give Columba's share in the battle of Cuil-dremne as the cause of his departure from Ireland may have justification; Adamnan touches this matter very gently. It seems probable that the synod here spoken of had assembled after that battle.

An account somewhat similar to Adamnan's appears in the Salamanca MS., ed. Smedt and De Backer, 221-224.

Cf. the notes on Oengus, in MS. Rawlinson B 512 (R.S. 89, ii, 556; 1905 Oengus, 204): "The cutting-off of Ciaran's life, Columcille's being sent across the sea, and Mochuta's being driven from Rahen, these are the three discreditable stories of the saints of Ireland." To similar effect in L.B. (1880 Oengus, cxliv), which says that these were "the three worst counsels carried out in Ireland by advice of saints." But the annotator of the Amra puts a different complexion upon it. Amra Coluimchille (Liber Hymnorum, i, 179): "In Scotland, fear of hell. (I.e. for fear of hell he went into Scotland.)"

Cf. the glossator's note in the Amra Coluimchille, i, 173: "[Columba] conquered in the battles of the three Cuils; the battle of Cuil-Dremne, against the Connaught-men; and the battle of Cuil-Feda, against Colman Mor, Diarmait's son; and the battle of Cuil-Rathin [Coleraine], against the Ulstermen, in the contest between Columba and Comgall for Ros-Torathair."

The Metrical Dindsenchas (from the Book of Leinster), ed. Gwynn, Todd Lecture Series, 8, i, 26: "Columcille (who used to ransom captives) gained the battle [of Cuildremne] against Diarmait; before he went out across the sea, the lord of Tara had yielded to him."

[2] Reeves's edition, 195; Skene's, 196.

[3] The previous passage (the previous chapter in Cummine) relates how Finnian [of Moville] (called "bishop Finnio" by Adamnan) saw Columba escorted by an angel. Adamnan places Finnian's vision vaguely ("at another time") after the synod of Teltown.

[4] With the word "fellow-warriors" (*commilitones*) compare Adamnan's

Continuation of Adamnan's Life of Columba, Reeves's edition, pp. 245-246[1]

These are the names of the twelve men who sailed over with St Columba from Ireland, in his first crossing to Britain:
The two sons of Brendan: Baithene, who [was called] also Conin, St Columba's successor; and Cobthach, his brother;
Ernan, St Columba's uncle;
Diarmait, his attendant;
Rus, and Fechno, two sons of Rodan;
Scandal, son of Bresal, son of Enda, son of Niall;
Lugaid Mocu-Themne;
Echoid;
Tochannu Mocu-Fircetea;
Cairnan, son of Brandub, son of Meilge;
Grillan.[2] . . .

description of Columba as an "island soldier." The meaning is "soldiers of Christ"; but here the word suggests that Columba and his followers had taken part in the battle of Cuil-dremne.

The number "twelve" appears also in the Irish Life; Stokes's Three Homilies, 100; but see the same work below.

[1] Skene's ed., lxxi-lxxii; Stokes and Strachan, Thesaurus, ii, 281. This is taken from Reeves's MS. B (for which see Reeves, xxiv-xxv).

[2] This list is copied imperfectly by Fordun; III, 26 (i, 113).

It is probable that these are all names of men who were associated with Columba in Scotland at one time or another.

The Irish Life in Lebar Brecc; Stokes's Homilies, 118: "the monks he had with him in [the church of Iona] were a hundred and fifty for contemplation" (*ri teoir*, i.e. *theoria;* Stokes's translation) "and sixty for active life" (*ri achtáil;* Stokes [*actualis*], but possibly laymen are meant); "as said the poet: 'Wondrous were the youths that were in Iona; a hundred and fifty in monasticism, with their curachs over the sea; sixty men rowing.'

"When Columcille had founded Iona, he went upon a preaching-circuit through Scotland and Wales and England. And he brought them to faith and belief, after performing many miracles, after raising the dead from death."

Similarly also in the Book of Lismore; Stokes, Lismore Lives, 30 (for "sixty" above, the Lismore Life reads "forty"; perhaps this is a printer's error. Stokes translates it "sixty"; ibid., 178). For the numbers, cf. below, year 575.

Lebar Brecc, 19b: "Colum of Terryglass, son of Nindid, son of Naxair, son of Crimthan, son of Eochaid, son of Oengus, son of Crimthan, son of Cathair Mor.

"My Maedoc of Fid-duin, son of Midgna, son of Meti, son of Nindid, son of Naxair, son of Crimthan, son of Cathair Mor.

"Colman Cuile, son of Midgna; i.e., brother of My Maedoc of Fid-duin. And their sister was Conchend."

This pedigree (corrected) places Maedoc in the 9th generation from Cathair Mor, from whom Columba was descended by 11 generations. Cf. the pedigree in the Book of Leinster, 351 d. (Cf. Forbes, Kalendars of Scottish Saints, 412.)

Martyrology of Oengus, 23rd March: "My Maedoc, diadem of Scotland, relates loftiness from Christ." Notes in the Franciscan MS. (1905 Oengus, 100) and in L.B. (1880 Oengus, lxiv) give his pedigree. Cf. Tallaght, in L.L., 357 d.

According to the Book of Deer, Drostan was a pupil of Columba. Cf. the Breviary of Aberdeen, i, 8, xix (14th December): "St Drostan, abbot." "Blessed Drostan, sprung from royal ancestry of the Scots." ". . . He took the habit in Dalquongale. Upon the death of the abbot of that place, the blessed Drostan was elected abbot." ". . . He removed himself to a desert place in the regions of Scotland; and leading there the life of a hermit he built a church in a place that is called Glenesk." "And the bones of the most holy confessor Drostan are preserved at Aberdour in a tomb of stone, and there many suffering from various oppressions of disease are restored by his merits to health." See below, ii, 174-181.

One companion of Columba was Munnu or Fintan. Cf. the Breviary of Aberdeen, ii, 8, cxxxi: "The abbot St Mundus, at Kilmund and Dissert." (See Martyrology of Oengus, 21st October.)

A pupil of Congall and Sillenus, he received the habit from Columba, according to this Breviary.

Fintan was Aed's son, according to Adamnan, II, 31 (see below, p. 61).

Machar also is said to have been one of Columba's companions on the voyage from Ireland.

According to the Scots Life of Machar (Horstmann, Altenglische Legenden, Neue Folge, 190-207; Metcalfe, Legends, ii, 1 ff.), Machar [*Sanct Morys*] was the son of an Irish king and queen, Syaconus and Synchene; he was called by them Mochumma [*Mocumma*, *Mocumba*]; he was fostered by Colman [*Telemane*]. As a child, he restored to life his infant brother. He was miraculously saved from death by fire and by water. He became a disciple of Columba, who called him Machar (*Machore*) when he reached full manhood. Sent by Columba to preach in Mull, he cured seven lepers there. (Cf. the Aberdeen Breviary.)

When Columba and his followers set sail for Scotland, Machar was the first to embark. "Then, God helping, they sailed a while, till they came near to the island of Iona [*Iy*], and there struck sail; then they thought to land there. One Maelumai [*Melluma*] at that moment came to the sea and saw them there, and knew St Columba, and was glad; and asked him at once if he wished to land, and he said 'Yes.' Then the peasant [*carle*] waded to the boat without delay. And when he had [carried] them to the land, then said St Columba: 'Are we all here?' Maelumai said, 'Yes, sir,

now.' St Columba made them pass before him to see; and he missed St Machar, who still lay in his prayers. Then St Columba said to the peasant: 'One still is wanting, who is more to God of heaven than we all are.' Then the peasant went over, and asked if he wished to be carried dry to land. 'Yes,' said he; and straightway he carried him dry to the land. . . .

"Then said St Columba: 'Brothers, blessed be this place; and pray to God that he send his angel to bless it, since it has chanced that we have come here.' And after they had done as he said, they presently passed over the whole island; and found it very productive, and good and suitable to dwell in. And in a while one may easily sail to that isle out of Ireland." They found a "fair stead," and built mansions for Columba and Machar, and dwellings for the remainder of the company.

After some time Machar left Iona, and "God helping, sailed the sea, in three days, without difficulty; and arrived by a straight course in the north of Scotland [*ewine north in S.*], where they found dwelling a Christian man, whose name was Ferchar [*Farcare*], and who had riches and great power" in the country of the Picts. Ferchar received Machar gladly, and brought him "to his town," and provided him with all that he needed. Ferchar let Machar choose any place out of all his heritage. And Machar searched till he found "a place that was suitable for him; beside the bank of a water that ran into the sea, and looked as if it had been a bishop's staff." He built the necessary dwellings. "And after that he caused a costly church to be built by craftsmen, and it men called still St Machar's See or Seat." A religious man dwelling near, called Devenick (*Dewynik*), went to convert the Picts of Caithness. "Devenick went over to Caithness, to folk who were then without the truth; and he prospered so well in short time there, that he made them perfect in God's lore.

"St Machar continued to preach to the Picts, as he had done before, and so prospered that he caused the greater part of them to become Christian. And notably he brought to the truth leading men, who had till then been without the truth; both through the teaching he gave them, and by showing several miracles. And far and wide he destroyed their temples, and the idols which were in them."

He turned a boar to stone.

A sorcerer, Dinone, dwelt in that country; he appeared to have seven heads, but when Machar repeated the psalm *Exsurgat Deus* (Psalms, LXVIII; in Vulgate, LXVII) he was seen to have but one; and he became a Christian. Machar performed miracles of healing, and raised from death a relative of Columba called Synchenus. Those who opposed him lost their lives. One spring, he sent to his bishop "to my lord Ternane" for seed, and produced a miraculous crop of bere and rye in waste land.

A man refused Machar ground for a church; but a fish-bone stuck in the man's throat, till he yielded. "St Machar then measured the place, which was long and broad and very smooth: and in a short time he had a comely church built there, of fair trees."

Machar received a visit from "St Ternan, the bishop near."

"Not long afterwards, upon a day a man said to St Machar that St Devenick in Caithness had perished of age, and was dead; and while he lay on his death-straw he had said to those beside him: 'When you see that I am dead, I conjure you for God's sake that you let no labour weary you, but carry my body to a certain church of which St Machar knows, and pray him for the sake of heaven's king that he remember and be mindful of the promise which he made to me of his good will, at our parting." Machar had promised to bury him where he had laboured, and where he had parted from Machar, near the place of Machar's first church among the Picts. The bearers of the body were resting near the hill of Crostan (*Creskane*). Machar directed them to take it to Banchory, where they buried him, and built a church above him. There miracles appeared. "Men call the place wherein he lay Banchory-Devenick to this day."

Columba entered Scotland, intending to go to Rome. Machar went with him, and they came to pope Gregory, who made Machar bishop of all the Picts, and changed his name to Mauritius (*Morise*). Gregory instructed Machar and blessed them both, and they returned, visiting on their way the tomb of St Martin at Tours; the bishop of Tours received them with great honour, and wished them to remain with him. Martin appeared to Columba and gave him "the book of the Gospel which had been laid in the grave for some time, beside him, where he was buried"; "which all his lifetime [Columba] held in great liking, as a relic; and when he died, he left it to his church, as was reasonable."

Machar remained in Tours for three years and a half, as the bishop's administrator, as "father and soul-herd." Then he died, and was embalmed and sumptuously buried beside Martin. There his remains do miracles; his intercession is obtained by suppliants.

This Life has very little authority, and is in some respects palpably false. In general agreement with its earlier details is the office for the festival of St Machar in the Breviary of Aberdeen (ii, 8, 154-157; 12th November, a "double principal [festival] in the church of Aberdeen," which was dedicated to this saint): "As his true History relates, we learn that St Mauricius was born of a father Syacanus, a regulus of the Irish; and of a mother Synchena, his queen. . . ." (This office is also in Metcalfe, Scottish Saints, i, 217-221.)

For S. Ternan, see i.a. A. P. Forbes, Liber Ecclesie B. Terrenani de Arbuthnott (1864), Preface, pp. lxxii-lxxxiv.

Ternan may possibly have been the Torannan who is commemorated under June 12th, in Oengus (1880 ed., xciii, cccxxiv.; 1905 ed., 140, 447; "Long-lived, active Torannan, over a wide sea of ships"; see the notes variously identifying him, 1905 ed., 148, 149; Donegal, 166, 167, 168); and in Gorman, 114.

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Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 144, s.a. [562]

The sailing of Columcille to the island of Iona, in the forty-fifth year of his age.[2]

[1] F.n. 1.

[2] In text "forty-fifth" (xlu); probably we should read "forty-second" (xlii), as in C.S., and in Adamnan. A.U. also read "forty-second," in spite of the fact that this number is not in agreement with the dates they give. "42nd" is also the reading of the Annals of Clonmacnoise, 88, s.a. 563 (cf. 82: "St Columcille being then banished into Scotland . . .").

C.S., 54, s.a. [562] (f.n. 1; Hennessy's year 563), and A.U., i, 60, s.a. 562=563 (with f.n. and e. of 563): "Voyage of Columcille to Iona in the forty-second year of his age." MS. B of A.U. reads only: "Voyage of Columcille from Ireland." This stands 44 or 40 years after A.U.'s date of Columba's birth.

A.I., 7, O'Conor's year 555=563 (36 years before 599, 1 year after 559): "Columcille in pilgrimage. His first night in Scotland was Pentecost." This is placed 44 years after his birth. According to MacCarthy's tables (N and O, in A.U., iv, Introduction), the Celtic Pentecost in 563 was 13th May, the same as Roman Pentecost. Tigernach's reckoning (below, year 597) requires an earlier day of arrival than 9th June.

Columba's voyage is used as an era to reckon from, but erroneously, in A.U., ii, 310, s.a. 1249.

F.M., i, 196, s.a. 557: "Columcille went to Scotland, and afterwards founded a church; and it is named after him."

A.C., Y Cymmrodor, ix, 155, s.a. [562] (8 years after the "110th year" after 444): "Columcille went forth in[to] Britain." In MS. B (Ab Ithel, 4): "Columcille came out of Ireland in[to] Britain." The annal is not in MS. C.

Bede's date 565 is given by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and by the Annals of St Neots (Stevenson's Asser, 120). Bede's account implies that Columba passed some time in Britain before his settlement in Iona. It seems possible that Columba may have remained from 563 to 564 with the king of Dalriata (see Adamnan, below, p. 48), and from 564 to 565 in Pictland; and that he did not finally settle in Iona until 565. (We may note that Maelrubai passed about two years in Britain before establishing his monastery at Applecross; below, years 671, 673.)

Version I of the Chronicle of the Picts, in Skene's P. & S., 286: "The arrival of St Columba to the Picts, 565; and he lived with them for thirty-two years afterwards. Columba died in the time of Brude, Maelchon's son, 592." (The first sentence is taken from English, the second, erroneously, from Irish, sources.)

C.H., 8: "In the year 565, father Columba came from Ireland to Britain, to teach the Picts; and he made a monastery in the island of Iona." This is taken from Bede, H.E., Recapitulatio; i, 353. The Annals

Preface to the hymn *Altus Prositor;* Bernard and Atkinson's Liber Hymnorum, vol. i, p. 63

Columcille went to Iona in the 565th year after the birth of Christ. According to Bede, in the year of the Lord's Incarnation 565, at which time Justinus the younger received the helm of the Roman empire, after Justinian, he came from Ireland to Britain, a priest and abbot, noted for the habit and life of a monk, with the name of a dove, to preach the word of God to the provinces of the northern Picts. At that time Brude, Maelchon's son, reigned over the Picts; and he granted Iona to Columba. And there Columba was buried when he was seventy-six[1] years old, thirty-four years after he had come to Britain to preach.[2]

of Lund (M.G.H., Scriptores, xxix, 191, s.a. 567) quote from the same source.

Columba's mission is entered (from Bede) by Marianus Scottus, in M.G.H., Scriptores, v, 546, insertion s.a. 587=565 (and 1st of Justinus II).

Herimannus Augiensis, Chronicon; M.G.H., Scriptores, v, 88, s.a. 565: "St Columba, priest and abbot, came from Ireland and preached the word of God to the Britons." Columba's mission is mentioned also under 565 by Bernoldus, Chronicon; ibid., v, 413; and by Alberic of Trois Fontaines; ibid., xxiii, 693.

Sigebert of Gemblours, M.G.H., Scriptores, vi, 318, s.a. 566: "St Columba, a priest, coming from Ireland was held in renown in Britain."

Life of Catroe, in P. & S., 108-109 (reprinted from Colgan's Acta Sanctorum, p. 495, 6th March): "Several years passed," [after the Scottish settlement in Ireland; reading *aliquot* for *quot*] "and [the Scots] crossed over the sea that is beside them, and occupied the island of Eu, which is now called Iona [*Eueam insulam, quae nunc Iona dicitur, repleverunt*]. Not resting there, they passed [*perlegentes*] the neighbouring sea of Britain, and over the river Rosis, and settled the district of Ross" (*per Rosim amnem, Rossiam regionem manserunt;* for which Skene would read *invaserunt*, "invaded"). "They went also to the cities of St Andrews [*Rigmonath*] and Belachoir [*Bellethor*], situated far apart, and overcame them, to hold them [ever after]. And thus they called the whole land Scotia [which previously had been] called by its own name Chorischia . . ." This curious account does not distinguish between ecclesiastical and civil occupation.

[1] "Seventy-seven" in Reeves's quotation (Adamnan, 435): this is the reading of the Franciscan MS. (used by Colgan, in Trias Thaumaturga).

[2] This account is derived from Bede; see E.C., 6-8. The first sentence is in Irish, the rest is in Latin.

563

Irish Life of Columba, in Lebar Brecc; Stokes's Three Homilies, pp. 116-118[1]

So he went upon an expedition. His age was forty-two when he went; he lived thirty-four years in Scotland; his complete age was seventy-seven years.[2]

And the number [of those] that went was twenty bishops, forty priests, thirty deacons, fifty students. As said [the poet]: "Their number was forty priests, twenty bishops (noble was their power); for psalm-singing, without doubt, thirty deacons, fifty boys."[3]

Then he went in cheerful mood, and came to the place that is called to-day Iona of Columcille.[4] He arrived there on the night of Pentecost.

Two bishops that were in the land came to send him away from it. But God revealed to Columcille that they were not really bishops; therefore they abandoned the island to him when he related to them their history, and their true performances.[5]

Then Columcille said to his community: "It were well for us that our roots should go into the ground here." And he said to them, "It is permitted you that some one of you should go into the ground of this island, to consecrate it."

Oran rose up readily, and spoke thus: "If I should be taken," said he, "I am ready for that."

"Oran," said Columcille, "thou shalt have reward for it. No prayer shall be granted to any one at my grave, unless he first make it to thee."

Then Oran went to heaven. Then [Columba] founded the church of Iona.[6]

[1] Also in the Book of Lismore; Stokes's Lismore Lives, 30.

[2] The Lismore Life reads here erroneously: "Then he went upon an expedition. He was 45 years in Scotland; his complete age was 77 years."

[3] Cf. the Liber Hymnorum, below, year 575, note.

[4] In modern Gaelic *I-Choluim-chille.*

[5] *atindrium n-diles;* "what they ought to perform," Stokes.

[6] This is a late authority for an old legend. Cf. Stokes, Lismore Lives, 309.

This story (in Lebar Brecc, facsimile, 33 a) is to some extent supported by the name of the graveyard in Iona, Reilig Odhrain, at the present day.

Berchan's Prophecy, stanzas 102-113; in Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 79

Three score years from to-morrow,[1] pleasant to my heart . . . ,[2] till a son will be born in Raith-cro,[3] of whom Ireland and Scotland will be full.

He will be a scholar, a seer, a poet, a sage of the son of the God of heaven; he will be a warrior and cleric, pure and fierce; a celibate, a priest.

He will be a chief prophet beyond measure; he is not a bishop, through neglect.[4] Heaven and earth will be full of him, of the son who has the prophecy.

Ireland will not be without a wise one, after Bridget, and Patrick of great deeds; with the youth . . .[5] the battle of Cuil-dremne . . .[6]

But Adamnan, III, 5, gives a different account of the first death in the community of Iona, of a monk Brito (perhaps "a Briton"; not certainly different from Oran).

There are, however, other places named after Oran, and the legend may be dismissed as unhistorical.

The Martyrology of Oengus commemorates Oran at 27th October: "Oran, a noble champion" (*sab;* cf. ibid. 10th November, and in 1880 ed. p. clxvi, a gloss in Lebar Brecc) "[and] a good swimmer." There is this note in Lebar Brecc (ibid., clx): "By swimming he went into Gair-maicc-Moga (an island in Corkaguiny). Oran, a priest of Tech-Airerain in Meath; or of Latteragh of Oran in Muscraige-Tire, and of Iona of Columcille, that is to say [of] Reilic Odrain" ["Oran's graveyard," still so-called] "in Iona. Or he lies in Gair-maicc-Moga, an island in Corkaguiny; and he went there by swimming, as they say." That is to say, the annotator was uncertain which of two Orans was commemorated on this day.

Oran of Latteragh's death is recorded by F.M. under 548, October 2nd; i, 186.

27th October would have been a most unlikely time of year for Columba's first settlement in Iona.

[1] I.e., from the death of Patrick (stanza 97). Patrick probably died in 461, Columba was probably born in 521.

[2] *cia raladh*, rhyming with *bárach.*

[3] Glossed above: "i.e., Columcille." See year 521. Raith-Cro was in Brega.

[4] Bishop Etchen is said to have conferred upon him priest's orders, instead of bishop's orders, by mistake. See 1905 Oengus, 72. Cf. above, p. 29.

[5] *athbuir aimne;* a cheville, "I speak thus" (reading *atbiur*)?

[6] *ni anbhadh cath Cúla Dréimne:* read *dia m-biadh cath* "by whom the

Alas for Ireland, which will hear of the battle! Alas, alas for her sons; alas for her kings; alas for freemen, alas for bondmen; alas for the people; sea and land bewailing it.

The youth Columba will go from the centre of Derry, past Cuaile-Ciannacht; he will hear three shouts behind him. He will speak to his boatman, consulting him (?).[1]

Loch Foyle under waves of blood; the wailing of the birds (it is not falsehood), the wind rises against the Oakwood,[2] lamenting over the pilgrim.

Then he will speak a true message, which I shall not conceal, to the sons of heaven and earth, with a shower of tears upon his pure wan cheek:

"My fortress in Iona, without a fault, and my soul in Derry; and my body under the stone under which are Bridget and Patrick.[3]

"The angels will carry me from the east to Ireland out of Scotland: dear the death that shall take me out of Scotland to Ireland!"

And I am certain, although he comes, he will not be absent in Iona, every day in his choir in Derry, and his body in Downpatrick.

I beseech the Father and the Son, and the equally powerful

battle . . . will be caused"? The initial vowel of *anbhadh* is elided, therefore *ni* is not the negative particle.

[1] *adbher fria churc[h]air na adhr*us, rhyming with *dia éis*. The initial vowel of *adhrus* is elided, therefore *na* is not the negative particle. With *adhrus* cf. Windisch, Wörterbuch, s.v. *athreós*; O'Donovan, s.v. *aitreos*. This and the previous imperfect rhyme are marks of age, in the nucleus of the Prophecy.

[2] *an ghaoth fri Dhoire at asfraigh*. (For the rhyme with *ailithrigh* cf. similar imperfect assonance in stanzas 1, 99, 100.) Perhaps *at* was originally a gloss, intended to correct *asfraigh* to *atfraigh*.

There is perhaps in the previous stanza the same play upon the meaning of Derry ("a dove will go from the Oakwood").

[3] I.e. in Downpatrick: see stanza 101. This stanza (110) is quoted in the Irish Life of Columba (Lismore Lives, 317); and by O'Donnell.

This was probably written before the time when, according to Giraldus Cambrensis (v, 163-164, 387), during John de Courcy's rule over Ulster, the bodies of Patrick, Bridget, and Columba, (called contemporaries) were found in Downpatrick, and translated.

gentle Spirit, that it may be a long time before the pilgrim goes to death, to his new healing.[1]

563

Adamnan, Life of Columba, book I, c. 7[2]

Of the blessed man's prophecy concerning the clash of battle fought far away.

After the battle of Cuil-dremne, [and] at the time when the blessed man first sailed away from Ireland[3] on pilgrimage, the same man of God dwelling with king Conall, Comgall's son, in Britain, told him in full one day (that is, at the same hour in which the battle called in Irish Ondemone was fought in Ireland[4]) all about the battle's being fought, and even about the kings to whom the Lord granted victory over their enemies: and their proper names were Ainmire, son of Setna; and the two sons of [Muirchertach] Erc's son, Donald and Fergus.[5] Further concerning the [Irish] Picts' king, who was

[1] *ddicc úir inn ailithrech;* read *da ícc úr*, unelided? MS. B has *Daigh uir i n-ailithreach.* Read *in t-ailither*, as in stanza 154 (year 942), to rhyme with *ar ceal* of the previous line.

[2] Reeves's ed., 31-33; Skene's, 120. This passage is abbreviated in Fordun, III, 26 (i, 113).

[3] *Scotia;* so also below. For the date, see pp. 43, 104-105.

[4] The battle of Moin-daire-lothair was gained "by the Ui-Neill of the north, over the [Irish] Picts" (T., R.C., xvii, 145, q.v.; cf. C.S., 54; A.U., i, 58; and F.M.). This is the battle that the Irish annals record in the year of Columba's departure from Ireland, and it must have been the battle intended by Adamnan. (A.U. place it also under the previous year; i, 56.)

5 years before 563 (s.a. [557], f.n. 1; R.C., xvii, 141-142) T. records: "The slaughter of Colman Mor, Diarmait's son, in his chariot, by Dubslait, Tren's grandson, of the [Irish] Picts." Cf. C.S., Hennessy's year 558; A.U., s.a. 557=558. Diarmait, of the southern Ui-Neill, was succeeded in the sovereignty of Ireland by Fergus and Donald, who were in 563 the chiefs of the northern Ui-Neill.

[5] According to T. (u.s., 146), Donald and Fergus (*Forgus*) succeeded Diarmait Cerball's son in the sovereignty in [564] (f.n. 3; but under the same year-heading have been inserted foreign events of 565 and 552, taken through Bede from Isidore and the Liber Pontificalis). Similarly C.S., 56 (Hennessy's year 565), but without notice of foreign events. A.U., i, 60, place Fergus and Donald's accession in 564=565 (with f.n. and e. of 565). The Annals from the Book of Leinster (R.S. 89, ii, 514) say: "Donald and Fergus, two sons of Erc's son, [reigned] one year."

Donald and Fergus, of the northern Ui-Neill, won the battles of Sligo

called Eochaid Laib,[1] the saint likewise prophesied how he was conquered, but escaped, sitting in his chariot.

ca. 564

Adamnan, Life of Columba, book II, c. 35 [2]

Concerning the sudden spontaneous opening of the gate of a king's fortress.[3]

At another time, that is, on the saint's first laborious journey to king Brude, it happened that the king was uplifted by royal pride and acted arrogantly, not opening the gates upon the blessed man's first arrival.

As soon as the man of God saw this he went with his comrades to the wings of the gates, and first pressed upon them an image[4] of the Lord's cross, then laid his hand upon them, striking against the gates; and immediately, of their own accord, the bolts were forcibly withdrawn, and the gates opened

and Cuil-conaire over Connaught in 543 and 550; of Cuil-dremne, over the sovereign of Ireland, in 561; and of Moin-daire-lothair, over Dalaraide, in 563 (A.U.). They were the first of the northern Ui-Neill to become sovereigns of Ireland.

Ainmire Setna's son became king of Ireland after Donald's death in 566 or 573 (A.U., i, 60, 64; according to T., in ?[565], R.C., xvii, 148, under f.n. 7, for which read 4, as in C.S., 56, Hennessy's year 566).

Adamnan here presumably calls these three men kings, because they reigned over Ireland afterwards.

Ainmire's father Setna was the brother of Columba's father Fedlimid. Erc, Loarn's daughter, Muirchertach's mother, was Fedlimid's mother also. Ainmire was Columba's first-cousin; Donald and Fergus were Columba's half cousins.

[1] The death of king Eochaid's son is recorded by A.U., i, 86, s.a. 610= 611 (with f.n. and e. of 611): "The death of Eogan, son of Eochaid Laib."

[2] Reeves's ed., 150-152; Skene's, 176-177. Adamnan is here copied by the Life in the Salamanca MS., ed. Smedt and De Backer, 850; and by Fordun, IV, 11.

[3] Reeves identified Brude's castle with the site on Craigphadrick, two miles south-west of Inverness (Adamnan, 151); but the identity is uncertain. The Amra suggests that it may have been in Strathtay. See R.C., xx, 400-401.

[4] *signum.* Cf. with this the statement in the Life attributed to Cummine, c. XXV (Pinkerton's Vitae, 43), that Columba "very often unlocked the church when it was not opened for him, without a key, without spoiling the lock; by merely pressing upon it the image [*effigiem*] of the Lord's cross." Cf. the Salamanca MS., u.s., 850.

with all speed. And immediately after they were opened, the saint entered with his companions.[1]

Learning this, the king and his council[2] were much afraid; and he left the house, and went to meet the blessed man with reverence, and addressed him mildly with peaceful words; and thenceforth from that day all the days of his life the same ruler honoured the holy and venerable man befittingly with very high esteem.[3]

[1] The Life of St Comgall says that Columba's companions on this occasion included Comgall of Bangor and Cainnech of Aghaboe: Plummer's Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae, ii, 18: "On one occasion three most blessed abbots, St Comgall, St Columba, and St Cainnech, came to the heathen king called Brude; and [the king] commanded the doors of the fortress to be shut against them. But St Comgall broke the gates with the sign of the holy cross, and they fell broken to the ground; and St Columba broke the door of the king's house with the same sign, and St Cainnech also signed the king's hand, which was flourishing a sword to slay them. And immediately the king's hand was dried up, and so remained, until he believed in God. But when he became a believer in God, his hand was released." See also below, year ? 564.

An Edinburgh MS. makes the king's son, Maelcu, the opponent of Columba on this occasion; Stokes, Lismore Lives, 315.

[2] *cum senatu.*

[3] According to the Life of Cainnech (Plummer's Vitae, i, 159) that saint gave sight, hearing, and voice, to the daughter of the king of the Picts; in the island of Iona, according to the Salamanca MS., etc.; Smedt and De Backer's Acta, 373.

Adamnan relates (II, 33; Skene, 174-175) that Columba once asked the wizard Broichan to release a female slave, and, when he refused, cursed him in presence of king Brude: Broichan should die before Columba left that country. Columba proceeded to the river Ness, picked up a white pebble, and blessed it. It became lighter than water, and the water in which it floated had the power of curing disease. Broichan immediately fell ill in Brude's fortress, but was cured by this pebble after he had freed the slave. Preserved among the king's treasures, the pebble wrought many cures (so also in Cummine, XXV; Pinkerton, Vitae, 43); but when a sick man's time had come, the pebble could never be found. "So also on the day of king Brude's death it was sought, but was not found in the place where it had before been kept" (Adamnan).

Broichan is spoken of here as Brude's tutor or guardian (*nutricius*); this may imply that Brude was still a minor when Columba visited him first. But later accounts do not agree with this.

In spite of this lesson, Broichan stirred up a contrary wind against Columba, who nevertheless sailed away against it (Adamnan, II, 34; Skene, 175-176), on Loch Ness.

Adamnan locates two other episodes in the same neighbourhood.

? 564

Adamnan, Life of Columba, book I, c. 37 [1]

This also we ought not to hide, which has been indubitably handed down by certain experienced men concerning the blessed man's voice in psalmody. For the voice of the venerable man, when he sang with the brethren in the church, was heard raised in an inimitable manner sometimes four furlongs off, that is, five hundred paces; sometimes even eight furlongs off, that is to say a mile. Yet strange to say, in the ears of those that stood with him in the church his voice exceeded not the volume of human voice in magnitude of sound: although at the same time those that stood beyond the distance of a mile heard the same voice so clearly that they could distinguish even every syllable of the verses that he sang; for his voice sounded alike in the hearers' ears, both near and far away. But this marvel concerning the voice of the blessed man is proved to have taken place not always, but rarely; without the favour of the divine spirit, however, it could not have occurred at all.

This, too, must not be hid, which is related to have occurred

Once "when the blessed man stayed for some days in the province of the Picts, he had to cross the river Ness. But when he reached its bank, he saw some of the inhabitants burying an unfortunate little man, whom, as the buriers themselves related, an aquatic beast had caught as he was swimming, a short while before, and had bitten most savagely." Columba bade Lugne Mocumin swim over for the ferry-boat, and protected him miraculously from the beast. (Adamnan, II, 27; Skene, 170-171.)

The Irish Life gives a somewhat different account; Stokes, Three Homilies, 118; Lismore Lives, 31. Cf. the Life in the Salamanca MS., Smedt and De Backer's Acta, 849.

Probably the same Lugne is spoken of in Adamnan, II, 18 (Skene, 163): ". . . a youth of good ability, Lugne by name, who afterwards when an old man was prior in the monastery on the island of Elena." This Lugne was cured of a tendency to bleeding from the nose. (*Elencæ insulæ:* perhaps a variant form of *Ilea insula*, II, 23, for Islay. Cf. *Hinbina insula* and *Hinba insula* for Hinba. *Eilean*, "island," is of Norse origin, and could hardly have entered in Adamnan's day into local nomenclature.)

At Airchartdan (Urquhart), "near the lake of river Ness," he baptized an aged man, Emchat, who immediately died. "Also his son, Virolec, believed, and was baptized with his whole house." (III, 14; Skene, 203.)

A similar episode is related as having taken place in Skye; below.

[1] Reeves's edition, 72-74; Skene's, 137-138.

once beside the fortress of king Brude, in connection with such an inimitable elevation of his voice. For while the saint with a few brethren was singing evening praises of God, according to custom, outside the king's fortress, some wizards came near to them and endeavoured, as far as they could, to prevent them, that the sounds of divine praise might not be heard among heathen peoples. Understanding this, the saint began to sing the forty-fourth psalm,[1] and in marvellous fashion his voice was the same moment so raised in the air, like some dreadful thunder, that both king and people trembled in insufferable fear.[2]

? 564

Life of Comgall of Bangor; Plummer's Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae, vol. ii, p. 11

Also in the seventh year after the monastery of Bangor had been founded[3] the holy father Comgall sailed to Britain,

[1] Psalm XLV, in the English version; XLIV in the Vulgate.

[2] Cf. the Liber Hymnorum, i, 165: "The voice of Columcille was audible to a distance of a mile and a half, while he celebrated [*ic celebrad*], as the poet has said: 'The sweetness of the sound of Columcille's voice was great, [rising] above every choir'" (*húas cech cléir*, "above every (bard's) train" Stokes; "above every company" Atkinson. But in the context, clergy must be meant:) "'to the distance of fifteen hundred steps (marvellous the range) it was clear.'" This verse appears also in Lebar Brecc among the notes on the Martyrology of Oengus (1880 ed., p. ci), and in other MSS. (1905 Oengus, 148, 149).

In the Irish Life in Lebar Brecc this verse is quoted of a definite occasion, when Columba was a child: Stokes, Three Homilies, 102 (cf. Lismore Lives, 25).

Amra Coluimchille, Liber Hymnorum, i, 179 (cf. Atkinson's translation, ii, 76): "Blessing subdued fierce lips that were at Toi—a king's will! (I.e., he subdued the lips of barbarous [men] whom the sovereign of Toi had, although their desire was to say evil things; so that they spoke blessings, as in Balaam's case.)"

Amra Coluimchille, Liber Hymnorum, i, 169: "For [we have] not [now the] teacher who taught the tribes of Toi. (I.e., him whose words helped the nations, teaching them to be silent;" (the glossator understands *Toi* as *toi*, silence) "or, the teacher who sang [to] the nations that were about the Tay—the proper name of a stream in Scotland.)"

[3] The foundation of the church of Bangor is placed by A.U. (i, 54, 56) under 554=555 or under 558=559 (with earlier spelling at 555); by A.I., 6, under O'Conor's year 548=553 (6 years before 559, but 43 years

wishing to visit there certain saints,[1] and to remain there for a time. And he founded a monastery there, in a certain village in the district of Heth; there he remained for a while.

One day, while St Comgall was alone at work out-of-doors in a field, he placed his chrismal [pall] over his robe. That day many heathen robbers of the Picts invaded the village,[2] to carry off everything that was there, both human beings and cattle. But when the heathen came to St Comgall where he was at work out-of-doors, and saw his chrismal over his gown,[3] they thought that the chrismal was St Comgall's god; and the robbers dared not touch him for fear of his god. But the spoilers took to their ships St Comgall's brethren with all their substance.

Now when the holy father Comgall saw this, he was enraged, and said: "The Lord is my support and my refuge and my deliverer."[4] And worshipping the Lord he signed the sky and the earth and the sea; and immediately the heathen were

before 599). It stands under f.n. 1 =[557] in Tigernach (R.C., xvii, 142) and C.S. (52; Hennessy's year 558). The original annal from which these are derived is probably old. The 7th year after 557 would have been 563-564. Comgall is said to have been with Columba when Columba first visited Brude, probably in 564: we may provisionally assume that this was about the time when Comgall came to Scotland and lived in Tiree.

Comgall had been an abbot for several years before he founded Bangor church. The length of his abbacy was 50 years, 3 months and 10 days, according to T. and C.S.; that is to say, from 1st March [551] to 10th May [600], when he died, in his ninety-first year; R.C., xvii, 163, s.a. [600] (f.n. 6). This is perhaps an old entry, and the year may be correct. So also in C.S., 66, s.a. [600] (Hennessy's year 602), and in F.M., i, 224, s.a. 600. A.U. place his death in 601=602; and also, from Cuanu's Book, in 600=601 (with f.n. and e. of 602 and 601); and his birth in 515=516 or 519=520, perhaps wrongly.

Martyrology of Tallaght, May 10th, in Book of Leinster, 360 c: "Comgall of Bangor, in the 91st year of his age, and the 50th year, 3rd month, and 10th day, of his abbacy." Similarly in the Brussels version, Kelly, p. xxiii, May 10th.

See below, year 575, where it appears that Comgall was an Irish Pict.

[1] Brendan had visited Tiree before 558; apparently disciples of his had remained there. The occasion of Comgall's coming to Scotland may have been the same as that described by Adamnan in the passage translated next below.

[2] This may mean that Comgall was regarded as a trespasser.

[3] *crismale eius super capam suam.*

[4] Psalms, XVII, 3.

struck with blindness, and moreover the sea swelled dreadfully, so that it cast the ships upon the shore, and the bodies of the heathen were severely injured. Then they abandoned all that they had taken, and with earnest prayers begged for pardon from St Comgall: and the saint, moved with pity, prayed for them. And they recovered their eyesight, and calm was restored, and they returned, empty and feeble. Afterwards St Comgall was conducted back to Ireland by many holy men.

563 × 567 ? 564

Adamnan, Life of Columba, book III, c. 17[1]

Regarding the pillar of light seen to blaze from the holy man's head.

At another time, four holy founders of monasteries came over from Ireland to visit St Columba, and found him in the island of Hinba[2]; these distinguished men's names were Comgall Mocu-Aridi,[3] Cainnech Mocu-Dalon,[4] Brendan Mocu-Alti,[5] Cormac, grandson of Lethan.[6]

[1] Reeves's edition, 219-222; Skene's, 205-206.

This narrative appears also in the Life attributed to Cummine, XII (Pinkerton's Vitae, 34); but Cummine does not name the visitors. The Life in the Salamanca MS. follows Adamnan, more briefly (Smedt and De Backer, Acta, 850-851). The Irish Life places the occurrence in Rechraind (Lambay?), and makes Cainnech and Comgall witnesses of the light.

[2] In Cummine, here, and again in chapter V, this name is spelt *Hymba*, according to Pinkerton's text (*Himba* in Colgan's Trias Thaumaturga, 321). In Adamnan it is *Hinba* and *Hinbina insula* (but the Capitula to book III have *Himba*).

Hinba has not been identified. It was most likely a small island given up to monastic use. It may have contained the harbour of Muirbulc-mar ("great sea-pouch"), or Muirbolc Paradisi (see Adamnan, III, 23), and if so was not far from Ardnamurchan (ibid., I, 13). From the narrative given here (III, 17) one might perhaps infer that the island was near some populous region.

[3] For Comgall of Bangor see the passage last quoted.

[4] For Cainnech, abbot of Aghaboe, compare the pleasant anecdotes in Adamnan, I, 4; II, 13; II, 14 (Skene, 118-119, 160-161, 161). See Reeves's edition, 121, 220-221. Cf. the Irish Life; Stokes, Three Homilies, 118-120; Lismore Lives, 31.

Cf. the later stories in the Salamanca MS., Smedt and De Backer's Acta, 371-375; and in Plummer's Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae, i, 158-161.

Oengus places Cainnech's death on October 11th: "Cainnech, descen-

These all with one consent chose that St Columba should celebrate in their presence the sacred mysteries of the Eucharist in the church. And in obedience to their command he entered the church with them, on Sunday, as usual,[1] after the reading of the Evangel. And there, while [Columba] was performing the ceremony of mass, St Brendan Mocu-Alti saw, as he afterwards imparted to Comgall and Cainnech, a radiating globe of

dant of Dála" (Stokes). This note appears in Lebar Brecc (1880 Oengus, p. clv): "Cainnech, descendant of Dala; he was a son of Aed Alaind, and his chief church [*primchell*] is Aghaboe, and he has an abbey-church [*recles*] in St Andrews [*cill rigmonaig*] in Scotland.

"When Cainnech went to Finnian, he asked of him a place to live in. 'I see none now,' said Finnian, 'because the others have taken them before thee.' 'There is an empty place' said Cainnech. . . ." See the 1905 Oengus, 222.

The Martyrology of Donegal (270, October 11th) says: "His principal church is Aghaboe, and he has an abbey-church in St Andrews [*i cCill Righmanadh*] in Scotland."

Tigernach places Cainnech's death in [599]; C.S., in [598] (Hennessy's year 600); A.U., in 599=600, and, from Cuanu's Book, in 598=599; the Annals of Clonmacnoise, in 599. Under the same year, Tigernach and A.U. place the battle of 603 (below). A.I. place his death four years after 599, i.e. in 603 (O'Conor's year 595). 603 is probably the true date.

[5] Brendan founded the church of Clonfert in [558], according to Tigernach, R.C., xvii, 142 (f.n. 3), and C.S., 52 (Hennessy's year 559). A.U. place the foundation in 557=558. Probably 558 is the true date of the foundation, although A.I. place it on the day of the battle of Cuil-dremne. The Life of Brendan (in Plummer's Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae, i, 145) says: "When the man of God was seventy-seven years old, he founded a church at Clonfert, saying: 'Here shall I dwell for ever.'" (Cf. Psalms, CXXXII—Vulgate, CXXXI—, 14.)

See above, p. 18.

See Reeves, Adamnan, 55, 221-222. Cf. below, p. 64.

Brendan's death is placed in 576=577, and alternatively in 582=583, by A.U.; under f.n. 3 =576 in Tigernach (R.C., xvii, 152), and C.S. (60, Hennessy's year 576); in A.I., ("Repose of Brendan of Clonfert, in the 94th year of his age") under O'Conor's year 570=578.

Annals of Clonmacnoise, 89, s.a. 579: "St Brendan of Clonfert died, 577, 16th of May, or 583."

[6] For this Cormac ("Cormac Ua-Liathain") see below.

[1] In the Life attributed to Cummine: "This too he did one Sunday. And after the recitation of the Gospel, they saw . . . ." Cummine omits reference to the custom of reading the Gospel in the open air, and finishing the service of mass inside the church. This is probably one of several indications that Cummine's Life is later than Adamnan's.

fire, exceedingly bright, blazing from St Columba's head, and rising like a pillar, so long as he stood before the altar, and consecrated the holy oblation, until he had concluded the same sacred ministries.

564 × 583

Adamnan, Life of Columba, book II, c. 42 [1]

The blessed man's prophecy concerning the voyage of Cormac, grandson of Lethan.

At another time Cormac, a soldier of Christ, of whom we have made some brief commemoration in the first book of this work,[2] attempted for a second time to seek a desert in the ocean.

And after [Cormac] had sailed away from land with full sails over the limitless ocean, about the same time St Columba, staying beyond the Ridge of Britain, commanded king Brude in presence of the kinglet of the Orkneys, saying, "Some of us have recently sailed out, desiring to find a desert in the

[1] Reeves's edition, 166-168; Skene's, 185-186. Cf. Fordun, IV, 11.

[2] Adamnan (I, 6; Skene, 119) relates that Columba saw clairvoyantly Cormac's second expedition to seek a "desert in the ocean," and foretold that it also would be unsuccessful; "and for no other fault of his than that he has received in his expedition the monk of a religious abbot, wrongly departing to accompany [Cormac] without the abbot's permission."

Cormac was left as guardian of the monastery of Durrow when Columba departed from it; Reeves, 365 (in Skene, 241-242). Irish Life, Stokes's Three Homilies, 110. In the previous passage (above) Cormac appears as the successful founder of a monastery. He was Columba's successor in Durrow.

Martyrology of Gorman, p. 120, June 21st: "Pious Cormac Ua-Liathan," with the note: "abbot of Durrow, and bishop, and this Cormac was also an anchorite." Martyrology of Oengus, June 21st: "Cormac, the fair descendant of Liathan, was a beautiful cleric." Brussels Martyrology of Tallaght, Kelly, p. xxvii, "Cormac Ua-Liathain in Durrow." See the Martyrology of Donegal, p. 174: Adamnan, Reeves, 264-274 (Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus, ii, 272, 273, 279).

Cf. the notes on Oengus, 1905 ed., pp. 156-158; 1880 ed., cvi. The Lebar Brecc says that Cormac "rests in Durrow of Columcille."

"Cormac Ua-Liathain" appears also in the Brussels Martyrology of Tallaght, Kelly, p. xxvi, at June 8th.

Cormac's pedigree is given in the Book of Leinster, 351 b.

impassable sea[1]; and in case they chance after long wanderings[2] to come to the Orkney isles, command this chieftain earnestly, since his hostages are in thy hand, that no harm befal them within his territories."

The saint said this because he foreknew in spirit that after some months this Cormac would come to the Orkneys. This occurred afterwards, and because of the holy man's aforesaid commendation [Cormac] was saved from imminent death in the Orkneys. . . .[3]

563 × 597

Adamnan, Life of Columba, book II, c. 11[4]

Concerning another[5] *malign springing water which the holy man blessed in the district of the Picts.*

At another time, when the blessed man abode for some days in the province of the Picts, he heard a rumour spread among the heathen people concerning another fountain, which the stupid folk reverenced as a god, the devil blinding their senses; because those that drank from that spring, or assiduously washed their hands or feet in it, were struck by demoniacal art, God permitting it, and came away leprous or partly blind, or else infirm or affected by some other disease. By all this the heathen were led astray, and gave honour to the stream as to a god.

Understanding this, the saint one day went boldly to the spring. And the wizards, whom he had often driven from him in confusion and defeat, seeing this rejoiced greatly, since they thought that he would likewise suffer from touching the baleful water.

He first raised his holy hand, invoking the name of Christ, and washed his hands and feet; and thereafter drank, with his companions, of the same water, blessed by him. And from

[1] *in pelago intransmeabili;* i.e., over the Pentland Firth?

[2] *post longos circuitus:* "by circumnavigation"?

[3] Cormac's arrival in Iona on his return is related, and his interesting experiences on the third journey, into the Arctic Ocean, are described. Ibid., 186-187.

[4] Reeves's edition, 119; Skene's, 159-160.

[5] The previous spring mentioned had been produced by Columba out of a rock: Adamnan, II, 10.

that day the demons departed from the spring; and not only was it permitted to hurt no one, but even, after the saint had blessed it and washed in it, many diseases were cured by the same spring among the people.

563 × 597

Adamnan, Life of Columba, book II, c. 17[1]

Concerning a vessel that an evildoer named Silnan had filled with milk taken from a bull.

This is related to have occurred in the house of a rich plebeian called Foirtgirn, who dwelt on mount Cainle.[2] While the saint was a guest there he judged with true judgement between two peasants who were at strife; and one of them, who was a wizard, took at the saint's command, by diabolic art, milk from a bull which was near. This the saint commanded to be done, not to confirm these evil deeds (heaven forbid), but to refute them in presence of the multitude. And so the blessed man asked that the vessel which appeared to be full of this milk should quickly be given to him; and he blessed it with this statement, saying, "Now it will be proved that this is not true milk, as it is supposed to be, but blood bleached by deceit of demons to beguile mankind"; and immediately the milky colour was changed to the proper hue, that is to say, to blood. The bull, too, which in the short space of one hour, wasted and shrunk with wretched leanness, was upon the point of death, when bathed with water blessed by the saint was cured with marvellous rapidity.[3]

563 × 597

Adamnan, Life of Columba, book I, c. 34[4]

Of a boat removed at the saint's command.

At another time when he journeyed over the Ridge of

[1] Reeves's edition, 126-127; Skene's, 163.

[2] Adamnan relates an episode connected with the death "in the district of Cainle" of an enchanter, Neman son of Gruthriche; I, 39 (Skene, 138).

[3] Wizardry or druidism and the study of omens were characteristic of the Picts. See the verses in the Irish Nennius, Todd, 142-144; in Skene's P. & S., 41-42.

[4] Reeves's edition, 64; Skene's, 134-135.

Britain, he found an [empty] hamlet among deserted fields, and the saint made his abode there, beside the bank of a stream there entering a lake.[1] The same night he roused his sleeping companions, who had tasted drowsiness, and said, "At once, at once, go out swiftly, and bring hither quickly our boat which you placed in a house beyond the stream, and place it in a hut near by."

And they obeyed at once, and did as they were commanded. And after some interval, when they were at rest again, the saint struck Diarmait silently, saying, "Now stand outside the house, and see what is being done in the hamlet where before you placed your boat." And obeying the saint's command he left the house, and looking back saw that the village was being wholly burned down by attacking fire. And he returned to the saint and informed him of what was passing there. Then the saint related to the brethren concerning a certain envious pursuer who had set fire to those houses that night.

563 × 597

Adamnan, Life of Columba, book I, c. 46[2]

The holy man's prophecy concerning the little family of a certain plebeian.

At another time also a certain plebeian came among the rest to the saint when he lodged in the place that is called in Scottish Coire-Salchain.[3] And when the saint saw him coming

[1] In book I, Capitulationes, the name of the place is given: "Of the removal of a boat beside the lake *Lochdiae*." ("Otherwise, Nigra Dea (*lóch i. dub*); now the Lochy, Gaelic Lòchaidh, in Lochaber, or the Lochy at Tyndrum": Professor Watson, Celtic Review, 1912, p. 383.) Adamnan's *Nigra Dea* was a river in Lochaber.

Adamnan mentions also visits of Columba to Lochaber (*Regio stagno Aporum contermina*, II, 29; *regio quae stagni litoribus Aporici est conterminа*, II, 37, i.e. "the district bordering the lake of Abers," which is presumably Loch Lochy). A very interesting tale of a miracle (in Cummine, XIV; Pinkerton, Vitae, 35-36) is located by Adamnan (II, 37) in Lochaber; Adamnan translates the name of a salmon-river there by *nigra dea* "black goddess"; i.e. the Lochy, which connects Loch Lochy with Loch Linnhe.

[2] Reeves's edition, 88-89; Skene's, 143-144.

[3] Perhaps Coire Salachain in Morvern, north-west of Loch Creran across Loch Linnhe; but the name is not distinctive.

to him in the evening, he said, "Where dwellest thou?" He said, "I dwell in the district that borders upon the shores of lake Crogreth."[1] "That little province thou namest" said the saint, "is at present being ravaged by barbarian plunderers."

And hearing this the unhappy plebeian began to lament for his wife and sons. But the saint, seeing that he was in great grief, said consoling him, "Go, little man, go, all thy little family has escaped, fleeing into the mountain; but the invaders have driven off all thy little cattle,[2] and likewise the cruel ravagers have plundered all the furniture of thy house." Upon hearing this the plebeian returned to his country, and found everything fulfilled as the saint had foretold.

563 × 597

Adamnan, Life of Columba, book I, c. 33[3]

The holy man's prophecy concerning one Artbranan.

When the blessed man was staying for some days in the island of Skye,[4] he struck with his staff a spot of land in a certain place, near to the sea, and spoke thus to his companions: "Strange to say, my children, to-day on this spot of land a heathen old man, who has preserved what was naturally right through his whole life, will be baptized, will die, and will be buried."

And behold, after the interval of about one hour, a boat reached that harbour; and in its prow was carried a decrepit old man, the chief of the army[5] of Geona; and two youths

[1] Professor Watson thinks that Crogreth was "most likely Loch Creran, formerly L. Creveren, connected with L. Etive by Glen Salach" (Celtic Review, 1912, p. 383). No more probable identification has been made; but the names are not so similar as to prove the conjecture.

[2] *pecuscula*, possibly "sheep" (cf. Gaelic *meanbh-chrodh* "sheep or goats," literally "small cattle"). The diminutives in this passage are usually explained as a characteristic of Adamnan's style; they may however be meant literally, or they may represent Columba's manner of speech to a rustic.

[3] Reeves's edition, 62-63; Skene's, 134. Cf. the Life in the Salamanca MS.; Smedt and De Backer, 852.

[4] "When he was staying for some days in the isle of Skye" he killed by words a boar that was charging him; Adamnan, II, 26. Cf. Cummine, XXV; Pinkerton, Vitae, 43.

[5] Literally "cohort" (*Geonae primarius cohortis*). Possibly this word implies that Artbranan belonged to a British community where Roman military traditions survived; but this is altogether uncertain.

lifted him from the ship and laid him down in front of the blessed man. And immediately upon receiving the word of God from the saint through an interpreter,[1] he believed, and was baptized by him; and, as the saint had prophesied, after the ceremony of baptism had been completed, he presently died in the same spot, and there his companions heaped a pile of stones and buried him. It may be seen even to-day on the shore of the sea. And the river in the same locality in which he had received this baptism is to the present day named by the inhabitants Dobur-Artbranain,[2] after his name.

563 × 597

Adamnan, Life of Columba, book II, c. 23[3]

Also at another time the holy man earnestly consigned a certain exile of noble Pictish race, Tarain by name, into the hands of a rich man called Feradach, who dwelt in the island of Islay; and instructed that he should live for some months in [Feradach's] retinue as one of his friends. But although [Feradach] had received him commended with such recommendation from the hand of the holy man, after a few days he acted treacherously and slaughtered him, by a cruel command. . . .[4]

563 × 597

Adamnan, Life of Columba, book II, c. 31[5]

Of the healing of Finten, son of Aed, when he was at the point of death.

Also at another time when the saint travelled across the Ridge of Britain, a certain youth, called Finten, one of his companions, was troubled with sudden sickness and brought to the point of death; and his fellow warriors sadly begged the saint to pray for him. And immediately he took pity upon them and spread his holy hands to heaven in earnest prayer,

[1] Cf. below, p. 62. Evidently Columba did not know the language of Geona. Artbranan's name is Celtic.

[2] I.e. "Artbranan's Water."

[3] Reeves's edition, 134-135; Skene's, 167.

[4] The offender's death follows.

[5] Reeves's edition, 144; Skene's, 173.

and blessed the sick man, saying, "This youth for whom you plead shall live a long life; he shall remain as the survivor of all of us who are present here, and shall die in good old age."

This prophecy of the blessed man was completely fulfilled; for the same youth, afterwards the founder of the monastery that is called Kailli-auinde, ended the present life in good old age.

563 × 597

Adamnan, Life of Columba, book II, c. 32[1]

At that time,[2] when St Columba stayed for some days in the province of the Picts, a certain plebeian with his whole family heard and believed the word of life when the holy man preached through an interpreter,[3] and believing was baptized, the husband with his wife and children and friends. . . .[4]

563 × 597

Adamnan, Life of Columba, book I, c. 31[5]

The holy man's prophecy concerning his monk Cailtan.

At another time the saint sent two monks to another of his monks, called Cailtan, who was at that time prior in the cell that is to-day also called by the name of his brother Diuni, beside the lake of river Awe[6]; and by these messengers sent the following commands: "Go quickly, hasten to Cailtan, and bid him come to me without any delay."

And following the saint's instructions they departed, and

[1] Reeves's edition, 145; Skene's, 173.

[2] The time of Finten's sickness; above.

[3] Cf. above, p. 61. From these two passages we may conclude that some dialects at least of Pictish were not intelligible to an Irishman in the 6th century.

[4] One of the sons died soon afterwards, and blame was laid upon Christianity; Columba brought the boy to life. Adamnan, u.s., 145-146 (Skene, 173-174). This episode is mentioned by Cummine, XXV; Pinkerton's Vitae, 43.

Cf. the Irish Life; Stokes, Three Homilies, 118; Lismore Lives, 30-31.

Cf. the Life in the Salamanca MS.; Smedt and De Backer's Acta, 849-850.

[5] Reeves's edition, 60; Skene's, 132-133.

[6] *Stagno . . . Abae fluminis.* Cf. year 676.

arriving at Cill-Diuni they imparted to Cailtan the nature of their message. And he delayed not at all, but followed the saint's messengers that very hour, and accompanying them on their journey quickly came to [Columba] where he dwelt in the island of Iona.

And seeing him, the saint spoke to him in this fashion and addressed him in these words: "O Cailtan, thou didst well in hastening obediently to me; rest for a little. I sent to invite thee for this cause, loving thee as a friend, that thou mightest finish the course of thy life with me here in true obedience. For before the end of this week thou shalt pass in peace to the Lord."

Hearing this, [Cailtan] rendered thanks to God, and weeping kissed the saint, and went to the hospice, after receiving his benediction: and the same night following he fell ill, and he passed to Christ the Lord within the same week, according to the saint's word.

563 × 597

Adamnan, Life of Columba, book I, c. 45 [1]

The holy man's prophecy concerning the priest Ernan.[2]

Also at another time the venerable man sent the priest Ernan, an old man, his uncle, to the priority of the monastery that he had founded many years before in the island of Hinba.[3]

When the saint kissed him and blessed him at his departure, he pronounced this prophecy concerning him, saying, "This my friend now departing I have no hope of seeing again in this world."

And so after not many days this Ernan was troubled with a certain disease, and was carried back, wishing to go to the saint; and [Columba] rejoiced greatly in his arrival, and began to go to meet him at the harbour. And Ernan, although his steps were feeble, attempted nevertheless very eagerly to go from the harbour on his own feet to meet the saint.

But when there was a space of about twenty-four paces between the two, he was taken by sudden death, and fell

[1] Reeves's edition, 86-88; Skene's, 143.

[2] For Ernan see above, p. 39.

[3] See above, p. 54.

expiring on the ground before the saint had seen his face in life, that the saint's word should not in any way be vain.

And hence a cross was set up in that place, before the door of a kiln[1]; and another cross likewise stands even to-day, set up where the saint was when [Ernan] expired.

563 × 597

Adamnan, Life of Columba, book I, c. 26[2]

Of a guest's arrival that the saint foretold.

Also at another time, on the third day of the week, the saint thus prophesied to the brethren: "To-morrow, being the fourth day of the week, we intend to fast; nevertheless an inconvenient[3] guest will arrive, and the customary fast will be relaxed. . . .[4]

563 × 597

Adamnan, Life of Columba, book I, c. 21[5]

At another time the saint came to the island of Hinba, and on that day ordered that some indulgence in food should be allowed even to penitents.

But there was among the penitents there one Neman, son of Cathir, who refused to receive at the saint's command the offered consolation. And the saint addressed him in these words: "O Neman, thou receivest not any indulgence of refection granted by me and Baithine; a time will come when thou shalt chew mare's flesh in the woods secretly with robbers."

Accordingly he returned afterwards to the world, and was found sharing such flesh in a pass with thieves, according to the saint's words, taking it from a wooden gridiron.

[1] *ante januam canabae.* See Reeves, 88, 440.

[2] Reeves's edition, 54-55; Skene's, 129.

[3] "dangerous" Fowler (*molesto*).

[4] The guest was Aidan, Fergna's son, "who, it is said, for twelve years had been the attendant of Brendan Mocu-Alti," abbot of Clonfert.

Cf. the Irish canons; Wasserschleben, Irische Kanonensammlung, XII, 15.

[5] Reeves's edition, 50-51; Skene's, 127.

563 × 597

Adamnan, Life of Columba, book II, c. 3 [1]

At another time the saint sent his monks to bring from a plebeian's field bundles of twigs, with which to build a hospice.

And when they returned and came to the saint, having a freight-ship filled with the aforesaid building-material of twigs, and told that the plebeian was greatly grieved because of this loss, the saint in consequence bade them, saying, "Then lest we offend the man, let six pecks of barley be taken to him by us, and let him sow them at this time in ploughed land." . . .[2]

563 × 597

Adamnan, Life of Columba, book I, c. 41 [3]

The holy man's prophecy concerning the thief Erc Mocu-druide, who dwelt in the island of Colosus.[4]

At another time, when the saint abode in the island of

[1] Reeves's edition, 106; Skene's, 153.

For the use of wattles in building see S.C.S., ii, 57-59.

[2] The corn was sown after 12th June, and reaped in the beginning of August; this was regarded as a miracle. The plebeian is called Findchan, his place Delcros. In Adamnan, II, 44 (below, p. 186) seed of some kind was sown in Iona late in April or early in May According to Reeves, 107: "In the neighbourhood of Iona barley is occasionally sown early in July; but the usual time of sowing is June; of reaping, the early part of September."

In the Irish Life the episode is placed in the neighbourhood of Derry: Stokes, Three Homilies, 108, Lismore Lives, 27.

[3] Reeves's edition, 77-79; Skene's, 139-140.

[4] *In Coloso insula.* Below, *de insula Coloso;* and in II, 22, (below,) *inter Maleam et Colosum insulas.* The nominative postulated was therefore *Colosus insula.*

Adamnan's general practice is to give islands' names in quasi-adjectival form, or at least as nouns with a feminine termination: *Egea insula*, for Eigg; *Elena insula*, II, 18; *Ethica terra*, for Tiree; *Hinbina insula* once for the usual *Hinba insula; Ilea insula* for Islay; *Ioua insula* for Iona; *Longa insula* for the Long Island or Luing, II, 24; *Oidecha insula* for *Aithche*, II, 14; *Rechrea insula*, II, 41, for *Rechru*, I, 5; *Sainea insula* for ? Shuna, II, 45; *Scia insula* for Skye; see above, p. 51. Another exception to this practice is *Ommon insula*, I, 36.

Coloso is perhaps the form from which Adamnan has constructed his *Colosus insula.*

From this narrative *Colosus insula* appears to have been within so

Iona, he called to him two men of the brethren, their names being Lugbe and Silnan. And he bade them, saying, "Cross over at once to the island of Mull, and in the little plains near the sea look for the robber Erc; for he came secretly alone last night from the island of Colosus, and endeavours to hide during the day among the sand-dunes, under his boat, which he has covered with hay, intending to sail over by night to the small island where the seals belonging to our sealing rights breed and are bred, and to kill some of them violently, and after very greedily and predaciously filling his boat to return to his habitation."

Hearing this they obeyed and sailed over, and found the thief hidden in the place indicated beforehand by the saint; and they brought him to the saint, as he had instructed them.

And seeing him, the saint said to him: "Wherefore dost thou often transgress God's command and steal what belongs to others? When thou needest anything come to us, and thou shalt receive what is necessary by asking for it."

And so speaking he ordered that wethers should be killed and given to the poor thief, that he should not return home empty.

And after some considerable time the saint foresaw in spirit the thief's imminent death, and sent to Baithine, who was at that time dwelling as prior in Mag-Luinge [in Tiree], and bade him send the thief as last gifts a fat sheep and six pecks of corn.

And when Baithine had sent over as the saint had commanded, the miserable robber was found on that day taken by sudden death, and the gifts sent over were used at his funeral.

short a distance from a sandy shore of Mull that one man in a coracle could cross over in the night. It was also near Tiree.

In II, 22, (below,) a ship was between Mull and *Colosus insula* after sailing for a few hours, on a quiet day, from a harbour in Ardnamurchan; and visible (apparently) from a hill there. Colonsay is some fifty miles from the present Ardnamurchan, and some thirty-five from Tiree. Coll is at a suitable distance from Ardnamurchan, and is near Tiree. The name has been regarded as pointing to Colonsay (modern *Colasa*), but this is very doubtful for phonetic reasons; and the context seems to indicate Coll. (Cf. also the editors of the Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus, ii, 276, 278.)

563 × 597

Adamnan, Life of Columba, MS. B, book II, c. 20[1]

On the other hand he pronounced the following prophetic sentence concerning a certain very niggardly rich man called Fingen,[2] who had despised St Columba and had not received him as a guest: "The riches of that greedy man who has despised Christ in pilgrim guests, from this day shall gradually decrease, and shall be reduced to nothing; and he shall beg; and his son shall run from house to house with a half empty wallet; and he shall be struck by a rival [beggar] with an axe in the pit of a threshing-floor, and shall die." And all this was completely fulfilled, according to the holy man's prophecy, in the case of both.

Adamnan, Life of Columba, book II, c. 22[3]

Of the death of wizards that had scorned the saint.

The venerable man greatly loved the above-mentioned Columban,[4] whom the virtue of his blessing had made, from a poor man, rich; because he offered him many pious services.

But there was at that time a certain man, a wizard, a persecutor of the good, by name John, the son of Conall, son of Donald, sprung from the royal race of Gabran. He persecuted St Columba's friend, the Columban mentioned above; and he had plundered his house, carrying off all that he found in it, acting as an enemy not once, but twice.

And hence it happened not undeservedly to this malignant man that the third time, after the third despoliation of the same house, as he returned to his ship, laden with spoil with his associates, he met the blessed man [Columba], whom he had imagined far away, approaching close at hand.[5] And

[1] Reeves's edition, 131; Skene's, 165.

This chapter is wholly omitted by the oldest MS. The preceding passage describes Columba's blessing of his host Nesan Cam's five cows, that they should increase to 105; an episode that is related also in connection with the cows of a poor man, Columban, in II, 21 (Skene, 165-166), and is spoken of also by Cummine, XXV, in Pinkerton's Vitae, 43.

[2] *Ingenio*; *Uigeno* in the Capitulationes of book II (Skene, 150).

[3] Reeves's edition, 132-134; Skene's, 166-167.

[4] See the note on the preceding passage.

[5] In text *proprius;* read *propius.*

when the saint upbraided him for his wicked deeds, and asked and urged him to abandon his booty, he remained cruel and obdurate, and scorned the saint; and entering his ship with the booty, scoffed and mocked at the blessed man.

And the saint followed him down to the sea, and entering the green sea-waves up to his knees raised both hands to heaven, and prayed earnestly to Christ, who glorifies his elect that glorify him.

The harbour in which he stood after the departure of the persecutor, and for a while prayed to the Lord, is in a place that is called in Scottish Aithchambas of Ardnamurchan.[1] . . .

After some interval of a few short hours,[2] the day being quite serene, behold a cloud arisen from the sea, as the saint had said, driven with great roaring of wind caught the plunderer with his booty between the isles of Mull and Colosus,[3] and swamped him in a sudden squall in the middle of the sea; and of those that were in the ship not one, in accordance with the saint's word, escaped. . . .[4]

[1] *Aithchambas Art Muirchol.* Reeves reads Ait-chamas, "pleasant bay"; and the editors of the Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus (ii, 278) would correct the text to *Aithchamba sive Art Muirchol*, "Aithchamba or Ardnamurchan." But emendation is perhaps unnecessary.

Ardnamurchan is called by Adamnan *Artda muirchol*, apparently a plural, which forms the plural dative *Artdaib muirchol.*

Columba and his companions watched from high ground; Columba promised the immediate destruction of the robber, and it seems to be implied that the catastrophe occurred while they were there, and within their sight.

[2] *morarum*, read *horarum.*

[3] See above, p. 65.

[4] A visit of Columba to Ardnamurchan took place shortly after the deaths [in 572] of Baetan, son of Muirchertach Erc's son, and Eochaid, son of Donald [Muirchertach's son]; Adamnan, I, 12 (Skene, 122). A harbour in this district is there called *Muirbolc Paradisi* ("heavenly sea-pouch"), being apparently named after the Muirbolc (now Murlough) in Antrim.

On a visit to Ardnamurchan Columba drew water from a rock to baptize a child: "This [child] was Lugu Cen[n]calad [i.e. Hard-head], and his parents were in Ardnamurchan, where even to-day a spring is seen, distinguished by the name of St Columba." Adamnan, II, 10 (Skene, 158-159). Cf. the Irish Life; Stokes, Three Homilies, 108; Lismore Lives, 27.

563 × 597

Adamnan, Life of Columba, book II, c. 24[1]

Of another wicked man, persecutor of churches, whose name is called in Latin Manus Dextera.

At another time, when the blessed man, dwelling in the island of Hinba, had begun to excommunicate some[2] persecutors of the churches, the sons namely of Conall Donald's son, (one of whose sons was John, of whom we have related above,) one of their companion malefactors upon instigation of the devil ran up with a spear, to slay the saint. And one of the brethren, Findlugan by name, to prevent this interposed, wearing the holy man's cowl, ready to die for him. But in a marvellous manner this vestment of the blessed man, like some very strong and impenetrable coat of mail, could not be pierced, even by the strong cast of a sharp spear from a strong man's hand, but remained uninjured; and he that wore it was preserved safe and unhurt through its protection. And the villain, who [was called in Latin] Manus Dextera, went away again, thinking that he had transfixed the holy man with the spear.

After completion of a year from that day, when the saint was dwelling in the island of Iona, he said, "It is an entire year to this day from the day when Lam Dess[3] slew, to the extent of his power, Findlugan in my stead; but he too, as I think, is slain in this hour."

And this occurred according to the saint's revelation at the same instant in the island that in Latin may be called Longa[4]; there this Lam Dess alone had perished, in a fight between two companies of men, pierced by the spear of Cronan Baithan's son, thrown, it is said, in the name of St Columba. And after his death the men ceased to fight.

[1] Reeves's edition, 135-137; Skene's, 168-169.

[2] *alios.*

[3] *Lam dess* "right hand" is the Old Irish form of the name previously given in Latin (*manus dextera*).

[4] I.e. "the long [island]." Possibly the Long Island of the present day (the Outer Hebrides).

565 × 588

Adamnan, Life of Columba, book I, c. 36[1]

The blessed man's prophecy concerning the priest Findchan, founder of the monastery that in Scottish is called Artchain, in the land of Tiree.[2]

At another time the above-mentioned priest Findchan, soldier of Christ, brought with him from Ireland[3] to Britain, in the habit of clergy, Aed, surnamed the Black, sprung from royal blood, an [Irish] Pict by race, to be a pilgrim with him for some years in his monastery. This Aed the Black had been a very blood-thirsty man and the slayer of many; and he had also killed Diarmait, Cerball's son, ruler over all Ireland,[3] appointed by God's authority. After this same Aed had passed some time in pilgrimage, a bishop was called in, and [Aed] was ordained priest in presence of[4] Findchan aforesaid, although not rightly. But the bishop dared not place his hand upon [Aed's] head until the same Findchan (who loved Aed after the flesh) had first placed his hand in confirmation upon his head.

When this ordination was afterwards announced to the holy man [Columba,] he was ill-pleased. Thereupon he pronounced this terrible sentence concerning Findchan and Aed, who had been ordained, saying: "The right hand that Findchan, contrary to right and to ecclesiastic law, has placed upon the head of that son of perdition, shall presently decay, and after great torture of suffering shall precede him to the ground in burial; and he surviving shall live for many years after his hand has been interred. But Aed, undeservedly ordained, shall return to his vomit like a dog; and he shall be again a bloody murderer, and at last, slaughtered with a spear, he shall fall from a log into water, and shall sink and die. He has long ago deserved such termination of his life, because he slaughtered the king of all Ireland."[5]

[1] Reeves's edition, 66-71; Skene's, 135-136.

[2] In Adamnan, *Ethica terra* or *Ethica regio.*

[3] *Scotia.*

[4] *Apud*, in Irish writers often = "by." The form of ordination was here gone through by the abbot, without validity, to relieve the bishop of responsibility in the subsequent valid ordination performed by him.

[5] *Scotiae.*

And this prophecy of the blessed man was fulfilled in both cases; for the priest Findchan's right hand decayed from the effects of a blow and preceded him to earth, being buried in the island that is called Ommon; while he lived for many years afterwards, according to St Columba's words. And Aed the Black, a priest only in name, returned to his former crimes, was pierced by treachery with a spear, fell from the prow of a raft into the water of a lake, and perished.

PART III

Affairs before and after the Council of Druimm-Ceta

ca. 568

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 60, s.a. 567 = 568[1]

A campaign in the western world [was led] by Colman Bec, Diarmait's son, and Conall, Comgall's son.[2]

ca. 570

Tigernach, Annals; in Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 149, s.a. [568][3]

And Gildas [died].[4]

[1] With f.n. and e. of 568.

[2] Also ibid., s.a. 566=567 (with f.n. of 567): "A campaign in the western world" (*fecht in Iardoman*), as in the passage translated above). Probably *Iardoman* was the name of a district.

F.M., i, 204, s.a. 565: "A fleet [was led] by Colman Bec, son of Diarmait, son of Fergus Cerr-bel, and by Conall, Comgall's son, prince [*toiseach*] of Dalriata, into Soil and into Islay; and they took from them many spoils."

The battle appears thus in A.I., 7, O'Conor's year 560=568 (31 years before 599): "The battle of Ard-Tommain [was fought] by Colman Bec, son of Ailill, son of Comgall."

The Annals from the Book of Leinster, R.S. 89, ii, 514: "583. A battle in the western world (that is, in Soíl and in Islay,) [was fought] by Colman Bec, D[iarmait's] son, and by Conall, Comgall's son."

Colman Bec was responsible for the death of Baetan, Ninnid's son, king of Tara, and was himself killed the next year by Aed, Ainmire's son. A.U., i, 70-72, s.aa. 585=586 and 586=587.

[3] F.n. 1.

[4] A.U., i, 62, s.a. 569=570 (with f.n. and e. of 570): "Gildas died." In MS. A, Gildas's death is placed alternatively under 576=577.

A.I., 7, O'Conor's year 559=567 (32 years before 599; and s.a. 562 in Harleian MS., ibid., note): "The repose of bishop Gildas."

Annals from L.L. (R.S. 89, ii, 514): "Gildas the Wise reposed,"

?573

Adamnan, Life of Columba, book I, c. 15.[1]

The blessed man [Columba's] prophecy concerning king Roderc, Tothail's son, who reigned in the Rock of Clyde.[2]

At one time this king, since he was a friend of the holy man [Columba], sent to him a secret message by Lugbe Mocu-Min, wishing to know whether he should be slaughtered by enemies, or not. And when Lugbe was questioned by the saint regarding the same king, and the kingdom, and the people, he replied as in pity, saying, "Why dost thou inquire concerning that unfortunate man, who can by no means know at what hour he may be slain by his enemies?" Thereupon the saint foretold: "He shall never be given up into the hands of enemies, but shall die in his own house, upon his pillow." And this prophecy of the saint regarding king Roderc was completely fulfilled; for according to his word, [Roderc] died a placid death in his own house.

573

Annales Cambriae, Ab Ithel's edition, p. 5, s.a. [573][3]

The battle of Arterid[4] [between the sons of Elifer and

without date; placed immediately before the death of Aed Suibne's son († 585; A.U.).

Probably the best authority is the Annales Cambriae. A.C., MS. B, Ab Ithel's ed., 5, s.a. [565] (121 years after 444): "The voyage of Gildas to Ireland." (Many canons of the Irish church are attributed to Gildas; see Wasserschleben, Irische Kanonensammlung (1885), 9, 35, 73, 133, 139, 150, 151, 154, 212, 237.)

A.C., Y Cymmrodor, ix, 155, s.a. [570] (6 years after the "120th year" after 444): "Gildas died." (MS. B adds, "the wisest of the Britons"; ed. Ab Ithel, 5.)

The Martyrology of Donegal, 296, enters his death under November 4th.

Fordun, III, 22-23, places the death of Gildas erroneously in the reign of Gabran. For his birth, see his De Excidio, c. 26; M.G.H., Auctores, xiii, 40.

[1] Reeves's edition, 43-44; Skene's, 123-124.

[2] *Petra Cloithe;* i.e., *Ail-Chluaide* (Dumbarton). For Roderc or Riderch, see years 573, 612, notes.

[3] Placed 9 years after the "120th year" after 444 (Y Cymmrodor, ix, 155).

[4] *Armterid* in MS. A; *Erderit*, B; *Arderit*, C.

Guendoleu, the son of Keidiau. And in this battle Guendoleu fell. Merlin became insane].[1]

[1] The part within brackets is taken from MS. B.

According to Skene, Four Ancient Books of Wales, i, 66, the battle was fought "between Gwenddolew, whose name is surrounded by bardic tradition with every type and symbol of a semi-pagan cult, and on the other side three leading chiefs, who each became the founder of a kingdom—Maelgwn Gwynedd, Rydderch Hael, and Aedan, son of Gafran, called Fradawg, or the treacherous."

But Mailcun, king of Gwynedd or Guenedota, had died in 547. Riderch, king of Dumbarton, died ca. 612; see also above.

The success of this battle may have strengthened Aidan's hold of the kingdom of Argyle, and improved his position in the negotiations with Ireland. See year 575.

In an article published by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (Proceedings, vi, 91-98), Skene argued with all likelihood that the place of this battle was the "Roman Camp" or "Moat of Liddel," near Carwhinelow, near Arthuret, in the valley of the Liddel, eight miles from Carlisle, and within sight of Burnswark. Skene further derived Carwhinelow from Caer Guendoleu or Gwenddolew, and Ridding from Erydon, a name which occurs in the Cyvoesi Myrddin, a dialogue between Merlin and his sister Gwendydd: "the battle of Ardderyd and Erydon"; ". . . Gwendolau was slain in the blood-fray of Ardderyd." (Skene, u.s., 94-95.)

Skene cites six Welsh Triads that refer to the battle or to people who fought in it; u.s., 92.

The battle of Arderydd is mentioned in Welsh Triads; Loth's Mabinogion, ii, triads no. 16, 48; M.A., 396, 397-398. It is named second among the "three frivolous battles of the island of Britain": "the battle of Arderydd, fought because of a lark's nest." M.A., 391. Loth's Mabinogion, 1913 ed., ii, 283 (triad no. 79).

A Welsh Triad mentions an expedition of Aidan to Strathclyde: "The third [costly plundering expedition of the island of Britain] was that in which Aidan the Traitor went into Alclut to the court of Riderch Hael: after it, there remained neither food nor drink, nor any living thing." M.A., 391. Loth's Mabinogion (1913), ii, 248 (triad no. 19). Cf. M.A., 406.

The legends that grew up around Merlin, his remorse over causing the battle, and the deaths resulting from it, and his subsequent attachment, upon Kentigern's recommendation, to Riderch's court, are scarcely to be regarded as history. Cf. Joceline's Life of Kentigern, c. 45; Historians of Scotland, v, 241 (118, 371-374), and below, p. 139, with Bower's Scotichronicon, III, 31 (Goodall's edition, i, 135-137; Edinburgh, 1759). But if Merlin composed the prophecies ascribed to him, he was certainly insane.

For the sons of Elifer, see year 580.

? 574

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 151, s.a. [573][1]

The death of Conall, Comgall's son, king of Dalriata, in the [sixteenth][2] year of his reign. He gave as offering[3] the island of Iona of Columcille.[4]

ca. 574

Berchan's Prophecy, stanzas 114-118; in Skene's Picts and Scots, pp. 82-83

Alas for the Picts to whom he[5] will go eastward, if they knew the thing that approaches them (?).[6] He will not be

[1] With f.n. 7. Under f.n. 3 = 575, with the marginal date 4437, Tigernach notes the reign for 7 years of Tiberius. This is taken from Bede's Chronicle (M.G.H., Auctores, xiii, 308, s.a. 4536). Tiberius II was emperor from 578 to 582; Bede says, from 4529 to 4536; Isidore, from 5772 to 5779 (Auctores, xi, 477).

[2] In the text, "thirteenth"; read "sixteenth" (no. xui for xiii). "Sixteenth" in C.S., A.U., and the Annals of Clonmacnoise.

[3] *oferavit*; *offerebat* in C.S.; *obtulit* in A.U. The word is translated by F.M. *ro edhbair.*

[4] To the same effect in C.S., 60, s.a. [573] (f.n. 7; Hennessy's year 574). So also in A.U., i, 64, s.a. 573=574 (with f.n. and e. of 574). A.I., 8, O'Conor's year 566=574 (25 years before 599): "The death of Conall, Comgall's son. He reigned for sixteen years" (this is placed 15 years after Gabran's death). F.M., i, 208, s.a. 572 (and the "15th year of Aed, Ainmire's son" as sovereign of Ireland): "Conall, Comgall's son, the king of Dalriata, died. He offered up Iona to Columcille."

Soon after he left Ireland, Columba had been Conall's guest; see Adamnan, II, 7; above, p. 48. As Reeves has pointed out, the grant of Iona must rather have been made by Brude, with Conall's consent.

Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 89, s.a. 569: "Conall, son of Comgall that gave the island of Iona [*Hugh*] to Columcille, died in the 16th year of his reign over Dalriata."

The Duan Albanach, in P. & S., 60: "Five times three years, without a verse [of eulogy] [*gan roinn*], Conall, Comgall's son, was king" (Skene translated *gan roinn* "without interruption." But cf. the Duan Albanach, below, years 607, 630, notes. For the gender, see Irische Texte, iii, 1, 128). "Without division" of spoils or of territory is also a possible translation.

The Chronicles of Dalriata give Conall a reign of 14 years; but the Irish Annals and the Duan seem to prove that he reigned for over 15 years. Fordun's account (III, 26) of Conall's death and successor is incorrect. For the succession of Conall's cousin Aidan, see year 607, note.

[5] Apparently this was Aidan, Gabran's son, before his accession to the kingdom.

[6] *da bfestaois ann ní da bfuil.*

satisfied that an Irishman should have been king in the east in subjection to the Picts.[1]

He will be a short while in the east, according to his will; he will not come against his word. At the time when they molest him he will not be king. He will cast the Picts into insignificance.[2]

He is the first man who will rise in the east, after his molestation by the Picts: the distressed traveller[3] will be the red flame that awakens war.[4]

A dart will glance from the shield's edge,[5] with whom will be wanderers his grey [horses][6]: a rider of the swift horse[7] (it is not falsehood) which will seek Ireland in one day.

Thirteen years (one after another) [he will fight against] the Pictish host (fair the diadem).[8] He will not be king at the time of his death, on a Thursday, in Kintyre.[9]

[1] *nír ba sámh leis gorbá rígh thair | eirinn*ech *fa chruithnechaibh.* The first of these lines has a syllable too many. *Ba* has probably been written twice, in error; read *ní sámh leis* (or *gor-rígthair*, "that an Irishman should have been subject to the Picts"?).

[2] *attráth no craidhfeadh, ni ba rígh; | fo-cíochra cruithnecha i nemhbrígh.*

[3] *in t-aistearach imnedhach.*

[4] Here is the note: "i.e. Aidan, Gabran's son. But Aidan belongs to Leinster, according to his genealogy." This gloss has been placed at Aidan's accession, not where he is first mentioned.

[5] *do bhile sgiaith.* In MS. B *do bhilibh Sciath*, with O'Connell's note "*do bhile sceith* perhaps." O'Connell's emendation is correct. This phrase is a play upon Skye's name (in the genitive *Sceth*, *Sgiad*, A.U.; modern nominative *Sgiath*, like *sgiath* "shield." The "dart" was surely Cano, Gartnait's son, who fled from Skye to Ireland in 668 and died in 687. The Tale of Cano (Yellow Book of Lecan, 128-132; Kuno Meyer, Anecdota from Irish MSS., i, 1-15) says that Cano escaped from Aidan, Gabran's son; and the writer of the Prophecy has had the same false idea. See year ? 601, note.

The Tale implies that Cano was king for a time.

[6] Or "[men]"?

[7] Presumably a wooden ship. The Tale speaks of curachs. The journey from Skye to Ireland would have been a very long one for one day; but Dunskey, near Portpatrick, is so near to Ireland that this stanza shows it is not meant.

[8] *Tri bliadhna deg, cinn ar chinn, | fri shluagh cruithnech, cáin in mhind.* MS. B has *ceann ar cheann, . . . cain an Meann*, with O'Connell's note "*i. caoin.*" Such chevilles are used for verse-building without much regard to their meaning.

The Prophecy seems to have reverted to Aidan.

[9] The Prophecy is continued at year 843.

ca. 574

Adamnan, Life of Columba, book III, c. 5 [1]

Of the angel of the Lord who appeared in a vision to St Columba while he dwelt in the island of Hinba, being sent to appoint Aidan as king.

At another time, when this excellent man [Columba] was dwelling in the island of Hinba, one night in ecstasy of mind he saw an angel of the Lord sent to him; and [the angel] had in his hand a glass book of the appointment of kings. And when the venerable man had received it from the angel's hand, at his command he began to read it. And when he refused to appoint Aidan as king, according to what was commanded him in the book, because he loved Eoganan [2] [Aidan's] brother more, suddenly the angel stretched out his hand and struck the saint with a scourge, from which a livid scar remained in his side for all the days of his life. And these words he addressed to him, saying, "Know surely that I have been sent from God to thee with the book of glass, that according to the words thou hast read in it thou shalt appoint Aidan to the kingdom. And if thou refuse to obey this command, I shall strike thee again."

So when this angel of the Lord had appeared to him for three successive nights, having in his hand the same book of glass, and had given him the same commands of the Lord concerning the same king's appointment, the saint followed the Lord's word, and sailed over to the island of Iona; and there, as he had been commanded, he ordained Aidan, who arrived about the same time, as king. And among the words of the ordination he prophesied the future concerning [Aidan's] sons and grandsons and great grandsons; and laying his hand upon his head, he ordained and blessed him.[3]

[1] Reeves's edition, 197-198; Skene's, 196-197. This anecdote is given more briefly in Cummine's Life (below). It is abbreviated from Adamnan by Fordun (III, 27; i, 113-114), who omits the words of the prophecy, and its fulfilment.

[2] Eogan or Eoganan's death is noted under year 597, below. Cummine's Life omits the name.

[3] For the fulfilment of this prophecy see year 639.

This incident appears thus in the Life attributed to Cummine, c. V; in Pinkerton's Vitae, 30:—

"[*Columba*] *consecrates Aidan as king, and predicts the future concerning his sons.*

"At another time the holy man, dwelling in the island of Hymba, saw

ca. 574

Tigernach, Annals; u.s., *continued.*

The battle of Delgu[1] in Kintyre; and in it Duncan, son of

one night, in ecstasy of mind, an angel of the Lord sent to him. And [the angel] had in his hand a glass book of the appointment of kings.

"[Columba] received it from the angel's hand and began to read it. But he refused to appoint Aidan as king, according to the commandment; for he loved [Aidan's] brother more; and suddenly the angel stretched out his hand, and struck the saint with a scourge, from which a livid scar remained in his side for all the days of his life. And in these words [the angel] addressed him: 'Know surely that I have been sent by God to bid thee appoint Aidan as king; and if thou refuse, I shall strike thee again.'

"When for three successive nights the angel of the Lord had given him the same commands concerning the appointment of Aidan, the saint sailed over to God's island of Iona; and upon Aidan's arrival there, appointed him as king."

Tripartite Life of St Patrick, i, 162 (and Skene's P. & S., 17): "Patrick was welcomed in the land [of Dalaraide] by Erc's twelve sons. And Fergus Mor, Erc's son, said to Patrick, 'If my brother should respect me in the division of his land, I would give [my share] to thee.' And Patrick offered that part to bishop Olcan; that is, Airthir Maige.

"Patrick said to Fergus: 'Though to-day thy brother have little esteem for thee, yet thou shalt be king, and from thee shall come the kings in this country and over Fortriu for ever.' And this was fulfilled in Aidan, Gabran's son, who took Scotland by force. And Patrick left many churches and establishments in the territory of [Irish] Dalriata."

This story has no more authority than the other version given by the same Life: see above, p. 2.

Cf. Colgan's 7th Life of Patrick, Trias Thaumaturga, 147 b; and the still more extended account in Joceline of Furness (ca. 1185), Life of Patrick, ibid., 95 b, and in P. & S., 142-143.

Cf. year 575, note.

A story of Columba is told in the Yellow Book of Lecan, 164 a, beginning: "Columcille, Fedlimid's son, was the confessor of Aidan, Gabran's son, king of Scotland."

According to a fabulous tale in the Yellow Book of Lecan (facsimile, 128 a), Aidan was the son of Eochaid, son of Enda Gen-salach: Aidan was fostered from his birth by Gabran's wife, Ingenach. Aidan's twin brother was Brandub, king of Leinster. This alleged relationship caused reconciliation and peace between Aidan and Brandub after Aidan's successful invasion of Brandub's land (ibid.). The same story appears in Keating's History of Ireland, at the end of the first book (ed. Dinneen, iii, 408-412).

[1] *cath Delgon:* but in A.U., *bellum Telocho.*

Conall, son of Comgall, and many others of the allies of the sons of Gabran,[1] fell.[2]

ca. 575

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 64, s.a. 574=575 [3]

The great convention[4] of Druimm-ceta,[5] in which were Columcille and Aed, Ainmire's son.[6]

ca. 575

Adamnan, Life of Columba, book I, c. 10 [7]

Of Donald, Aed's son.

Donald Aed's son, still a boy, was brought to St Columba in Druimm-ceta by his foster-parents,[8] and, regarding him, [Columba] asked, saying: "Whose son is this, that you have

[1] In text *Garbain;* read *Gabrain,* as in A.U.

[2] Similarly in A.U., i, 66, s.a. 575=576 (with f.n. and e. of 576). Also ibid., s.a. 576=577 (with f.n. and e. of 577): "The battle of Telocho."

[3] With f.n. and e. of 575.

[4] Glossed "assembly" in Irish in MSS. A and B.

[5] "Identified with the mound called the Mullagh, in Roe Park, near Newtownlimavady in the Co. Derry"; Bernard and Atkinson's Liber Hymnorum, ii, 225.

[6] Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 90, s.a. 587 (the year-section begins with the mission of Augustine): "Aed Ainmire's son succeeded in the kingdom, and reigned 25 years" [592-†598; A.U.]

"In his time the meeting was between him and Aidan, Gabran's son, king of Scotland, in Druimm-ceta [*Dromkehaire*] with divers of the nobility both spiritual and temporal of Ireland and Scotland, in their company, for deciding the controversy between the said kings for the territory and lordship of Dalriata. St Columcille and St Baithine were present at that meeting."

The Annals from L.L. (R.S. 89, ii, 514) place the council of Druimm-ceta immediately after the death of Daig, Cairell's son (†586=587, A.U.; under f.n. 1=585, in T. and C.S., Hennessy's year 586; 586 in F.M.; in A.I., O'Conor's year 581=589). Lebar Brecc, 238 Ca: "The king of [the tribe of] Coirpre, Aed, Gabran's son; Aidan, son of Gabran of the warriors, was sovereign of Scotland, full of arms. . . . They were all . . . in the assembly of Druimm-ceta, making peace between Aed . . . and Aidan."

For this conference cf. O'Donnell's Life of Columba, in Colgan's Trias Thaumaturga, 430-431.

[7] Reeves's edition, 36-37; Skene's, 121-122.

[8] *per nutritores.*

brought?" They replied: "This is Donald, Aed's son, who has been brought to thee for this, that he may return enriched with thy blessing." And immediately after the saint had blessed him, he said: "This [boy] shall survive after all his brothers, and shall be a very famous king; and he shall never be given into the hands of his enemies, but shall die a placid death in old age upon his bed, and within his own house, surrounded by a crowd of his intimate friends." All these things were truly fulfilled of him according to the blessed man's prophecy.[1]

ca. 575

Adamnan, Life of Columba, book I, c. 11 [2]

Of Scandlan, Colman's son.

At the same time and in the same place he went to Scandlan, Colman's son,[3] kept in chains by king Aed, desiring to visit him. And after blessing him he said comforting him: "Son, be not sorrowful, but rather be glad and of good comfort; for king Aed, by whom thou art enchained, will precede thee from this world; and, after some seasons of exile, thou shalt reign as king over thy nation for thirty years. And again thou shalt escape from the kingdom and be in exile for some days; after which recalled by the people thou shalt reign for three short seasons." And all this was completely fulfilled according to the saint's prophecy. For after thirty years he was expelled from the kingdom, and was in exile for some space of time; but afterwards he was recalled by the people and reigned, not, as he had imagined, for three years, but for three months, after which he immediately died.[4]

[1] See year ca. 643, note.

[2] Reeves's edition, 38-39; Skene's, 122.

[3] For Colman, Feradach's son, cf. the Life of Cainnech, Acta Sanctorum ex Codice Salmanticensi, 384-385. He is called Cendfaelad, below.

[4] While Columba stayed at Druimm-ceta for the council he cured many sick people, according to Adamnan, II, 6 (Skene, 156-157).

Many visits to Ireland are spoken of by Adamnan (I, 3, 9, 38, 40, 42; II, 19, 36, 43); one, perhaps upon the way to Ireland, to Kintyre (*caput regionis*, I, 28). A late and fabulous account of Columba's leaving and returning to Ireland [in 563 and 575] appears in the Life of Farandan; C. Plummer, in Anecdota from Irish MSS., iii, 1, ff.

The second Preface to the *Amra Coluimchille;* in Bernard and Atkinson's Liber Hymnorum, vol i, pp. 163-164[1]

The place of this poem was Druimm-ceta, where the great assembly was. It was composed in the time of Aed, Ainmire's son, and of Aidan, Gabran's son. The person [who composed it] was Dallan, Forgall's son, of the Masraige of Mag-Slecht in Breifne of Connaught. The cause, to obtain heaven for himself and for others through him.[2]

Now the three causes of Columcille's coming from Scotland to Ireland at that time were, to release Scandlan Mor, son of Cendfaelad, king of Ossory, to whom he had given security; and to keep the poets in Ireland, because they were being expelled on account of their oppressiveness, since thirty [men] composed the full retinue, and fifteen the half retinue, of a master-singer,[3] and the number of the poets was twelve hundred, as someone said . . .[4]; and to make peace between the men of Ireland and of Scotland with regard to Dalriata.[5]

[1] Also in Stokes's Goidelica, 156-157.

[2] Cf. below. Cf. also a verse in the preface to the Amra, Liber Hymnorum, i, 166.

[3] *i. ind ollamain.* Lebar na h-Uidre (p. 5) reads "because there were thirty in the retinue of every *ollam*" (i.e. master-poet; *i cleir cac[h] olloman*) "and fifteen in the retinue of every *anrad*" (i.e. champion-poet), and omits the next clause and the verse-quotation.

[4] Here two stanzas of verse are quoted: they are translated ibid., ii, 55.

The case of the poets is described in the first preface to the *Amra*, in Liber Hymnorum, i, 162-163. It is there stated (162) that "Columcille then came as he came from his *curach*, with a hundred and forty followers; as the poet said: 'Their number was forty priests, twenty bishops, noble was their power; at the psalm-singing, without a doubt, fifty deacons, thirty sons'" (*mac*, i.e. novices). Cf. the Irish Life, above, p. 45.

[5] It is implied that the "men of Scotland" (*firu . . . Alban*) were Aidan's subjects, the "men of Ireland" Aed's. Aidan's subjects were the Irish in Scotland. It is implied that Dalriata is not here synonymous with the "men of Scotland," or the Irish in Scotland. Here and below the subject of dispute appears to have been Irish Dalriata, which the king of Scottish Dalriata claimed as part of his kingdom, while the Irish king resisted his claim. If these earlier accounts are correct, later writers must erroneously have imagined that Scottish Dalriata was the subject of dispute, and therefore that it was only a part of Aidan's kingdom (cf. Keating, History of Ireland, II, 9, 10; Dinneen, iii, 80-86, 94-96).

The three reasons appear similarly in the Lebar na h-Uidre version, which diverges after this from the Liber Hymnorum.

And then Columcille came into the assembly, and some people in the assembly rose to greet him; and the poets came to make music for him. . . .[1]

For the question of Dalriata cf. the first preface to the Amra, Liber Hymnorum, i, 163, ii, 54.

Liber Hymnorum, i, 187: "Once Columcille and Aidan, Gabran's son, went to an assembly at Druimm-ceta, to Aed, Ainmire's son; and the men of Ireland, both laymen and clergy, were there to the end of a year and four months. [Columba and Aidan] came to ask for truce for the men of Scotland, but it was not given to them. 'Yet there shall be truce for ever,' said Columcille, 'without invasion from Ireland eastwards.' Because Aed, Ainmire's son, had many grounds of dispute there; such as driving the [men of Irish] Dalriata across the sea, and the expulsion of the wise men, and of Dail-Osraige after the fall of their hostage, Scandlan." After describing the imprisonment of Scandlan, and his miraculous release by aid of Cummine, son of Feradach, son of Muiredach, son of Eogan, the same passage continues (ibid., 188): "Columcille had three successes from this journey: peace regarding [Irish] Dalriata, namely that its expeditionary and military service should belong to the men of Ireland, but its tribute and tax to the men of Scotland; and the retaining of the wise men in Ireland; and the release of Scandlan." Columba then made peace with Cummine, and gave his staff and his blessing to Scandlan.

[1] Here are verses, translated ibid., ii, 55.

In the Introduction to the Amra in Lebar na h-Uidre, p. 5: "And Columcille came afterwards into the assembly, and some rose before him, to greet him. But according to another version no one rose before him but Donald, the king's son; for the king had said that no one should rise before him, because he knew the reason why he came, and his coming displeased him, and he did not wish to retain the poets or to release Scandlan.

"So then Columcille blessed this Donald, because he had been cowardly till then. And the queen was ill-pleased at his being blessed, because he was her step-son; and the priest was angry with her; and she said to the priest, 'Great is the warranty under which thou art.' The priest said, 'Thou too mayest be under warranty.'" (There is a pun here upon the word *corraigecht* "warranty," which is used in the second instance as if it meant "cranishness," from *corr* "crane.")

"So then she was turned into a crane, and her maid took to reviling the priest; and she was turned into another crane; and from that time onwards are [spoken of] the two cranes of Druimm-ceta, as some say.

"After that the poets came into the assembly with a eulogy upon him. . . .

"The quartering of the poets was made after that through Ireland, and their retinues were reduced, to twenty-four in the train of a master-singer and twelve in the train of a champion-singer. . . ."

Cf. Lebar Brecc, 238 C b: ". . . The second cause was to keep the art

After that, Columcille besought Aed for Scandlan, but [Aed] did not give him to him. And then Columcille said to Aed that [Scandlan] should take off his shoes about nocturns in whatever place [Columba] should be; and so it was fulfilled.[1]

Colman, Comgellan's son, of Dalriata, gave the judgement: that [Dalriata's] campaigning and military service should belong to the men of Ireland, because military service always goes with the soil[2]; but their tribute and taxes should belong to the men of Scotland.

[of poetry] in Ireland. [The poets] were a troublesome tribe; they had thirty men in one retinue, and whatever they asked of any one he had to give it them, else he was summarily disposed of [*no glám dícend do dénam dó*]. They made three blisters in the face of any whom they satirized; that is to say, from life, lack of life. . . ."

[1] The preface to the Amra, in Liber Hymnorum, i, 163: "Columcille released Scandlan, Cendfaelad's son, from his hostage-ship, and he bowed down to the gospel; . . . and he gave him eight score of plough-oxen [*dam riatai*]; . . . and therefore eight score plough-oxen are still owed [as tribute] to the congregation of Iona, by the [men of] Ossory."

Cf. Lebar Brecc, 238 C b: "The third cause was to relieve Scandlan Mor, son of Cendfaelad the king of Ossory. [Scandlan's] father had given him as a hostage into the hands of Aed Ainmire's son, the king: and Columcille had given him warranty that he should be set free at the end of a year, or that another hostage should be taken in his stead. And Aed took none but him; and an enclosure of wattle was made round him, with no way out. . . ." Cf. ibid., 238 D a-b.

[2] This sentence proves that the Dalriata in dispute was part of the land of Ireland, not a province outside Ireland. These are the words of the judgement: *a fecht ocus a slogad la firu Herend, ar is slogad la fonnaib dogrés; a cáin ocus a cobach la firu Alban.* Similarly in Lebar na h-Uidre, p. 6 a; but there is added, *no am-muir-coblach nammá la firu Alban, ó shein immach imorro la firu h-Erenn* (i.e. "or their fleet only [went] with the men of Scotland, but from that time forward with the men of Ireland.")

Lebar Brecc, 238 C b: "The cause of writing the Amra was Columcille's coming from Scotland to the assembly at Druimm-ceta, where the men of Ireland were.

"There were three causes why Columcille came out of his pilgrimage. The first cause was the dispeace between the men of Ireland and the men of Scotland concerning Dalriata, because it was free from law and from military service till then. And Columcille made peace in the council.

"Now this is the judgement which Colman Comgellan's son made for the Ulstermen: that Dalriata belongs to the men of Ireland. . . ."

This extract might suggest that Scottish Dalriata was in dispute, since Irish Dalriata can hardly have been exempt from military service; but the following extract clearly indicates that Irish Dalriata is meant.

This was the Colman whom Columcille fondled[1] when he was a little boy, saying: "O clear conscience, O pure soul, here is a kiss for thee; give thou a kiss to me!" And Columcille said that [Colman] should make terms of peace between the men of Ireland and of Scotland.[2]

Then Dallan came to speak with Columcille, and thereupon sang the prologue to him; and Columcille permitted him not to compose more than that, but to compose it at the time of his death, and said that it was fitting for a dead person.

Now Columcille promised to Dallan riches and the fruits of the earth, and Dallan accepted nothing but heaven for himself and for every one who should sing it, and understand it, both sense and sound.

[Dallan said,] "How shall I know of thy death, while thou art in pilgrimage and I in Ireland?"

And Columcille gave him three signs, of the time when he should compose the eulogy: that the rider of a piebald horse

Lebar Brecc, 238 D b: "As for the [men of] Dalriata, there was contention concerning them between the men of Ireland and of Scotland. The [men of] Dalriata and the men of Scotland were of the race of Coirpre Rigfota son of Conaire, Mug's son. They were together in Munster; but a great famine came into Munster, and the race of Coirpre Rigfota came out of it: and the one part of them went into Scotland, and the other part remained in Ireland, and thence are the [men of] Dalriata to-day. Thereafter they sowed in those lands till the time of Aidan, Gabran's son, king of Scotland, and of Aed, Ainmire's son, king of Ireland Contention arose between these two kings concerning them: and this is the third reason why Columcille came from the east, for peace between the men of Ireland and of Scotland regarding the [men of] Dalriata. . . . Now Columcille came to the conference, and brought with him Colman, Comgellan's son. And they said to Columcille, 'Give them thy judgement regarding the Dalriata.' 'It is not I who shall give it,' said he, 'but yonder youth, Colman, Comgellan's son.' So then Colman gave judgement, and this is the judgement that he gave: their tax and tribute and customs and military service belong to the men of Ireland. And when one of the men of Scotland comes from the east, the [men of] Dalriata must provide for him, whether one or many come, so long as they are on this side; and must convey them also, if that be needed. Thus have been enumerated the three questions for which Columcille came westwards . . ." Cf. R.C., xx, 424.

[1] *dorigni . . . in m-bóide;* Atkinson (literally) "to whom Columcille did the kindness."

[2] Colman seems to have been chosen to give a decision because he belonged to Irish Dalriata, the country in dispute, and therefore not to either of the disputing parties.

should tell him of the death of Columcille; and the first word that he should say would be the beginning of the eulogy; and that [Dallan's] eyesight would be granted him so long as he was composing [the eulogy].

The eulogy was sung in Ath-Feni in Meath, as Mael-Suthain said. But [Columba's] successor Ferdomnach [1] relates that it was sung upon the Ass's Way, from Dun-na-n-Airbed to the cross at Tech-Lommain.[2]

ca. 575

Adamnan, Life of Columba, book I, c. 49 [3]

The blessed man's fore-knowledge of the battle that was fought after many years in the fortress of Cethirn, and of a spring close to its land.

One time when the blessed man was returning to the plains by the sea after the conference of kings in Druimm-ceta, (namely of Aed, son of Ainmire, and Aidan, Gabran's son,) he and abbot Comgall rested, one fair day in summer-time, not far from the aforesaid fortress. So then water was brought to the saints in a bronze vessel from a spring close by, for them to wash their hands. And when Columba had received it, he spoke thus to abbot Comgall,[4] who was sitting by his side; "The spring, O Comgall, from which this water has run and has been brought to us, a day will come when it will be fit for no human use." "By what cause," said Comgall, "will its springing water be polluted?" Then St Columba said, "Because it will be filled with human blood: for the friends of my kindred, and thy relatives after the flesh, will be at war, and will fight a battle in this neighbouring castle of Cethirn: that is, the Ui-Neill and the [Irish] Pictish peoples. . . ." [5]

[1] Ferdomnach, abbot of Kells, died in 1008.

[2] "Portloman on L. Owel, county Westmeath" Hogan.

[3] Reeves's edition, 91-93; Skene's, 145-146.

[4] Comgall was the first abbot of Bangor; see above, pp. 52-53.

[5] That Columba's prophecy had been fulfilled was attested to Adamnan by an eye-witness "Finan, a soldier of Christ." Ibid., 93-97.

In the battle of Dun-Cethirn, Congal Caech, king of Ulster, was defeated by Donald, Aed's son, king of Tara. Cf. A.U., i, 98, s.a. 628=629; T., R.C., xvii, 181, s.a. [627] (f.n. 5); C.S., 82, Hennessy's year 629; A.I., 12, O'Conor's year 623=631 (32 years after 599).

ca. 580

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 68, s.a. 579=580[1]

A campaign in the Orkneys [was conducted] by Aidan, Gabran's son.[2]

ca. 580

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 153, s.a. [578][3]

Cennalath,[4] king of the Picts, died.[5]

580

Annales Cambriae; Y Cymmrodor, vol. ix, p. 155, s.a. [580][6]

Gurci and Peretur died.[7]

[1] With f.n. and e. of 580. Under the same year is placed the death of Cennalath.

[2] Also ibid., under 580=581 (with f.n. of 581): "A campaign in the Orkneys" (*fecht Orc*, as in the previous passage).

[3] F.n. 7. In the previous year-section (with f.n. 5 in O'Conor's edition, i.e. [577]) is placed the death of pope Benedict I: "Benedict, a Roman by race, sat [four] year[s], one month, twenty-nine days, and was buried in the church of blessed Peter the apostle." Benedict died in 579. (The text is corrected by that of A.U., which place his death in 578=579.) This is derived from the Liber Pontificalis, which says that Benedict was pope for 4 years, 1 month, 28 days (M.G.H., Gesta Pontificum, i, 159).

[4] *Cindaeladh*, possibly attracted to (the genitive of) *Cendfaelad*; in A.U. *Cennalath*. The Chronicle of the Picts (ABC) says that "Galam Cennaleph" shared Brude's kingdom for 1 year.

[5] To the same effect in A.U., s.a. 579=580.

Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 89, s.a. 580: "The departing of Ulstermen from Emain" (*Eawyn*. In A.U., "Return of the Ulstermen from Eumania," s.a. 577=578.) ". . . Kenneth, king of the Picts, died. Baetan Cairell's son, king of Ulster, died.

"The battle of the Isle of Man was given by Aidan. Gabran's son was victor."

[6] Placed 6 years after the "130th year" after 444.

[7] "Sons of Elifer," adds MS. B (Ab Ithel, 5). See above, year 573. Cf. Genealogy XII appended to A.C., Y Cymmrodor, ix, 175:—"Gurci and Peretur, the sons of Elifer Cascord-maur [i.e. "of the great retinue"], son of Gurgust Letlum, son of Ceneu, son of Coyl Hen."

Gurci and Peretur are mentioned in a Welsh Triad (M.A., 396 (11); Loth's Mabinogion (1913), ii, 243 (triad no. 16). Cf. Skene's F.A.B.W., ii, 454). Cf. M.A., 394.

Before 581 or before 587

Berchan's Prophecy, stanzas 23-26

After that,[1] a king from the north[2] will take [the sovereignty of Ireland]. His hosts will be wanderers from the great fort of Mag-Line[3]; by him every tribe will be drained.

The pale-yellow Shouter[4] will be sovereign of all Ireland; he will be king of Scotland in the east; he will be a foe to the Saxons.

A king who wins three battles in the east, three fatalities in Scotland. By him are collected into his presence the relics of the saints of Ireland.

Twenty-five years (it is not weak) [he will be] in the sovereignty of Ireland.[5] He dies of disease in his house; his grave [is] above Allabair.

581

Book of Lecan, in Skene's Picts and Scots, pp. 127-129[6]

Baetan, Cairell's son, was king of Ireland and Scotland.[7]

[1] There appears to be a gap in the narrative before the events spoken of in these stanzas.

[2] Probably Baetan, Cairell's son.

Glossed above: "i.e., Fiachna, son of Baetan, son of Cairell"; and in the margin, "king." The next king spoken of is glossed "i.e., Baetan, son of Cairell"; but stanza 30 says that he "dies of a draught of poison in the east, in the castle of Lethet [*i n-dún leitheid*], in Ulster." Poison may be a metaphor for a violent death. Fiachna was killed in Lethet-Midenn. It seems probable that the order of these stanzas (23-30) is correct, but that the two glosses have been transposed by some copyist. (The glosses are probably as old as the Prophecy.)

[3] Moylinny (Hogan).

[4] Perhaps "the Laugher": *an gairechtach glas-bhuidhe;* doubtless the same "king from the north."

[5] The list of kings of Ulster in the Book of Leinster, facsimile, 41, c, says that Baetan reigned for 10 years, his brother Daig for 10 years, Aed the Black, Suibne's son, for 5 years, before the reign of Fiachna, Baetan's son.

[6] Versions of this passage occur in four other MSS. (Skene, ibid., 127); the Book of Leinster, facsimile, 330, b-c; the Book of Ballymote, facsimile, 152, c; and the Bodleian MSS. Rawlinson B 506, and Laud 610.

[7] According to A.U., i, 68, Baetan, Cairell's son, died in 580=581; but his death is repeated there (i, 72) alternatively under year 586=587 (with the addition, "king of Ulster.") Probably 581 is the true date. A.I. (O'Conor's year 573=581) say that Baetan fell in battle.

Aidan, Gabran's son, yielded to him at Ros-na-Rig in Semniu.[1]

Of [Baetan] was sung, when he carried the tribute of Munster[2] northwards: "There are many scores of miles between Dun-Baetain and Lethet[3]; long land, wide sea, are to the west between us and Imlech-Ibair.[4]

"Although I have come here from fair Raith-Cruachan with my tributes, my face is long after dinner in the castle of Baetan, Cairell's son. Although I have come from Skye, I have come twice and three times guarding jewels that had changed their colour; the Scot is very cold.[5]

"Fifty, sixty are under the water between Man and Ireland; nine here have gone to heaven; dreadful is their pilgrimage.

"Though I [have come] from the mountain of Alps I saw many hardships[6]; I gave much silver and gold, without receiving honour."[7]

And Man was cleared by [Baetan] of foreigners,[8] so that dominion over it has belonged to the Ulstermen from that time forward[9]; and in the second year after his death the Gaels abandoned Man.[10]

[1] The battle of Ros-na-ríg was probably fought before 575.

[2] "of Man," wrongly, in Book of Ballymote.

[3] According to Skene (S.C.S., i, 240, 241, note), Lothian "appears to be meant" by this Lethet. Perhaps he meant to identify the word with Leith (modern Gaelic Lìd). This is certainly wrong. Lethet is the *dún-leitheid* of Berchan's Prophecy, the Lethet-Midend of Tigernach.

[4] Emly, in Tipperary county.

[5] *aduar*, here "cunning"?

[6] *mor n-[d']eaccra.*

[7] "Although I have come here . . . honour," in the Book of Lecan only.

[8] These "foreigners" (*gaill*), the "Saxons" of Berchan (above), must have been Angles of Northumbria. If these not very trustworthy sources are to be believed, Man had been occupied by English about 34 years after the definite establishment of the Anglian kingdom of Northumbria.

"The Hosting of Fiachna, Baetan's son, to Dun-Guaire in England" (*i Saxanaibh*) was the subject of an Irish literary composition; Book of Leinster, 190 a.

[9] "of foreigners . . . forward" in Book of Lecan only.

[10] In A.U., s a. 576=577: "The first peril of the Ulstermen in Eufania"; "in Emain [Macha]," i.e. Navan, in Armagh, according to Tigernach (R.C., xvii, 152) and C.S. (60), and the translator of the Annals of Clonmacnoise. But Stokes, comparing the Book of Armagh's *Euonia*

? 583

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol xvii, p. 153, s.a. [579][1]

The battle of Man,[2] in which Aidan, Gabran's son, was the conqueror.[3]

(Tripartite Life, ii, 288), would identify Eufania with Man. A.I. (O'Conor's year 571=579): "First peril of the Ulstermen."

A.U., s.a. 577=578: "Return of the Ulstermen from Eumania"; similarly in T.; "from Emain" in C.S.

Navan was within Ulster, therefore perhaps Man was meant. Cf. year ? 583.

[1] With f.n. 1.

[2] *Cath Manand;* so also ibid. 125; *cath Manann* ibid. 154, and in A.I. and D.M.F. In A.U. at 582 *bellum Manonn;* at 583 *bellum Manand;* at 504 *bellum Mhanann.* These are genitive forms of *Mano*, equivalent to the Welsh name *Manau.*

[3] This event is noticed by Tigernach in the same words (in Latin) under the following year (for f.n. 5 in the text read 2 [=580], with O'Conor); ibid., 154. The same event is wrongly entered (in Irish) by Tigernach under [505] (f.n. 6; ibid., 125): "The battle of Man [was fought] by Aidan, Gabran's son"; it is followed there by the death of Brude.

Similarly A.U. place the battle under years 503, 581, and 582, =504, 582, and 583. S.a. 581=582 (i, 68): "The battle of Man, in which the victor was Aidan, son of Gabran, son of Domangart." S.a. 582=583 (i, 68): "The battle of Man [was fought] against Aidan." S.a. 503=504 (i, 34): "The battle of Man [was fought] by Aidan." The earliest spelling is at 581=582.

Immediately after this battle is noticed the death of "Fergna, son of Caiblene," in T., s.aa. [579] and [580], and in A.U., s.aa. 581=582 and 582=583: but s.a. [580] Tigernach adds, "and this is the truth of it," a remark that may be taken to apply to the battle also, and to support the later date.

A.I., 8, O'Conor's year 575=583 (16 years before 599): "The battle of Man [was fought] by Aidan, Gabran's son."

D.M.F., I, p. 6 (Skene's P. & S., 401): "The battle of Man, in which Aidan, Gabran's son, was the conqueror." This stands 8 years after the battle of Femin [573], and one year before the death of Feradach Find, Duach's son, king of Ossory [† 583 or 584, A.U.; in A.I., O'Conor's 577=585. See below, p. 91, note].

Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 74, s.a. 504: "Aidan, Gabran's son, king of Scotland, fought a battle in the Isle of Man."

Annales Cambriae, Y Cymmrodor, ix, 155, s.a. [584] (the "140th year" after 444): "A battle against Man" (*bellum contra Euboniam*).

There seems to be no doubt that the *Mano* referred to here was the same place as that referred to under year 581. The place intended in

the verse-passage there, and in the Annales Cambriae, is certainly the island of Man: and that is without doubt the meaning of *Mano* here.

The names of Manau on the Forth and of the island of Man were essentially identical, so that these writers might very easily have confused the two. Skene thought that this battle was fought in Manau upon the Forth, a district certainly in danger of invasion by Angles after 547.

Aidan's victory over the Miathi may have been gained in or near Manau on the Forth, perhaps near Dunmyat, or Dumyat, which is upon the borders of Clackmannan.

From 603 (if not before) to the time of Catguollaun, Manau south of the Forth must have been under English authority. In 655, perhaps from 633, it may have belonged to Strathclyde. From 655 to 685 it belonged probably to Northumbria; and from 685 until 711 it may have been re-annexed to Pictland.

Upon what authority I do not know, Fordun identifies this battle with the British defeat at Fethanleag, recorded thus in A.S.C. ABCE, s.a. 584: "In this year Ceawlin and Cutha fought against the Britons in the place that is called Fethanleag; and Cutha was slain [there BC], and Ceawlin took many towns, and incalculable spoils; and dispersedly [*erre*, *yrre*] he went thence home."

Fordun places this battle in Aidan's 15th year, which would be, according to his reckoning, 584-585. He says (III, 28) that "Malgo, king of the Britons" asked for Aidan's help against "the heathen nation of a wicked race"; and Aidan "sent his son Griffin, a distinguished knight, and Brendinus, regulus of Man [*Euboniae*], his nephew by his sister, with a powerful force." They were joined by "the Britons of the north." On the third day, after they had passed Stanemore (or Mora lapidea), they encountered the heathen army, led by Ceawlin, king of the West Saxons, in Fethanleag. The enemy's front line was destroyed; but after a stubborn battle the Scots and Britons were defeated with great slaughter. Griffin was killed (see below, p. 96).

This story is probably fabulous, and Malgo may be the Mailcun who died in 547.

Fordun (III, 28), quoting from Vincentius Bellovacensis (who died in 1264), says that the regulus Brendinus had a brother, Adelfius, whose daughter Gelgehes was (by "the king of Ireland, Philtanus") the mother of St Furseus, Foylanus, and Ultanus. See below, p. 231.

This passage was derived from Sigebert of Gemblours, Chronica, M.G.H., Scriptores, vi, 320, s.a. 593. Cf. Bede's account of Furseus (H.E., III, 19); the Life of Furseus in the Salamanca MS., Smedt and De Backer's Acta, 99, 106; and the Life of Cuanna, in Colgan's Acta Sanctorum, 251.

These three saints went on pilgrimage from Scotland, according to Fordun (III, 37); but in reality from Ireland. Furseus founded a monastery at Lagny in France; Foylanus founded Fosses-la-ville in Belgium. Fordun's account is borrowed from Sigebert (u.s., 324, s.a. 648),

ca. 584

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 154; s.a. [581][1]

The death of Brude, Maelchon's son, king of the Picts.[2]

ca. 589

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 72, s.a. 587=588

The conversion of Constantine to the Lord; and great snow; and the slaughter of Aed Dub, Suibne's son, in a ship.[3]

who takes it from Bede. Cf. the Additamentum Nivialense to the Life of Furseus, in M.G.H., Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum, iv, 450-451.

Fordun says that about the same time "Dido, bishop of Poitou, was sent as an exile to the king in Scotland"; but he should say, in Ireland. He takes this from Sigebert, s.a. 657, who takes it from the Liber Historiae Francorum; M.G.H., u.s., ii, 316.

[1] For f.n. 6 in Stokes's text read 3, with O'Conor; i.e., [581] (*iii* for *ui*).

In the same year Tigernach notes: "The death of Feradach, Duach's son, the king of Ossory, slain by his own people." Feradach's death is entered by A.U. under 582=583, and under 583=584; by A.I., under O'Conor's year 577=585 (14 years before 599, but 23 years after 559); in D.M.F., 9 years after the battle of Femin (573+9=582).

Under the same year-heading, Tigernach notes the pontificate of Pelagius II [†?590] for 10 years, 6 months, 10 days. This is derived from the Liber Pontificalis (M.G.H., Gesta Pontificum, i, 160), which reads 10 years, 2 months, 10 days: and which is correctly copied by A.U., under 582=583.

In the next year-section (with f.n. 5 =582) Tigernach notes the reign of Mauricius, who was emperor from 582 to 602. A.U. place this under 583=584, thus: "Mauricius reigned for 21 years, as Bede and Isidore say.'

[2] This event is wrongly entered by Tigernach (u.s., 125) in similar words, under f.n. 2 =506.

It appears similarly in A.U., i, 70, s.a. 583=584 (with f.n. and e. of 584); and, omitting "king of the Picts," in A.U., i, 34, s.a. 504=505; and in A.I., 8, under O'Conor's year 576=584 (5 years before 599).

Annals of Clonmacnoise, 89, s.a. 584: "Brude, Maelchon's son, king of Pictland, died."

See year ?555.

[3] *i luing.* Possibly "in [the island of] Luing"? For Aed see Adamnan, above, pp. 70-71. Aed was ruler of the Picts of Dalaraide (Down), and he had killed Diarmait, Cerball's son, king of Ireland.

Excepting Aed's death, the same annal is in Tigernach, R.C., xvii, 157, s.a. [586] (f.n. 3); and (from A.U.) in the Annals of Clonmacnoise, 90, s.a. 587. "Constantine's conversion to the Lord" is in A.C., s.a. [589] (not in MS. C; ed. Ab Ithel, 5).

There appears to have been some confusion between different St Constantines.

This Constantine may have been the first of the five kings that Gildas denounced, in De Excidio Britanniae, c. 28 (M.G.H., Auctores, xiii, 41-42). E.g. : "Constantine, the tyrannical whelp of the foul lioness of Damnonia, is not ignorant of these monstrous crimes." Damnonia was the region of Devon and Cornwall. (There was also a Damnonia in Pictland ; possibly in Perthshire, about the parish of Glendevon, beside the rivers Devon and Black Devon ; bordering upon Clackmannan and Fife.)

Gildas warns another of the kings of Britain, Cuneglasus, against the "foul lioness that will one day break thy bones" (c. 32) ; but in both cases perhaps "lioness" is a metaphor for the *land* of Devon. In c. 23 Gildas calls the Saxon's land on the continent a "barbarous lioness" (u.s., p. 38 ; cf. p. 39 at top).

According to Geoffrey of Monmouth, that Constantine's father was the foster-father of Guanhumara, king Arthur's wife. In the Welsh Triads, a St Constantine appears as king Arthur's grandfather (see Loth (1913), ii, 233 ; cf. i, 244-246).

Oengus places the death of "Constantine, king of Rahen," on March 11th. Note in the Martyrology of Gorman, March 11th, p. 52 : "Constantine, Fergus's son, of the Picts ; or a Briton, according to others. Abbot of Rahen of Mochuta."

Brussels version of the Martyrology of Tallaght, Kelly, p. xviii, March 11th : "[Festival] of Constantine, a Briton [*Constantini Brito*], or the son of Fergus of the Picts."

Notes in MS. Rawlinson B 512 (1905 Oengus, 92) : "Constantine, i.e. the son of Fergus, and successor of Mochuta of Rahen, in Delbna-Ethra in Meath : a king of Britain who left his kingdom and came for pilgrimage to Rahen in the time of Mochuta. And he was also king of Scotland" (*rig Alban é béus*), "and he sold the riches of the world for pilgrimage, in order to gain heaven. . . ." Cf. the notes in L.B. (1880 Oengus, lxiii). There are fabulous stories about Constantine in the notes in Rawlinson B. 512, u.s., pp. 92-94. It is there said that Constantine died before Mochuta (94).

Mochuta flourished ca. 630, and died in 637, according to A.U. Therefore the Constantine of the Calendars can scarcely have been the Constantine that entered monastic life in 589, and certainly not if the latter was adult before 547, when Gildas wrote. Probably two or three Constantines have been confused. Joceline's Life of Kentigern would perhaps identify the Constantine of 589 with Constantine, son of Riderch of Cumbria. See below, p. 135.

Cf. the Breviary of Aberdeen, i, 8, 67, under March 11th :

"St Constantine, king and martyr."

"Constantinus, the son of Paternus king of Cornwall, married the daughter of the king of Lesser Britain. But fortune was averse, and the queen died. The king, grieving for her death, refused to be consoled, and deliberately entrusted and gave up to his son the kingdom and his sovereignty.

"Then he bade farewell to all, and, leaving the kingdom, sailed across

to Ireland ; and coming to a certain house of religion he humbly endured labour there, carrying all the grist to and from the mill for seven years ; descending from a kingdom to a mill.

"And one day when Constantine of the mill sat in the mill and saw no one, he said, 'Am I Constantine, king of Cornwall, whose head has sustained so many helmets, his body so many coats of mail? Am I?' he inquired of himself. And he replied, 'I am not.'

"And when he had debated this with himself, a man who, hidden in the mill, had heard it all, revealed to the abbot what he had heard. All came quickly and drew him from the mill, and led him to the cloister ; they taught him letters, and by inspiration of the holy spirit raised him to the rank of priesthood.

"Immediately he bade farewell to all, and departed thence and came to St Columba, a man most dear to God ; then he was sent into Galloway by St Kentigern, to preach the word of God. There he was elected abbot, and laboured to reform with word and example the flock entrusted to him.

"Constantine had already reached decrepit old age ; he had long had it in mind, and had prayed to the Lord, that he might die as a martyr for Christ's Church : and he heard a voice from heaven saying that it should be so as he had asked.

"And while the man of God had journeyed here and there through the land, preaching the word of God, and was making a sojourn in the island of Kintyre, certain wicked men collected together and hastened to the island, wickedly to fulfil what the man of God had piously prayed for.

"So they came to the man of God, and cut off the hand of his attendant ; and immediately, merely by a touch, he cured it. So they raged against the man of God, and afflicted him with various torments ; and among other mortal wounds they also cut off his fore-arm. And they went away, leaving him for dead.

"Then the saint called together his brethren, and consoled them in charity ; and so among his prostrate brethren he slept in peace, worthy to be reckoned among the saints and chosen martyrs of God. And he died about the year of the Lord 576." (Cf. the Bollandists' Acta Sanctorum, March, iii, 62.)

This date of Constantine's death would fit the Constantine of Gildas, but it cannot stand against the Irish Annals' date of Constantine's conversion.

A St Padarn (Paternus) is mentioned in a Welsh Triad ; M.A., 391 (43) ; Loth, Mabinogion, ii, triad no. 77. There is nothing to show whether this was the Paternus called by the Aberdeen Breviary the father of Constantine.

Fordun, III, 25, MSS. CF (i, 111, note) : "Arthur was a contemporary of St Columba. Also at the same time St Constantine, king of Cornwall, left his earthly kingdom, cleaving to and invoking the heavenly king ; and came to Scotland with St Columba, and preached the faith to the Scots. He founded the monastery of Govan and was its abbot, and he preached to the Picts. He converted the whole land of Kintyre, and succumbed there to martyrdom ; etc."

According to Reeves (Adamnan, 371) the church of Kilchousland in

ca. 590[1]

ca. 591

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 158, s.a. [588][2]

The battle of Leithrig [was fought] by Aidan, Gabran's son.[3]

Kintyre was dedicated to him. Cf. Cosmo Innes, Origines Parochiales, ii, 1, 19.

"Kirk-constantine of Galloway" appears to have been the Kirk of Urr, Kirkcudbrightshire.

[1] Alberic of Trois Fontaines, Chronica; M.G.H., Scriptores, xxiii, 695, s.a. 602: "The blessed Columbanus, coming from Scotland and Ireland, founded Luxueil in Burgundy." Annales Uticenses, s.a. 611; in Le Prevost's O.V., v, 147: "In this time, St Columbanus was renowned, and built Luxeuil; and afterwards, Bobbio, in Italy." Cf. Fordun, III, 32.

The letters of Columbanus are edited by W. Gundlach in M.G.H., Epistolae, iii, 154-190. The Rule and Penitential attributed to him are in P.L. 80, 209-230.

[2] F.n. 5. In the next year-section is recorded an eclipse of the sun in the early morning.

A.I., 29, under O'Conor's year 586=594 (5 years before 599) enter an "eclipse of the sun in the morning hour." There seems to have been no eclipse before 6 a.m. within the possible period; but there was a visible eclipse in 594 on July 23rd at about 8 a.m., Paris time—i.e. about $7\frac{1}{4}$ a.m., at Inishfallen (the appearance of the eclipse would have been earlier than the calculated time). Probably this was the eclipse recorded here; possibly "morning hour" here is equivalent to "first hour of the day," 6-7 a.m.

There was also an eclipse in 592, visible at Inishfallen about $8\frac{1}{4}$ a.m.

Both these eclipses (of 592 and 594) seem to have been recorded by A.U.; s.a. 590=591: "Defection of the sun, i.e. a dark early-morning" (*mane tenebrosum*). S.a. 591=592: "a dark morning" (*matutina tenebrosa*). Of these, the later corresponds with the entry in A.I.; the earlier, with that in T.

Two years after the eclipse of 592, T. and C.S. enter s.a. [591], from the Liber Pontificalis (M.G.H., Gesta Pontificum, i, 161, 162), a note of the pontificate of pope Gregory I [590-604] (for 16 years, 6 months, 10 days, according to T.; read 13, 6, 10, as in C.S. and A.U.). A.U. enter this under 592=593. A.I. read, under O'Conor's year 596=604 (5 years after 599): "The repose of Gregory of Rome"; i.e., in the correct year. See year 608, note.

[3] A.U., i, 72, s.a. 589=590 (with f.n. and e. of 590): "The battle of Leithreid [was fought] by Aidan, Gabran's son."

Annals of Clonmacnoise, 91, s.a. 589: "Felim, Tigernach's son, king of Munster, died. [† 590; A.U.]

"The battle of Leithrig [*Leihrye*] was fought by king Aidan of Scotland."

ca. 592

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 159; s.a. [590][1]

The death of Lugaid of Lismore; that is, Moluoc.[2]

ca. 574 × 597

Adamnan, Life of Columba, book I, c. 9[3]

St Columba's prophecy regarding the sons of king Aidan.

At another time, before the above-mentioned battle,[4] the saint questioned king Aidan concerning the successor to the kingdom. When [Aidan] replied that he knew not which of his three sons would reign, Arthur, or Eochaid Find, or Domangart, the saint immediately prophesied in this fashion: "None of these three will be the ruler; for they will fall in battles, slain by enemies. But now if thou hast any younger [sons], let them come to me; and he whom the Lord has chosen of them as king will suddenly fall upon my knees."

And when they were summoned, according to the saint's word Eochaid Buide came and rested upon his bosom. And at once the saint kissed and blessed him, and said to the father: "This is the survivor, and the king that shall reign after thee; and his sons shall reign after him."

Afterwards, in its own time, all this was exactly fulfilled.

[1] With f.n. 1; one year after the eclipse of 592.

[2] Also in Tigernach, u.s., 158, s.a. [588]: "The death of Lugaid of Lismore." Similarly in C.S., 62, s.a. [589] (f.n. 6, with a note of the eclipse of 592; Hennessy's year 590); and in A.U., i, 74, s.a. 591 = 592 (with f.n. and e. of 592, and a note of the eclipse of 594).

F.M., i, 212, s.a. 588: "Lugaid of Lismore died."

Martyrology of Oengus, June 25th: "with Moluoc, pure and fair [*glan n-geldae*], the sun of Lismore of Scotland." "Moluoc of Lismore in Scotland" Rawlinson B 505; "namely of Cell Delga in Ardgal" Franciscan MS.; 1905 ed., p. 158.

Martyrology of Gorman, p. 122, June 25th: "Moluoc modest, white-headed" (*fial, findchenn*); with the note: "of Lismore in Scotland."

"Moluoc of Lismore" Brussels Martyrology of Tallaght, Kelly, p. xxvii, June 25th.

"Moluoc of Lismore in Scotland" Martyrology of Donegal, p. 178, June 25th.

Moluoc was the founder of the monastery of Lismore. See year 611. Cf. p. 19.

[3] Reeves's ed., 35-36; Skene's ed., 121.

[4] Of king Aidan with the Miathi; below.

For after a short interval of time, Arthur and Eochaid Find were killed in the above-mentioned battle with the Miathi; and Domangart was killed in a rout of battle in England[1]; but Eochaid Buide succeeded to the kingdom after his father.[2]

ca. 574 × 597

Adamnan, Life of Columba, book I, c. 8[3]

Of the battle of the Miathi.

At another time, that is after the course of many years from the above-mentioned battle [of Ondemone],[4] when the holy man [Columba] was in the island of Iona, he said suddenly to his attendant, Diarmait, "Strike the bell." And summoned by its sound the brethren ran very quickly to the church, preceded by the holy abbot himself. And when they had knelt down there, he addressed them: "Let us now pray earnestly to the Lord for this people, and for king Aidan; because they enter battle in this hour." And after a short interval he left the oratory, and looking again upon the sky, said: "Now the barbarians are put to flight; and victory, although a sad one, has nevertheless been granted to Aidan." And also the holy man related prophetically the number of the slain in Aidan's army, three hundred and three men.[5]

[1] See below, year ? 598.

[2] This passage is quoted from Adamnan by Fordun, III, 31; i, 116-117. But at the end he reads (i, 117): "And all this was completely fulfilled in its own time. For after a short interval of time Arthur and Eochaid Find were slaughtered in the battle of the Maythi; Arthur also" (read "Domangart") "was slain [MS. C: in the war with the Saxons, as also long before had been slain his older brother Griffin]; but Eochaid Buide, which in our tongue is sounded Eugenius" (this is wrong, because "Eugenius" was the Latin equivalent of Eogan; but Fordun errs similarly elsewhere) "succeeded after a year to his father's kingdom.

"Now Conrad [*Conanrodus*], the son of the king of South Wales, took as his wife the daughter, by name Fynewennis, of this Griffin, the son of king Aidan, Gabran's son. And he had by her a son, very dear to God, St Drostan, who living in the monastic habit offered himself as an acceptable offering to God."

[3] Reeves's ed., 33-34; Skene's, 120.

[4] See above, p. 48.

[5] This incident is more briefly narrated in the Life attributed to Cummine, XXV (Pinkerton, Vitae, 44); but the Miathi are not named there, except as "a barbarian force."

The Miathi may have been the same people as the Maeatae, who lived

? 590 × 597

Preface to the hymn *Altus Prositor;* Bernard and Atkinson's Liber Hymnorum, i, 62-64[1]

The place [of composition] of this hymn was Iona; the time, [that of] Aidan, Gabran's son, and of Aed, Ainmire's son, king of Ireland. And the king of the Romans at that time was Mauricius, or Phocas.[2] The person [composing it] was Columcille, of the noble race of the Scots. He is called Columba,[3] according to the words: "Be ye wise as serpents, and simple as doves."[4] The cause [of its composition was] that he wished to praise God.

He spent seven years producing this hymn, in a little black chapel without light,[5] to beg for forgiveness on the score of the battle of Cuil-dremne which he had won against Diarmait, Cerball's son: and of the other battles that had been fought because of him.[6]

to the north of the southern Roman wall. Dumyat or Dunmyat is supposed to have been their border stronghold; but this is not certain. Dumyat is on the border of Clackmannanshire, the northern division of Manau on the Forth. Nevertheless the battle with the Miathi is not to be identified with the battle of Mano (above, year ? 583). It was not the battle of Circhend (below, year ? 599); and there is nothing to connect it with the battle of Leithrig (year 591).

Not far from Dumyat are the battle-fields of Ardoch and Sheriffmuir; the "battle of the Miathi" may have occurred in a locality not far remote from these. But this is mere conjecture.

Again without traceable authority, Fordun (III, 29) connects this battle with the defeat of Ceawlin († 593) recorded by A.S.C. ABCE under the year 592: "In this year was great slaughter [in Britain E] at Woddesbeorge [Wodnesbeorge E], and Ceawlin was driven out." The name is no doubt "Woden's castle."

[1] Also in Todd's Book of Hymns, ii, 204-205, and in Stokes's Goidelica, 100-102. This legend is of value, if at all, as evidence of communication between Iona and Rome. Gregory I was pope from 590 to 604.

See O'Donnell's Life of Columba, in Colgan's Trias Thaumaturga, 412.

[2] Aidan, Aed, and Mauricius, all reigned throughout the possible period for this legend.

[3] *Columba;* below, *Columbus.*

[4] Matthew, X, 16.

[5] *in Nigra Cellula sine lumine.*

[6] These paragraphs appear thus in L.B., ii, 237; L.H., i, 63: "In the time of Aidan, Gabran's son, king of Scotland, and of Aed, Ainmire's son, king of Ireland; further, Phocas was king of the Romans at that time.

Or as others say, it was composed suddenly. One day Columcille was in Iona, and he had no one with him but Baithine, and they had no food but a sieve-ful of oats. Then Columcille said to Baithine, "Noble guests are coming to us to-day, Baithine"; Gregory's people, who had come to him with gifts. And he said to Baithine, "Stay here to wait upon the guests, that I may go to the mill." He took up the load, which was upon a certain stone within the church[1]; [the stone's] name was Blathnat, and it exists yet. Upon it division is made in the refectory. Now he felt the burden heavy, and he composed this hymn[2] in alphabetical order, [on the way] from there to the mill: *Adjutor laborantium*, etc. And when he put the first grist into the mill, at the same time he began the first chapter; and the grinding of the corn and the composing of the hymn ceased together. And it was composed thus, suddenly. . . .[3]

The cause [of composition,] because [Columba] wished to praise God, in order to beseech forgiveness for the three battles that he had fought in Ireland; the battle of Coleraine in Dalaraide, between him and Comgall" ("of Bangor," interlined above), "in contention about a church, namely Ros-torathair; and the battle of Belach-feda of the weir" (*arrad;* Todd's translation) "of Clonard, and the battle of Cuil-dremne in Connaught, both of which were fought against Diarmait, Cerball's son." See also R.C., xx, 434.

The order of the parts of this preface in L.B. is different from that in the Liber Hymnorum. The preface begins thus in L.B., u.s.; Todd, ii, 223; L.H., i, 62: "*Altus Prosetor.* Columcille composed this hymn to the Trinity, during seven years in the little black chapel [*in cellula nigra*], that is, in the Dub-recles in Derry of Columcille."

[1] *isindrecles. Recles* "abbey-church" frequently signified "monastery."

[2] The *Adjutor laborantium* seems to have been another poem in chapters whose first letters followed the order of the alphabet.

[3] Here follows a notice of Columba's arrival in Scotland; see above, year 563.

The alternative account of the hymn's composition appears thus in L.B. (Todd, ii, 223-224; L.H., i, 62-63): "Otherwise, it was composed suddenly, as others say, while Columcille was alone in Iona, with none beside him but Baithine only. Then it was revealed to Columcille that guests were coming to him, seven of the community of Gregory, who came to him with gifts for him from Rome: the great jewel of Columcille, that is to say a cross [preserved] to-day; and a hymn of the week, that is, a hymn for every night of the week; and other gifts.

"And Columcille asked Baithine what food was in the monastery" (*isin choitchend;* perhaps "in the common stock," with Bernard and

Now this hymn was given to Gregory in the east, in return for the gifts that had been given by him—the cross, named the Great Jewel, and the hymns for the week.[1]

But the bearers, to test Gregory, interpolated in it three chapters which Gregory had made, [in place of] *Hic sublatus* and *Orbem* and *Vagatur*. But when they began to repeat the hymn to Gregory, angels of God had come and were standing, till they reached that chapter; and Gregory stood in their honour[2] till then. But when that was reached[3] the angels sat, and Gregory sat, and the hymn ended in this fashion. Now Gregory asked for their confessions, because he knew that they had made the interpolation. And they said that they had; and they were forgiven for it.

And [Gregory] said that there was no fault in the hymn except the small extent to which the Trinity was praised in it directly,[4] although it was praised in its creations.[5]

Atkinson). "'There is a sieve of oats in it,' said Baithine. 'Do thou wait upon the guests, Baithine,' said Columcille, 'while I go to the mill.'

"Thereupon Columcille took up the sack" (i.e. the "sieve" of oats, the sieve-ful being used as a rough measure of quantity,) "from the stone which is within the refectory in Iona; and the name of that stone is Moelblatha, and it bestows good fortune upon all food that is placed upon it. Thereupon, while going to the mill, he then composed this little hymn, the *Adjutor laborantium;* and it is in alphabetical order.

"When Columcille threw the first grist into the mouth of the mill, then he entered upon the beginning of the *Altus;*" (i.e., the first chapter) "and the composing of the hymn and the grinding of the corn ceased together: and [the hymn] was not composed as the fruit of lucubration, but through the grace of the Lord."

[1] There may have been some foundation for these legends of intercourse between Columba and Gregory.

[2] Bernard and Atkinson, no doubt correctly, read *ar a n-on*[*oir*]*-seom*, and translate "in their honour"; Stokes read with Todd *araroinnseom*, and translated it "for his part." (This would have meant "for [Columba's] part [of the work.]")

[3] *Oroseched . . . sen;* Bernard and Atkinson's translation. Stokes translated this "when that was said" (Goidelica: see also O'Davoren's Glossary in Archiv für celtische Lexicographie, ii, 449-450). But the meaning would in this case be "when this had been said," which does not agree with the context.

[4] *per se.*

[5] *trianadulib:* "through its creatures," Stokes.

The last two paragraphs appear thus in L.B. (Todd, ii, 224; L.H., i, 63-64): "It was taken to Gregory, and the attendants stole three chapters

And this rebuke reached Columcille; and this was the cause of the composition of *In te, Christe*.[1]

There is alphabetical order here,[2] in Hebraic fashion. The basis of this chapter[3] was drawn from the catholic faith—belief in the unity with confession of trinity. It was composed in

from it: *Hic sublatus* and *Orbem infra* and *Christo de cœlis*. And they inserted three chapters in their place. And while the attendants sang the hymn to Gregory, Gregory rose until he heard the three alien chapters; and sat again, until [he heard] the true [chapters]. He rose again, and said to them, 'Confess what you have done.' They confessed; and he said to them, 'Then sing the hymn in the manner in which its author composed it.' And they sang it; and afterwards he praised the praises. But he said, 'God is mentioned in it less than he ought to have been mentioned.'"

In O'Donnell's Life, u.s.: "The messengers . . . boldly struck out three chapters from its contents, and substituted as many, which they themselves had concocted; intending by this to make trial whether Gregory, the fame of whose sanctity had at that time arisen, would distinguish the substituted verses from the rest, or whether he would commend both with equal praise. But . . . the great bishop rose to his feet and so continued standing reverently, until he came to the apocryphal verses; when these began to be read, he immediately sat down; and after they were concluded, he rose again, and received the rest standing. . . ."

[1] The alleged criticism would seem to have been directed not against the hymn, but against its title; Todd, ii, 205, and L.H., i, 66:—"This is the title, *De Unitate et Trinitate trium Personarum*"—a title applicable only to the first chapter.

The hymn *In te, Christe*, is in Todd, ii, 256-257; L.H., i, 84-85. The preface is in L.H., i, 84 (less completely in Todd and in Stokes's Goidelica, 103):— "*In te, Christe.* Columcille composed this hymn. He composed it in rhythm, sixteen syllables to each line. But some say that Columcille was not the author at all, except from *Christus Redemptor*" [i.e., the second half] "and *Christus Crucem.* And therefore many repeat that part [only]. The place [of composition was] Iona; the time, [that] of Aed, Ainmire's son; the cause, that he had praised the Trinity so little in the *Altus*; and that Gregory had reproved Columcille for it."

[2] I.e., in the *Altus Prositor.* This hymn is edited by Bernard and Atkinson, L.H., i, 66-81. Chapters ABCDEFGHIKLMNYZ are taken from the Trinity College MS., chapters OPQRSTUX are supplied from the Franciscan MS. The Lebar Brecc implies that there were 23 chapters (facsimile, ii, 237 b; L.H., i, 65): "The number of the chapters in this hymn is the number of the letters of the alphabet. . . . That the Romans have 23 letters is caused by the ten senses of man, the ten commandments of the law, and the Trinity."

[3] *Fotha in chaiptilse:* evidently referring to the *first* chapter.

rhythm; and there are two types of [rhythm], correct and ordinary.[1] The correct [type is that] in which the feet are equally timed, equally divided, with equivalence in *arsis* and *thesis*, so that in resolving them the latter would fit into the former's place.[2] But the ordinary [type occurs] where there is correspondence of syllables and of quarter-lines and of half-lines: and that is what we have here.[3] [There are] six lines in every chapter, and sixteen syllables in every line; excepting the first chapter, which has seven lines, because it contains the praise of God. . . .[4]

Many manifestations of grace attend [the singing of] this hymn: angels are present so long as it is being sung; no demon shall learn the road of him that sings it daily, and enemies shall not make him blush upon a day in which he sings it, and there shall be no quarrel in the house where it is frequently sung. It protects against every kind of death except death on a pillow[5]; and there shall not be hunger or nakedness in the place where it is often sung. And there are many other [manifestations of grace].[6]

[1] *artificialis et vulgaris.*

[2] I.e., the *caesura* is in the middle of the line, both halves contain the same number of feet, and all the feet are alike.

[3] This seems to mean that the line is divided by three *caesurae* (or by four accents?) into four parts of the same number of syllables. In this hymn there is usually a *caesura* in the middle of the line. The lines contain sixteen syllables, without elision, composed without regard to the position of stressed syllables in the usual pronunciation of Latin. The metre is one adapted for singing.

[4] Directions for singing the hymn follow. With these and the passage above cf. the Lebar Brecc, u.s.

[5] I.e., death from natural causes. *Morte absque pretiosa* in L.B., which continues:—"And he [that sings it often] shall not be in hell after the day of judgement, even if he have done many things that are wrong; and he shall have great riches, and length of life." Cf. the remainder in L.B.

Cf. the legend quoted by Todd through O'Curry from the Liber Flavus Fergusorum, in the Book of Hymns, ii, 249-251.

[6] The preface to the hymn *Noli, pater*, also in the Liber Hymnorum, i, 87 (Todd, ii, 262; Stokes's Goidelica, 103-104,) has to do with the foundation of Derry: "*Noli, pater.* Columcille composed this hymn, in the same measure as the *In te, Christe.* The place [of composition] was the door of the hermitage of Daire-Calgaig [Londonderry]; the time, [that] of Aed, Ainmire's son. The cause [was this]: Columcille came once to a conference with the king, to Derry; and the king granted him the place,

with its appurtenances [*conairliud*]. Then Columcille refused the place, because Mobí had forbidden him to receive [property in] the world, until he should hear of his death.

"Thereupon Columcille came to the door of the town; and three of Mobí's people met him there, with the girdle of Mobí. And they said: 'Mobí is dead.'" After a quotation from a poem, ascribed to Columba, on Mobí's Girdle, the preface proceeds: "Columcille went back to the king, and he said to the king: 'The offering that thou gavest to me recently, [*imbúaruc*[*h*]] give me it now.' 'It shall be given,' said the king.

"Now the place was burnt up, with everything that it contained. 'That is useless' [*espach*], said the king, 'for if it had not been burnt there would not have been lack [*tacha*] there of mantle or food for ever.' 'But there shall not be [lack] there henceforward,' said [Columcille]; 'whoever dwells there, there shall not be a night of fasting.'

"Now the fire was so great that it threatened to burn the whole oakwood" [or, "all Derry"?], "and it was to save it on that occasion that this hymn was made.

"Or he had the day of judgement under his consideration; or the fire of [St] John's Eve.

"And it has been sung [in protection] against every fire and every thunder[-storm] from that time forward. And whoever sings it at bed-time and on rising, it protects him against the fire of lightning; and it protects the nine of his household whom he wishes [it to protect]."

A somewhat similar account occurs in the Irish Life; Stokes, Three Homilies, 106-108; Lismore Lives, 26-27.

Derry was founded in 546 (see above); Aed, Ainmire's son, reigned 592-598 (A.U.).

The hymn *Noli, Pater*, is in Liber Hymnorum, i, 88; in Todd's Book of Hymns, ii, 262-263; and in Colgan's Trias Thaumaturga, 476.

For the death of Mobí, see A.U., i. 48-50, s.a. 544=545.

For a story of Columba's relations (after his banishment) with Diarmait, see the Annals of Clonmacnoise, 82-83. For Columba and Aidan, see Yellow Book of Lecan, 164, a. For Columba's miraculous visit to Rome, assisting Maedoc to fight with demons in the air for Brandub's soul, see Colgan, Trias Thaumaturga, 439.

PART IV

Death of Columba

597

Tigernach, **Annals**; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 160, s.a. [592][1] = 596?

The repose of Columcille [occurred] on the Sunday night of Pentecost, the fifth[2] before the Ides of June, in the thirty-fifth year of his pilgrimage, and the seventy-seventh of his life.

[1] F.n. 3. (It happens that 3 was the true f.n. of 597.)

[2] I.e. between 6 p.m. of 8th June and 6 a.m. of 9th June.

Adamnan clearly states that Columba died after midnight, i.e. on Sunday morning, of the 9th June, therefore in 597. MacCarthy (A.U., iv, p. lxxviii) understands Tigernach to mean that Columba died on Saturday evening, of the 9th of June, and therefore in 596, in which year the Roman Pentecost was the 10th of June. But if this had been the true date, the 9th of June after sunset would certainly have been reckoned as June 10th. See Adamnan's narrative, below. If Columba had died on Roman Pentecost, Adamnan would surely have mentioned it.

The word "Pentecost" may have been added in agreement with the statement that is made in A.I., and in the Irish Life, that Columba arrived in Scotland on the day before Pentecost. Adamnan's account suggests that Columba expected to die on the anniversary of his arrival in Britain. It may be that T. or whoever added the word "Pentecost" believed that Columba died on 9th June 596, and had found that the 10th was Whitsunday.

According to MacCarthy's tables (N and O, in A.U., vol. iv) Irish Pentecost would have fallen on the 26th May in 597, the 3rd June in 596.

The office for Columba is entered under June 9th in the Breviary of Aberdeen, i, 8, 102-104.

Columba's death and Baithine's death are noted in the Martyrology of Gorman, p. 112, under June 9th. So also in the Brussels Martyrology of Tallaght, Kelly, p. xxvi; and in the Calendar in the Karlsruhe Bede (Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus, ii, 283).

Cf. Oengus, under June 9th (1905 ed., 139; tr. Stokes):—"May they convoy us to the eternal Kingdom, wherein is ever a lucid light, Baethíne high, angelical, Colomb Cille the lustrous!" (The last word, *caindlech*, may have reference to the miraculous lights spoken of by Adamnan.)

Adamnan too (II, 45) says that Columba's day was Baithine's day also.

Cf. the Chronological tract in the Lebar Brecc, above, p. 26.

Gilla-Coemain, chronological verses, in Stokes's Tripartite Life, ii, 536: ". . . the battle of Cuil-Conaire; in that year, verses tell, [was] the death of Diarmait, Cerball's son. Thirty years [and] three years (it is just to proceed from that) to the death of Fedlimid's son [Columba] in Iona, and to Gregory's decease." The battle of Cuil-Conaire is placed in 549=550 by A.U.; in A.I., under O'Conor's year 543=548. Diarmait lived several years longer. Gregory died in 604. Gilla-Coemain (u.s., 536-538) reckons 41 years from Columba's death to the battle of Moira; see below, year 639. A.B., 5 (O'Conor's year 568), place Columba's death 5 years before Gregory's, in 604.

The Martyrology of Donegal, 152, puts Columba's death in 599.

Columba's death is placed by T. 3 years, by C.S. 4 years, by A.U. 4 or 10 years, after the eclipse of 592; by A.I. 3 years, by A.U. 3 or 9 years, after the eclipse of 594.

A.C. notes his death s.a. [595]; in the same year as the death of "king Dunaut" (the son of Pappo, son of Ceneu, son of Coil Hen). Y Cymmrodor, ix, 156, 174.

Version G of the Chronicles of the Picts (P. & S., 286) places Columba's death in 592, in the time of Brude Maelchon's son (erroneously). Fordun (III, 31) places it in 600.

Marianus Scottus, M.G.H., Scriptores, v, 546, in an insertion s.a. 620=598 (and the 16th of Mauricius): "Columbanus died."

Columba's death is entered under 596 by Herimannus Augiensis, M.G.H., Scriptores, v, 90 (in the same year he records the mission of Augustine; and says that "a comet and many signs appeared in the sky": cf. Paulus Diaconus, IV, 10; M.G.H., Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum, ii, 120); and by Bernoldus, M.G.H., Scriptores, v, 414. It is placed under 597 by Alberic; ibid., xxiii, 694; and under 598 by Sigebert, ibid., vi, 320. Sigebert misrepresents Bede's words with characteristic inaccuracy, and says that Columba "with rustic simplicity neither learned nor taught that Easter should be celebrated on Sunday."

Columba's birth is placed upon December 7th (see year 521), and he is stated to have come to Scotland in his 42nd year. If we denote the number of his birth-year by n, he came to Scotland between the year $n+41$, December, and the year $n+42$, December; and his death, in the beginning of the 35th year of his pilgrimage, must have been between $n+75$, December, and $n+77$, December. And since his death took place upon the 9th of June, it must have been either in June, $n+76$ (in agreement with A.U., which say that he died in his 76th year), or in June, $n+77$ (in agreement with T., C.S., and A.B., where they say that he died in his 77th year). Allowing for the tendency to round up the ages of saints, we are led rather to accept A.U.'s year of his age: so that if he died in 597 we should place his birth in 521 and his arrival in Scotland in 563.

Adamnan says that Columba passed 34 years in Iona, and died at the end of his 34th year in Britain: that is to say, Adamnan places Columba's arrival in 563 and his death in 597. Bede places Columba's arrival definitely in 565, and his death about 597.

"Columba was three years without light in his dark church; he went to the angels out of his bondage after seven and seventy years."[1]

For the so-called Rule of Columcille, see Zeitschr. f. celt. Philol., iii, 28-30 (ed. K. Meyer, from Rawlinson B 512); Acts of Archb. Cotton, 108-112 (Ir. Archæol. Soc., 1850; ed. W. Reeves, from O'Clery's MS.); H. & S., ii, 119-121; and a tr. by E. O'Curry, in S.C.S., ii, 508-509. Cf. Reeves, Adamnan, 336-339. The practices of Columban monks are to be sought rather in other Irish Rules, comparing the Rule of Columbanus. They were derived from the monastic customs of the western church, under the influence of southern Gaul, which was in turn influenced by the eastern church; and they were partly based upon pre-Benedictine writings, notably of Cassianus. They were revived by the célidé, and may be studied in the Tallaght rules. See below, vol. ii, p. 73.

[1] The whole passage appears similarly in C.S., 64, under f.n. 4 = 593, Hennessy's year 595.

The passage in inverted commas is a stanza of verse in the original. The "dark church" (*dubrecles*) intended is the Dubrecles at Derry; this account contradicts the trustworthy account of Adamnan. This stanza is taken from the Preface to the Amra; in Liber Hymnorum, i, 165: but the reading there is "after six and seventy years," which is probably correct. F.M. quote it from T.

Amra Coluimchille, Liber Hymnorum, i, 172: "His burial-place is known; his wisdom is known. (I.e., the place where he is buried is known; namely, Iona, or Down[patrick], as others say. Or, he was known as far as Rome, and his wisdom was known.)"

Cf. a verse in the Preface to the Amra, L.H., i, 165: "With its great number of relics, Iona, of which Columba was the dear foster-son; [Columba] departed from it at the last, and the chapel of his old age [*a shen-nemed*] is Down[patrick]." Cf. Berchan, above, year 563, p. 47.

Irish Life of Columba, Stokes's Three Homilies, 124: "His body is here on earth, in honour and respect from God and man; with miracles and wonders every day. . . ." Similarly in the Book of Lismore, Stokes's Lismore Lives, 33.

The relics of Columba were removed in 849 from Iona, part to Ireland, part to Dunkeld.

A.U., i, 74-76, s.a. 594=595 (with f.n. and e. of 595): "The repose of Columcille on the fifth day before the Ides of June, in the 76th year of his age." Also i, 78, s.a. 600=601 (with f.n. and e. of 601): "Otherwise, in this year [was] the repose of Columcille, on a Sunday night."

A.I., 9, under O'Conor's year 589=597 (2 years before 599): "The repose of Columcille on Sunday night, the fifth before the Ides of June, in the 35th year of his pilgrimage, aged 76 [years]." (For *aetatis* in O'Conor's text, the MS. has *aetate*.)

Annals of Clonmacnoise, 91-92, s.a. 590: "St Columcille died on Whitsunday eve, the 5th of the Ides of June, in the island of Iona, in the

35th year of his pilgrimage in Scotland, and his banishment [s. l.] thither; and in the 77th year of his age, as he was saying his prayers in the church of that isle, with all his monks about him; and was interred in the place where the abbey of Down is (before the abbey was founded by Sir John Courcy), where St Patrick and St Bridget were buried before. . . ."

F.M., i, 214-216, s.a. 592 (and the "25th year of Aed" Ainmire's son as sovereign of Ireland): "Columcille, Fedlimid's son, (the apostle of Scotland, and head of religion in the greater part of Ireland and of Scotland, after Patrick) died in his own church in Iona in Scotland, after [completing] the 35th year of his pilgrimage, on Sunday night, the 9th day of June. 77 years was his whole age, when he sent his spirit to heaven; as it is said in the verse: 'Columba . . . years' [as in T.].

"Dallan Forgaill said this of the death of Columcille: 'The physician's cure without physic'" (? *lés;* "without an ale-bag," Atkinson), "'removal of marrow from marrow'" (*is dedhail smera re smuais:* "like the separation of marrow from the bone" O'Donovan), "'a song to the harp without the *céis*'" (probably some necessary part of the harp), "'[so are] we, without our noble organ'" (? see below). For the meaning of *céis* cf. L.H., i, 165; ii, 57.

Cf. the Amra Coluimchille, L.H., i, 170:—"It is a harp without a *ceis;* it is a church without an abbot. (I.e., *ceis* was the name of a little harp accompanying the great harp when it was played; or a name for a pulley [*tharraing*] over which is the cord [*léithriu*]; or it is a name for the small peg; or it is a name for the bass-strings, or the heavy string, which is better, as the poet said.)"

This is continued in the preface, ibid., i, 167: "A physician's cure without physic, seeking marrow where none is, [*is cuinchid smera cen smuais;* "without a bone" Atkinson] so is our existence, in the absence of our noble organ" [*d'eis ar n-organ huais;* Atkinson's translation].

Cf. the Amra, ibid., i, 169 (from Atkinson's translation, ibid., ii, 62-63): "No (more) is our sage the profit of (our) soul, for (he hath gone) from us to a fair land. . . . He who preserves alive has died. . . . For he hath died to us, who was destined to secure our forgiveness. . . . For he hath died to us, who was a messenger to our Lord. . . . For now we have no more a sage who should avert terrors from us. . . . For we have no king, who shall explain word-truth. For (we have) no teacher who used to teach tribes of Toi. . . ."

Amra Coluimchille, L.H., i, 176: "It was abstemiousness" (*h-anmni;* Atkinson) "of which he died. (I.e. . . . he died of paucity of drink, for he did not consume ale or food in the year of his death except on Saturday and on Sunday)." Cf. the story of his having died of hunger from living upon nettle-broth, in the notes upon Oengus (1880 ed., c-ci; 1905 ed., 147). But cf. the Tallaght Discourse, 161.

Notker Balbulus, Martyrologium, June 9th; P.L. 131, 1101: "In Scotia, the island of Hibernia, the death [*depositio*] of St Columba, surnamed among his own people Columbkilli, because he was the

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Adamnan, Life of Columba, book III, c. 23[1]

Of the passing to the Lord of our holy patron Columba.

As the end of the four years above-mentioned[2] approached, after whose completion the truthful seer long in advance foreknew that the end of his present life would be, he went, drawn in a cart, since he was an old man wearied with age, to visit the brethren at work,[3] on a certain day in the month of May, as we have written in the preceding second book.[4] And to those that were labouring in the western part of the island of Iona he began that day to speak thus, saying: "In the celebration of Easter lately past, in the month of April[5] I desired with desire to depart to Christ the Lord, even as he would have granted to me, had I chosen. But lest the festival of joy should have been turned for you to sorrow, I have

establisher, founder, and ruler, of many cells, that is, monasteries or churches: with the result that the abbot of the monastery that he ruled last, and where he rests, is contrary to ecclesiastical custom held to be the primate of all the bishops of Ireland; and not unjustly, because through the in-dwelling of the holy spirit this saint seems second to none, after the apostles and the excellent Martin, in doctrine, in prophecy, and in the performance of miracles; and in the visitation of angels." Notker proceeds to tell stories about Columba, taking them from Adamnan (ibid., 1101-1103).

[1] Reeves's ed., 228-235, 239; Skene's ed., 210-214, 216, 217. Somewhat more briefly in the Life attributed to Cummine, cc. 17-23; Pinkerton's Vitae, 38-42. Cf. also the Salamanca MS.; Smedt and De Backer's Acta, 862-865.

[2] I.e. after the thirtieth anniversary of his arrival in Britain, upon which day he had prayed that he might die; but four years were added to his life, in response to the prayers of the churches. Adamnan, III, 22 (Skene, 209-210); Cummine, XVI, Pinkerton, 37-38. Cf. the Life in the Salamanca MS., 860-862.

[3] *operarios fratres*, the workers in the fields. In Adamnan, II, 28 (Skene, 171): "to visit brethren who were working at wood-cutting" (*opus materiale exercebant;* see above, p. 27) "in the little western plain of the island of Iona." Cf. also the agricultural workers mentioned by Adamnan in Clonmacnoise: Vita Columbae, I, 3; Reeves, 24, and note.

[4] Adamnan, II, 28. See below, in note.

[5] According to MacCarthy's tables (N and O, A.U., iv) the Celtic Easter was 7th April in 597, a week before Roman Easter. In 596 also it was in April, on the 15th.

preferred to postpone a little longer[1] the day of my departure from the world."

Hearing him speak these sad words his friends the monks became very sorrowful; and he began to cheer them in so far as he could by consolatory words. After concluding, while he was sitting in his waggon he turned his face to the east, and blessed the island with those that dwelt in it; and from that day, as has been written in the book mentioned above, even to the present time the venom of three-forked tongues of snakes has been powerless to hurt either men or cattle.[2] After pronouncing this benediction the saint drove back to his monastery.[3]

Then after a few days, while the celebration of mass was held upon the Lord's day, according to custom, he raised his eyes, and the venerable man's face appeared to be suffused with a glowing flush; because, as it is written, the countenance glows when the heart is glad.[4] For he alone in that hour saw an angel of the Lord flying above, within the walls of the chapel; and because the dear and pleasant sight of holy angels causes joy and exultation in the hearts of the elect, this was the cause of that sudden gladness caused to the holy man. And when those that were present there inquired concerning the cause of his inspired gladness, the saint, looking upwards,

[1] In the Irish Life in Lebar Brecc, Stokes's Three Homilies, 120: "But I did not wish you to have sorrow or grief after your labour; therefore I have remained with you, to comfort you, from Easter to Pentecost." Similarly in the Book of Lismore; Stokes, Lismore Lives, 32.

[2] Adamnan, II, 28 (Skene, 171): ". . . He raised both his holy hands and blessed the whole of this our island, saying: 'From this moment of this hour the poison of all kinds of snakes shall be in no way able to hurt either men or cattle in the lands of this island, so long as the inhabitants dwelling in it keep Christ's commands.'"

Cummine's Life, u.s. ". . . and from that day no serpent has harmed [there] man or beast."

In the Irish Life, Stokes's Three Homilies, 120: "Thereupon he turned his face to the west [*siar*], and blessed the . . . of the island, with its inhabitants. And he banished from it toads and snakes." Cf. the Book of Lismore; Stokes, Lismore Lives, 32.

Cf. the Life in the Salamanca MS., Smedt and De Backer's Acta, 862.

[3] *da recles* in the Irish Life.

[4] Cf. Proverbs, XV, 13.

gave them this reply: "Wonderful and incomparable is the cunning of angelic nature; for behold, an angel of the Lord, sent to seek again some deposit[1] dear to God, looking down upon us from within the church and blessing us, has returned again through the roof of the church, leaving no trace of such exit."

Thus [spoke] the saint. But none of the by-standers could understand the nature of the deposit that the angel was sent to seek. But our holy patron called his own soul, entrusted to him by God, a holy deposit. And it passed to the Lord on the next Lord's night, as shall be related below, after an interval of six successive days.

At the end of the same week, therefore, that is on the Saturday,[2] the venerable man himself and his faithful attendant Diarmait went to bless the nearest barn. And after entering it and blessing it and two separated heaps of corn in it, the saint pronounced these words with his rendering of thanks, saying, "I much congratulate my friends the monks, that this year, even if I must depart anywhere from you, you will have a sufficient year's supply."[3]

Hearing these words, Diarmait his attendant began to be sorrowful, and spoke thus:—"Thou saddenest us very often, father, this year, because thou remindest us frequently of thy departure."[4]

And the saint gave him this answer: "I have some little secret speech which, if thou promise me truly to disclose it to none before my death, I may communicate to thee somewhat more clearly, concerning my departure." And when the

[1] See 2 Timothy, I, 12; and cf. Bernard's Vita Malachiae, s.f.

[2] Literally "on the day of the Sabbath."

[3] The blessing of the barn is not in Cummine.

[4] Within the same year, the priest St Columbanus had left Iona, and Columba had foretold that they should not meet again. This was apparently Colman Mocu-Sailni, Beogna's son. Both in his voyage from Ireland, and on his return, he was helped by Columba in weather (Adamnan, I, 5; II, 15). He is identified with the Colmanele to whom some Scottish churches were dedicated (Colman Elo, of Land-Elo, in Meath (Lynally, King's co.); born October 3rd; died in his 56th year (T.; C.S., Hennessey's year 611); † 611 (A.U.), September 26th; see 1905 Oengus, 136, 196, 212, 214, 220). Mocholmoc of Lismore (Colman Maccu-Beognai, † January 22nd; 1905 Oengus, 37, 50, 409) was presumably his relative.

attendant bending his knees had concluded such a promise as the saint wished, the venerable man proceeded to speak: "In holy books, this day is called Sabbath, which means rest: and truly this day is Sabbath to me, because it is my last day of this present laborious life, and I hold Sabbath in it after my painful labours; and in the middle of this following venerated night of the Lord I shall, in the language of the Scriptures, go the way of the fathers. For already my Lord Jesus Christ deigns to invite me; and at his invitation, in the middle of this night, I say, I shall pass to him. For so it has been revealed to me by the Lord himself."

Hearing these sad words, his attendant began to weep bitterly. And the saint endeavoured as best he could to console him.[1]

After this the saint left the barn; and returning toward the monastery he sat down mid-way, in a place where afterwards a cross, fixed into a mill-stone and still standing, is seen at the side of the road. And while the saint rested there, sitting for a little while, wearied with age, as I have said above, behold a white horse met him, the obedient drudge that had been accustomed to carry the milk-vessels between the byre and the monastery[2]; and coming to the saint, strange to say placed its head in his bosom (being inspired as I believe by

[1] The Life attributed to Cummine, XIX, in Pinkerton's Vitae, 39-40: "*He reveals to Diarmait the day of his death.*

"In the end of the same week, that is, on Saturday, the holy man called his servant Diarmait secretly, and thus addressed him: 'In holy books this day is called the Sabbath, which means rest. And for me this day is Sabbath indeed, because it is the last day of my life; and in it I keep Sabbath, after my painful labours; and in this Lord's night following I shall go the way of the fathers. For already Christ invites me: and so it has been revealed to me by him.'

"The attendant was grieved by this; but the father consoled him."

The Irish Life reads (Stokes, Three Homilies, 122): "And not long afterwards came the close of the Sabbath and the beginning of the Sunday. . . . After that, he went to bless the barn. And he said to his servant, Diarmait, that he should depart to heaven in the night of Sunday." Similarly in the Book of Lismore; Stokes, Lismore Lives, 32.

[2] Adamnan's anecdote (II, 16; Skene, 162-163) of the expulsion of a demon from a milk-pail, implies that the milk was carried by human hands, and that monastic milk-cans were signed with the cross as part of the process of cleaning them. Cf. the Life in the Salamanca MS., Smedt and De Backer's Acta, 848-849.

God, by whose will every animal is [made] wise with such perception of things as the Creator himself has decreed[1]); and knowing that its master was soon to depart from it, and that it should see him no more, began to lament, and like a human being to pour tears copiously into the saint's lap, and to foam much and weep. And seeing this the attendant began to drive away the tearful mourner; but the saint forbade him, saying, "Permit this our lover to pour the torrents of its bitterest grief into my bosom. See thou, man as thou art, and with a rational soul, thou couldst know nothing of my death except what I myself have recently disclosed to thee; but to this brute and irrational beast the Creator has clearly revealed, in whatever way he wished, that its master is about to depart from it."[2]

And so speaking he blessed his servant the horse, as it turned sadly from him.

And he departed thence and climbed a little hill above the monastery. He stood for a little while upon its summit, and standing raised both palms, and blessed his monastery, saying: "Upon this place, small and mean though it be, not only kings of the Scots with their peoples, but even rulers over strange and barbarous nations, with the peoples subject to them, will bestow great and especial honour; especial reverence will be bestowed also by the saints even of other churches."[3]

After these words he descended from the little hill and returned to the monastery, and sat in his hut[4] writing a

[1] *Cui* (read *quia?*) *omne animal rerum sapit sensu quo jusserit ipse creator.*

[2] Cf. the Irish Life, Stokes's Three Homilies, 122; Lismore Lives, 32. The incident of the weeping horse is not in Cummine.

The discovery of a horse's sepulchre in Iona, near to the traditional site of Columba's cell, was announced by Miss N. F. Layard in a letter published in the *Scotsman* of 30th July, 1906 (cf. ibid., August 1st and 7th). Miss Layard has now withdrawn her suggestion that these remains might have been of Columba's horse; since examination has proved that they are a deer's (*Scotsman*, 5th April 1920).

[3] This stands thus in Cummine, XIX; Pinkerton, Vitae, 40: "So then the holy man of God went out and climbed the hill above the monastery, and stood for a little while upon its summit; and raising his hands he blessed his monastery; and, concerning present and future [times], he prophesied many things, which the result afterwards justified."

[4] *in tugurio* (in Cummine, *in cella*). Elsewhere Adamnan uses the diminutive *tuguriolum* (*tegoriolum* in MS. A), as in III, 22 (Skene, 209):

psalter; and reaching the verse of the thirty-third psalm where is written "They that seek the Lord shall not lack any good thing," he said: "Here at the end of the page I must cease; let Baithine write what follows."

The last verse that he had written well befitted the holy predecessor, who will never lack eternal good things; and the following verse aptly fitted the father his successor, the teacher of spiritual sons: "Come, sons, hear me, I shall teach you the fear of the Lord." For, as his predecessor had commanded, he succeeded him not only in teaching but in writing also.[1]

"His hut, . . . which was built in a more elevated place." The *tuguriolum* was a place for writing and reading (see Adamnan, I, 25; I, 35; II, 16; III, 15). Columba's sleeping-place is called *hospitiolum* and *hospitium* below (cf. also III, 2). The *tuguriolum* was erected upon a planked floor (*in tuguriolo tabulis suffulto*, I, 25: "in his cell that was raised on a platform" Fowler).

That some of the huts forming the monastery were built of basket-work is shown by Adamnan, II, 3; above, p. 65. The library was probably more solidly built, to keep out rain and rats.

When Columba, surrounded by miraculous light, was inside a church, (*domus*) in Hinba, the light escaped "by chinks of the doors and by the key-holes" (III, 18; cf. III, 19, and III, 21) (*per rimulas valvarum et clavium foramina;* but *clavorum* in the text of Cummine). Windows are not mentioned. The custom was to read the gospels outside the church, and afterwards to enter the church to celebrate mass (III, 17). The oldest surviving ("bee-hive") Irish churches have one narrow window, in the eastern end; but the light inside them would usually have been faint.

[1] Columba had appointed his pupil Baithine, then prior of Mag-Luinge in Tiree, as his successor in the abbacy of Iona. Adamnan, I, 2.

This episode stands thus in the Life attributed to Cummine, XX; Pinkerton's Vitae, p. 40:

"*The hour of death approaching, he makes division of a psalm.*

"After this he came down from the hill, and, returning to the monastery, sat in his cell, writing a psalter. At last he came to that verse of the thirty-third psalm, where it is written: 'But they that seek the Lord shall not lack any good thing'; and he said: 'Here I think I must stop; what follows Baithine must write.' Indeed the last verse that he had written befitted the saint well; for in truth eternal good things will never be lacking to him. And the following verse no less aptly suited his successor, the true father of spiritual sons: 'Come, sons, hear me, I shall teach you the fear of the Lord.' For, as his predecessor commanded, [Baithine] succeeded him not only in writing, but also in the labour of ruling the monastery."

Cf. also the Life in the Salamanca MS., Smedt and De Backer, 853-854 ("on the day before he passed from the habitation of this world").

After finishing the writing of this verse above-mentioned at the end of the page, the saint entered the church for evening mass of the Lord's night; which presently concluded he returned to his little dwelling,[1] and rested over-night in his bed, where in place of bedding he had a bare rock, and for pillow a stone which also to-day stands as some kind of monument beside his grave.[2] Thus resting there he gave his last commands to the brethren, his attendant alone for audience, saying, "I commit these last words to you, my children, that between you you have mutual and not pretended charity, with peace; and if you observe this, after the example of the holy fathers, God, the gladdener of the good, will aid you, and I, dwelling with him, will intercede for you; and not only will the necessaries of this life be sufficiently provided by him, but also the prizes of eternal good things will be assigned, prepared for those that uphold what is divine."

Thus far have been brought the last words, related briefly, of the venerable father, as of one passing over from this weary pilgrimage to the heavenly country.[3]

After this, his happy last hour gradually approaching, the saint was silent.

Thereafter when the bell that struck at midnight resounded,[4]

John's Gospel in the Book of Durrow may have been an autograph of Columba, but was more likely a copy of his autograph (cf. Fowler's Adamnan, 166).

At the end (originally) of the Book of Durrow was written the following (Reeves, Adamnan, 242, note): "I beseech thy blessedness, holy priest Patrick, that whoever holds in his hand this little book may remember me, Columba, the writer, who have written for myself" ([*mi*]*himet*) "this gospel in the space of twelve days." "Below which" says Reeves, "in a more angular, but not later, hand, follows, *Ora pro me frater mi Dominus tecum sit.*" That is "Pray for me, my brother; the Lord be with thee." These last words seem to have been addressed to a living person, not to Patrick.

[1] *ad hospitiolum.* In Cummine *hospitium*, as also in Adamnan below. These words mean the hut in which Columba slept, distinct from the hut in which he wrote (*tugurium*).

[2] In the chancel of Iona cathedral a stone called Columba's pillow is still shown.

[3] This sentence is not in Cummine's Life.

[4] "At midnight, when the bell sounded" Cummine's Life.

In the Irish Life (Stokes's Three Homilies, 124): "When the bell for nocturns had been struck on the night of Pentecost Sunday." Similarly in the Book of Lismore; Stokes's Lismore Lives, 33.

he rose quickly and went to the church, and running faster than the rest he entered alone, and, kneeling in prayer before the altar, lay back. Diarmait the attendant, following more slowly, at the same moment saw from afar the whole church within filled for the saint with angelic light; but as he approached the door, the same light very quickly vanished: but a few others also of the brethren, also at a distance, had seen it.[1] So Diarmait entered the church, and cried in a tearful voice, "Where art thou, father?" And feeling in the darkness, because the lanterns of the brethren had not yet been brought, he found the saint lying on his back before the altar; and he raised him a little, and sitting beside him placed the holy head in his lap. And meanwhile the company of monks running up with lights saw their father dying, and began to lament.[2]

And, as we have learned from some who were present there,[3] before his soul departed the saint opened his eyes, and looked about to either side with a countenance of wonderful joy and gladness, for he saw the holy angels coming to him.

Then Diarmait raised [Columba's] holy right hand to bless the saintly man's choir of monks; and the venerable father himself also, so far as he could, moved his hand at the same time, so that he appeared to bless the brethren even by the movement of his hand, since in the departure of his soul he could not do it in speech. And after the holy benediction thus signified he presently breathed out his spirit.

And after he had left the tabernacle of the body, his face remained so glowing, and marvellously made joyous by the vision of angels, that it appeared not as of one dead, but as of one asleep and living.

Meanwhile the whole church resounded with sad lamentations. . . .[4]

[1] "But first it had been seen by several of the brethren" Cummine's Life.

[2] "The rest of the brethren arrived, and seeing that their father was dying they grieved exceedingly for the death of him whom in life they had loved" Cummine's Life.

[3] These words imply that Adamnan's source of information was speech, not writing. The passage stands more briefly in the Life attributed to Cummine; and these words are absent there.

[4] Lugaid Tailchan's son in Cloni-finchoil in Ireland had a vision of

Meanwhile after the departure of the holy soul, when morning hymns had been concluded[1] the sacred body was carried back with tuneful psalmody of the brethren from the church to the dwelling[2] whence he had come a little while before, alive; and reverent obsequies were properly conducted with honour for three days and as many nights. When this period was over, passed in savoury praises of God, the venerable body of the holy and blessed patron was wrapped in clean linen cloths and placed in the coffin[3] prepared, and buried with due reverence, to rise again in bright and eternal glory. . . .[4]

angels coming to Iona for Columba's soul. He told it to Fergna (*Virgnous*): "In the same days Fergna rowed over from Ireland [*Scotia*], and passing the remaining days of his life in the island of Hinba he very often related to the monks of St Columba this vision of angels, as it has been described above; and he had undoubtedly learned it from the mouth of the holy old man to whom it had been revealed. And after many years passed irreproachably in subjection among the brethren, this Fergna completed other twelve years in the place of the anchorites in Muirbulcmar, leading the life of an anchorite, as a victorious soldier of Christ.

"We have not only found this aforesaid vision inscribed in writing, but have heard it told without any hesitation by some experienced elders, to whom Fergna himself had related it."

Ernene Mocufirroide (buried at Druimm-tomme, i.e. Drumhome, in Donegal) in the valley of the Finn in Donegal, and other fishers, saw a fiery column in the east at the time of Columba's death; Adamnan in his youth heard it from Ernene himself when he was very old.

These visions are not in Cummine's Life.

Amra Coluimchille, L.H., i, 171:—"His death [was] good; . . . God's angels [were present] when he ascended. (I.e., the angels of God of heaven met him when he ascended.)"

The Irish Life makes Diarmait live for seven years after Columba's death; Stokes, Three Homilies, 118: "A violent disease attacked his attendant, named Diarmait; and he died. And [Columba] prayed for him, and he awoke out of death. And not this only, but [Columba] asked seven years' life for him after himself." To the same effect in the Book of Lismore; Stokes, Lismore Lives, 31. See Adamnan, II, 30.

Diarmait was doubtless the authority for the tales of Columba in connection with which his name is mentioned.

[1] I.e. after the midnight service for which the monks had assembled.

[2] *hospitium.*

[3] *ratabusta.*

[4] During the three days of Columba's obsequies, in accordance with his prophecy storm raged and kept all visitors from Iona (so also in Cummine, XXIV, p. 42).

Adamnan, Life of Columba, book III, c. 23[1]

After the reading of these three books, let each studious reader observe of what and how great merit was the holy, venerable prelate, oft-times above-mentioned, in what and how great honour he was esteemed by God, what and how great visitations were vouchsafed to him of angels and lights; how great gift of prophecy he had, what power of transcendent miracles; how greatly and how frequently the glory of divine light gleamed round him while he still dwelt in mortal flesh: and even after the departure of his most gentle soul from the tabernacle of the body, this same heavenly brightness ceases not unto this day, nor the visitation of holy angels, to frequent the place where his holy bones remain, as is held to be proved, being shown to certain chosen persons.

And upon the same man of blessed memory this great favour also has been conferred by God, that his name has been worthy not only to be proclaimed with renown through our whole Ireland,[2] and Britain, the greatest of the whole circle of all the islands, although he dwelt in this small and outermost isle of the Britannic ocean, but even to reach as far as triangular Spain and to Gaul, and to Italy, beyond the Pennine Alps; also to the city of Rome itself, which is the head of all cities. Among the other[3] gifts of God's granting, such and so great honour of renown is known to have been bestowed upon the saint by God, who loves those that love him, and glorifying more and more those that with savoury praises magnify him exalts them to unbounded honours: and He is blessed through the ages. Amen.

I beseech all those that may wish to copy these books, nay rather I conjure them through Christ, the judge of the ages, after carefully copying them to compare them with the exemplar from which they have written, and to correct them

[1] Reeves's edition, 241-242; Skene's, 217-218. Cf. the first sentence of Cummine's chapter XXV, in Pinkerton, Vitae, 43.

[2] *Scotiam.*

[3] In text *ceterae;* read *cetera*, as in MS. B.

with all heed, and also to append this conjuration in this place.[1]

[1] Here the scribe of MS. A adds :—"Whoever reads these books of the virtues of St Columba, let him pray to the Lord for me, Dorbene, that after death I may possess eternal life." (Cf. facsimile in Fowler's edition, p. 166). This Dorbene is supposed to have been the abbot of that name, who died in 713 (see that year, below). MS. A may have been in Dorbene's own writing, and copied directly from Adamnan's. Cf. W. M. Lindsay, Early Irish Minuscule Script, 2-3 (Oxford, 1910).

PART V

Zenith and Decline of Dalriata

? 597

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 160, s.a. [592] = 596 ?[1]

The death of Eogan, Gabran's son.[2]

? ca. 598

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 160, s.a. [594][3] = 598 ?

The slaughter of the sons of Aidan, namely Bran and Domangart and Eochaid Find and Arthur, in the battle of Circhend,[4] in which Aidan was conquered.[5]

[1] Placed in the same year-section as the death of Columba, and immediately after the notice of that event.

[2] Similarly in A.U., i, 76, s.a. 594 = 595.

See above, p. 77, where Eogan's name is given in the diminutive form, Eoganan.

There is uncertainty in the dates of the last decade of the 6th century, and first decade of the 7th century. With exception of A.I., the Irish annals' dates fall behind at this time; and it is possible that A.I.'s dates are a year ahead of the year intended (as at 613). I imagine that for a score of years T.'s and C.S.'s dates (between [588] and [608]) of Scottish events at least are 4 years behind the year intended by their source; I give the equations, and have with considerable hesitancy arranged events of the next ten years under these conjectural dates; not so much because I think them more trustworthy than the dates of A.I., as in order to retain the sequence of the events as they stand in the Irish annals.

[3] F.n. 6. From the sequence of events and A.I.'s dates, this annal may belong to 599.

[4] *i cath Chirchind*, although the sentence is constructed in Latin. This battle was perhaps fought in the Mearns: the Howe of Mearns was at one time called *Mag-Circin*. Cf. below, year 752, and above, p. 96. Tigernach has named here too many of Aidan's sons. But if Adamnan and A.U. are both right, the battle must have been fought in England.

[5] A.U., i, 76, s.a. 595 = 596 (with f.n. and e. of 596): "The slaughter of the sons of Aidan, namely Bran and Domangart."

? 600

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 161; s.a. [596][1] = 600?

The repose of Baithine, abbot of Iona, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.[2]

Life of Baithine; Smedt and De Backer's Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae ex Codice Salmanticensi, columns 871-872

The reverend father abbot Baithine was actively instructed from his infancy in the word of God, and in discipline, by the most renowned abbot, Columba; and as he grew in bodily age,

According to Adamnan (above, p. 96), Arthur and Eochaid Find had been killed in the battle with the Miathi, before 597; and Domangart was killed "in England," probably at Degsastan in 603 (below, and in English Chroniclers, 11). Tigernach has therefore added names here incorrectly; and perhaps A.U. have added Domangart's name incorrectly.

Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 96, s.a. 590 (after the death of Columba): "The battle of Kirkynn in Scotland was fought, where the sons of king Aidan—namely Brian, Domangart, Eochaid Find, and Arthur—were slain, and king Aidan himself overcome."

[1] F.n. 1.

[2] A.U., i, 76, s.a. 597 = 598 (with f.n. and e. of 598): "The repose of Baithine, abbot of Iona." So also in C.S., 64, s.a. [596] (f.n. 1; Hennessy's year 598).

A.I., 9, O'Conor's year 593 = 601 (2 years after 599): "Baithine reposed in Christ, the years of his age being 66" (for *anno* in O'Conor's text the MS. has *annis*).

F.M., i, 220, s.a. 595: "St Baithine, Brendan's son, abbot of Iona of Columcille, died on the 9th of June."

The Annals of Clonmacnoise, 97, s.a. 590 (a section in which several years are run together; it contains Columba's death): "St Baithine abbot of Iona in the 66th year of his age died."

The Annals from L.L. (R.S. 89, ii, 516) place under one year "the repose of Columcille and of Baithine." Baithine's day is said by Adamnan to have been the same as Columba's (below, p. 189). Cf. Oengus, above, p. 103, note. A.B., 5, place Baithine's death 3 years after Columba's, and two years before Gregory's in 604. The Martyrology of Donegal, 164, says that Baithine died 4 years after Columba, on June 9th, 600. Possibly 601 is the true year (as in A.I.).

T. places Baithine's birth in [534], with f.n. 1 (R.C., xvii, 135): "Birth of Baithine, Columcille's disciple." So also in C.S., 44, s.a. [536] (f.n. 3; Hennessy's year 535); and the parallel year in A.U. is 535 = 536. It is entered from T. in the Annals of Clonmacnoise, 78, s.a. 536. No doubt the birth was entered 65 years before the death of Baithine.

he practised faithfully works so much the more strenuous and more perfect. For no one could ever catch him idle; because he passed the [leisure] time allowed him, in reading, or in prayer, or in bodily labour, except that he sometimes interrupted these pursuits to help the necessities of his neighbours. When he made a journey or spoke to any one, he raised meanwhile his hands beneath his robe, to pray to the Lord with active mind. And thus he was so devoted to prayer that in taking food, between raising two mouthfuls to his lips, and so too between two sips, he repeated that verse well-known to holy men: "[Come] O God to my aid; hasten, Lord, to help me."[1]

And what is more difficult, at harvest-time when he was carrying to the stack a sheaf collected in his [one] hand, he meanwhile raised the other to the sky, and appealed to the Thunderer; and in his devotion did not remove the midges that settled on his face.

He showed the same diligence also in fulfilling all the commands of God, and in so far as the ability of human frailty allowed he subdued his flesh, and aroused the inner man with spiritual arms against the foe. Yet with all these merits none was as anxious to protect earthly treasure as he to hide the miracles that God worked through him. And thus so far as he could he refused to divulge his miracles, for the sake of humility, and to avoid pride.[2]

Life of Baithine; Smedt and De Backer's Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae ex Codice Salmanticensi, column 878

On the third day of the week, while St Baithine was praying to the Lord in the church beside the altar, stupor almost of

[1] Psalms, LXX, 1 (in Vulgate, LXIX, 2).

[2] Cf. the *testimonium Fintini, filii Lippani*, to this effect: "Know that none on this side of the Alps is found equal to him in acquaintance with the divine scriptures, and in the greatness of his knowledge." Smedt and De Backer, 876; cf. 876-877.

Ibid., 877-878: "To this must also be added the testimony of St Columba himself concerning him. For he said that his pupil Baithine, and John the Evangelist, Christ's pupil, were not dissimilar in purest innocence, and in wisest simplicity, and in the discipline of the severity of perfect works; that nevertheless their teachers were widely different in their customs."

death fell upon him there. And when the brethren were lamenting around him, Diarmait, Columba's attendant, said: "Behold, brethren, you see that there will not be a great interval between two festivals of our elders."

As he said this, Baithine awoke as it were out of a deep sleep, and said: "If I have found grace in the eyes of God, and if I have run to this day a perfect course in his sight, I trust in him that I shall not die till the nativity of my predecessor." And it occurred thus, after about six days.

The pang of unendurable pains did not deter him from the work of writing and praying and teaching, until the hour in which he slept and was added to his fathers.

This little of the life of St Baithine.[1]

? 601

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 162; s.a. [597][2] = 601 ?

The death of Gartnait, king of the Picts.[3]

[1] This Life from the Salamanca MS. is too late to have much authority, but some incidents in it may rest upon early tradition.

The description here given of Baithine's death implies that he died on June 9th, about six days after a Tuesday; if this were right, June 9th would have been about Monday; but it was Friday in 601. It would have been Monday in 598, which was probably the year intended by the biographer.

[2] F.n. 2. Under the same year is placed a note "the Saxons came to the faith," which probably refers to Augustine's mission of 597. Similarly in C.S., 66, s.a. [597] (Hennessy's 599): "The Saxons received the faith" ("the Catholic faith" in the Annals of Clonmacnoise, 97, s.a. 590). Cf. A.U., i, 76, s.a. 597 = 598 (with f.n. and e. of 598): "Augustine came to England." But Scottish and Irish events have been entered too early in the Irish annals, and probably 601 or 602 is the year of Gartnait's death.

[3] Annals of Clonmacnoise, 97, s.a. 590 (after the death of Columba [† 597] and the battle of Dunbolg [598], and the kings of [ca. 600-643]): "Gartnait [*Garnat*], king of the Picts, died."

The Chronicles of the Picts (ABC) give Gartnait a reign of 11 years, after the reign of Brude, Maelchon's son. See above, year 584.

Version D of the Chronicle of the Picts, in Skene's P. & S., 150, says: "He built Abernethy." Fordun's version, IV, 12; i, 154 (not in Skene's MSS. BE): "He founded Abernethy." Version F (P. & S., 172) attaches this note to Gartnait's successor, Nechtan. Version H (ibid., 201) reads: "[Gartnait] built the church of Abernethy, 225 years and 11 months before

the church of Dunkeld was built by king Constantine, king of the Picts." Versions ABC give a mythical account of the foundation of Abernethy, in the reign of Nechtan Mor-brecc, Drust Gurthinmoch's predecessor. See above, p. cxxi.

An insertion in version A of the Chronicle of the Picts (Skene's P. & S., 6-7) describing the legendary foundation of Abernethy, says: "Thus Nechtan the great, Erp's son, king of all the provinces of the Picts, gave Abernethy as an offering to St Bridget, to the day of Judgement, along with its territories, which extend from the stone in Apurfeirt as far as the stone beside Ceirfuill, that is, Lethfoss, and thence upwards as far as Athan." See above, p. cxxi.

The identification of Apurfeirt with the junction of the Farg and the Earn, if correct, would require the reading *Apurfeirc*. Skene wished to identify Ceirfuill with Carpow, Athan with Hatton.

The fabulous Tale of Cano, in the Yellow Book of Lecan, 128-132, says that "there was contention for the kingdom of Scotland between Aidan, Gabran's son, and Gartnan, son of Aed, son of Gabran; and in the battles and contentions between them, half the men of Scotland fell." According to this story, Aidan killed Gartnan, in the crannog of Inis-meic-Uchen, and would have killed Cano, Gartnan's son, but that Cano made curachs, and escaped with his followers to Ireland. A description of their accoutrements is given there, 128 b. (Anecdota from Irish MSS., i, 2. Cf. O'Curry, Manners and Customs, iii, 164-165.)

The Tale of Cano is interesting and old, but has no historical value.

It contains verses in which Cano is called "Cano, Gartnan's son, from Skye" (*Sci;* Anecdota, i, 6; cf. 80, 14). The Tale implies that Cano fled to Ireland in the reign of Aidan, and after the death of Aed Slaine (†604; A.U.), and that he returned to Scotland in the time of Diarmait, son of Aed Slaine (Diarmait became king of Ireland in 643, according to A.U.). It is implied that Cano's return was not long after Aidan's death. It would seem, from the Tale, that Cano's father was the Gartnait, king of the Picts, who died (ca. 601) in Aidan's reign. Nechtan, Cano's son, appears from the annals to have died (?621) about the same time as king Nechtan, Verb's grandson, the successor of Gartnait.

But this king Gartnait was Domelch's son. It is possible that Domelch was his mother's name; and it is possible that Verb was Nechtan's grandmother. Ferb (genitive Feirbe) was an Irish woman's-name; Gartnait's connection with the house of Dalriata might have been through her, and not through his father. More probably, the pedigree in the Tale is fabulous.

There are irreconcilable divergencies between the Tale and the Irish annals. The annals appear to place Cano's escape, with his brothers, from Skye, in 668; and his death in 687, his daughter's in 689, and his son's in 705. These dates, along with the capture of Cano's son in 673, would suggest that Cano's father was king Gartnait, Donald's son (†663). But the annals imply rather that Cano's father was Accidan's son (see year ca. 649). Even if the annalists had entered these events about 43 years too late (see

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Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 163, s.a. [599][1]=603?

A battle with the Saxons [was fought] by Aidan; and there Eanfrith, Æthelfrith's brother, fell, [slain] by Maelumai, Baetan's son; and there [Aidan] was conquered.[2]

603

Chronicle of Holyrood, p. 9

In the year 603, Aidan, king of the Scots who dwelt in Britain, came against Æthelfrith,[3] the king of the Northumbrians, with an immense and powerful army; but, beaten, he fled away with few. For in a very renowned place called Dexastan, that is to say Dexa stone,[4] almost all his army was slain. And Æthelfrith accomplished this battle in the eleventh year of his kingdom, and in the first year[5] of Phocas, who then occupied the summit of the Roman realm. And the aforesaid king Æthelfrith reigned for twenty-four years.[6]

year 643, note), they would not agree with the statement that Cano fled from king Aidan.

There were at least two Canos; but the Tale appears to have placed the later one more than 60 years too early, in order to make him a contemporary of king Aidan, who was a prominent figure in Irish tales. In any case the Tale does not affect the authority of the annals.

See years ca. 574, ?621, 668, notes.

[1] F.n. 5. Other events placed by Tigernach in this year-section appear in C.S., 66, s.a. [598], Hennessy's year 600.

[2] A.U., i, 78, s.a. 599=600 (with f.n. and e. of 600): "The Saxons' battle, in which Aidan was conquered."

Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 97, s.a. 603: "The battle between king Aidan and the Saxons was fought, where Aidan had the victory, and Eanfrith [*Canfrith*], brother of king Æthelfrith, was slain by the hands of Maelumai, Baetan's son" [*Moyleawa mcBoylan*].

The death of Maelumai Baetan's son is placed by T. (u.s., 169) s.a. [609] (for f.n. 6 read 3: [609] and [608] are transposed). Cf. A.U., i, 86, s.a. 609=610. It is placed by C.S., 72, s.a. [608] (f.n. 5, read 2; Hennessy's year 610).

[3] "Alfred" in MS.

[4] Degsastan may have been at the head of Liddesdale, near Dawston Burn, within the Catrail; not far within the present boundary of Scotland.

[5] I.e., 603 A.D.

[6] This passage is derived from Bede's H.E., I, 34 (E.C., 11-12).

Chronicle of the Picts, version I, in Skene's P. & S., 286: "Aidan,

? 604

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 164; s.a. [600][1] = 604?

The battle of Cuil-coel, in which Fiachna Baetan's son was the conqueror. Fiachna Deman's son fled.[2]

Gabran's son—513 [years] from the Incarnation, when Aidan and Æthelfrith [*Cadfred*] fought a battle in the place that is called Dexastan." For *dxiii* read *dciii*.

Herimannus Augiensis, Chronicon; M.G.H., Scriptores, v, 91, s.a. 604, says that "In Britain, Æthelfrith, king of the English, conquered Aidan, king of the Scots, invading the island" (*insulam petentem;* Hermann regards the Scots as living outside of Britain), "[Aidan's] strong army being destroyed in battle."

Fordun, III, 30 (i, 116): "And at another time the army of king Aidan was conquered while he was present; namely in the 33rd year of his reign. In the 11th year after he had conquered Ceawlin, king of the Saxons [West Saxons MSS. BCEF], it was at last agreed between [Aidan] and the Britons that they should meet at a place fixed upon with faithful promises, to attack in both quarters—he on the north, they at the same time on the south—the Northumbrian peoples, who were ruled at that time by Æthelfrith, a king strong in forces and discreet, who annoyed the Britons and the Scots with constant injuries. So the king [Aidan], although very old in years, invaded the districts of Northumbria when the time appointed came, hoping that [the Britons] on their part would do what they had undertaken in the agreement; and while from day to day his army employed its leisure in burning and spoiling, on one of the days [of waiting] king Æthelfrith with a massed army came upon the Scots, who were scattered in this manner for robbery through the villages and the fields; and conquered them, not without great slaughter of his men. . . ." Here follow quotations from Bede.

For the alleged defeat of Ceawlin by Aidan, see above, p. 97. Fordun appears to draw upon his imagination in his account of these affairs.

[1] F.n. 6.

[2] Similarly in C.S., 66, s.a. [600] (Hennessy's year 602).

A.I., 10, O'Conor's year 597=605 (6 years after 599): "The battle of Cuil-coel." 605 may be the true date.

A.U., i, 78, s.a. 601=602 (with f.n. and e. of 602): "The battle of Cuil-coel, in which Fiachna Deman's son fled. Fiachna Baetan's son was the conqueror." Also under the previous year: "Thus I have found in Cuanu's Book: that . . . the battle of Cuil-coel . . . took place in this year."

? 607

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 167, s.a. [603][1] = 607 ?

The death of Laisren, abbot of Iona.[2]

? 608

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 167; s.a. [604][3] = 608 ?

The death of Aidan, Gabran's son, in the thirty-seventh[4] year of his reign, and the seventy-fourth of his age.[5]

[1] F.n. 3. Perhaps the true year is 608 (as in A.I.).

At the beginning of the same year-section is noted (ibid., 166): "Phocas reigned for eight years." This is taken through Bede (M.G.H., Auctores, xiii, 309, with date 4565) from Isidore (ibid., xi, 478). In Tigernach's previous year-section (R.C. xvii, 165, with f.n. 5, for which read 2, i.e. [602]), with marginal date 4566: "Mauricius died." Mauricius was emperor from 582 to 602, Phocas from 602 to 610.

[2] Similarly in C.S., 70, s.a. [603] (Hennessy's year 605); and in A.U., i, 82, s.a. 604=605. A.I., 10, under O'Conor's year 600=608 (9 years after 599): "Repose of Laisren." F.M., i, 228, s.a. 601: "St Laisren, abbot of Iona of Columcille, died on the 16th of September."

Oengus places his death on September 16th: "In Iona, Laisren the happy" (with the note "Laisren, abbot of Iona of Columcille" in Lebar Brecc, 1880 Oengus p. cxlvi; in other versions, 1905 Oengus, 208). Laisren is commemorated under September 16th in the Martyrology of Gorman (178), and the Martyrology of Donegal (248). The latter says: "He was of the kindred of Conall Gulban, Niall's son."

[3] With f.n. 4. Under the same year Tigernach reads: "In the 2nd year of Phocas, pope Gregory departed to the Lord"; A.U. add, "according to Bede." This is derived from Bede's Chronicle (M.G.H., Auctores, xiii, 309); Bede uses the Liber Pontificalis (M.G.H., Gesta Pontificum, i, 164). Events of various years are entered by Tigernach in the next year-section, from Bede (u.s., 310), who takes them from the Liber Pontificalis and Isidore. Gregory I died A.D. 604.

[4] For "37th" in T. and C.S. we should probably read "34th," (*xxxiiii* for *xxxuii*) as in the Annals of Clonmacnoise. The Chronicles of Dalriata give Aidan a reign of 34 years. If he reigned 33 × 34 years after 574, he would have died 607 × 608.

[5] C.S., 71, s.a. [604] (f.n. 4; Hennessy's year 606): "The death of Aidan, Gabran's son, in the 37th year of his reign, and the 88th, or 86th, of his age."

A.U., i, 84, s.a. 605=606: "The death of Aidan, son of Gabran, (son of Domangart, king of Scotland)." The words *mic Domangairt righ Alban* are placed within brackets by Hennessy; presumably he means that they are a later addition to the MS. A.U. call Aidan's son, Eochaid Buide, "king of the Picts" at the time of his death; see year ? 630.

ca. 611

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 169, s.a. [608][1]

Neman, abbot of Lismore, rested.[2]

ca. 612

Annales Cambriae, in Y Cymmrodor, vol. ix, p. 156; s.a. [612/613][3]

The death of Conthigirnus.[4]

A.I., 10, O'Conor's year 601=609 (10 years after 599): "The death of Aidan, Gabran's son."

Annals of Clonmacnoise, 98, s.a. 604: "King Aidan of Scotland died in the 34th year of his reign, and in the 78th year of his age. . . .

"The end of the Chronicles of Eusebius" (i.e., of Isidore; 615).

The Annals of Boyle, 5, (O'Conor's year 580) place Aidan's death 7 years after Gregory's, which they date A.M. 5805=A.D. 604; borrowing events but not the date from Bede.

Annales Cambriae, Y Cymmrodor, ix, 156, s.a. [607] (3 years after the "160th year" after 444): "Aidan, Gabran's son, died." (The word "Aidan" is not in MS. C; ed Ab Ithel, 6).

Sigebert of Gemblours (M.G.H., Scriptores, vi, 322, s.a. 615) confuses Aidan's death with the battle of Degsastan [603] and the battle of Chester [613].

Fland (above, p. cxliv.) seems to place Aidan's death in 606.

The Duan Albanach, P. & S., 60, says: "Twenty-four years yonder" (i.e., in Argyle) "Aidan, of many eulogies, was king" (*na n-iol-rann*, literally "of the many verses"; or perhaps, as Skene translates it, "of many divisions." For *ficheat* "twenty-" read *trichat* "thirty-"?).

Fordun (III, 31) says that Aidan died in the second year after the battle of Degsastan, and was buried at Kilkerran.

A late account appears in the Life of Berach, of Aidan's being consulted as arbitrator in an Irish difference; Plummer, Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae, i, 80-81.

The "History of Aidan, Gabran's son" was the subject of an Irish literary composition; L.L., 189 c. Cf. Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie, ii, 134-135. He is a figure in Welsh literature also. Cf. the Gododin of Aneurin, LXI (ed. Stephens, 284). A fabulous Welsh pedigree is given in Skene's F.A.B.W., ii, 454. Cf. the Welsh Triads, in M.A., 397, 401; F.A.B.W., ii, 460; Loth's Mabinogion, ii, triads 48, 113.

The name of "Aidan, Garban's son" is entered under April 17th in the Martyrology of Tallaght (L.L., 359 a).

[1] F.n. 2.

[2] Cf. below, year 637.

[3] Placed 2 years before the "170th year" after 444; but 9 years after the "160th year."

[4] This appears to have been Kentigern, the patron saint of Glasgow. His festival is January 13th.

According to the Anonymous Life of Kentigern (I): "King Leudonus, a man semi-pagan, from whom the province that he ruled, Lothian, in northern Britain, got its name, had a daughter ruled by a step-mother [*novercatam*]; and her name was Thaney." She is called Thenew in the Aberdeen Breviary, Taneu in Joceline.

Leudonus appears to be the same person as Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Lot;* Historia Regum Britanniae, IX, 9 (Giles, 165-166): "There were there [i.e. at York] three brothers born of royal stock; Lot, and Urianus, and also Augusẹlus. These had held the principate of those regions, before the Saxons had prevailed [over them]. So wishing to present these like the rest with their paternal rights, [Arthur] restored to Auguselus the royal authority over the Scots; and he honoured [Auguselus'] brother Urianus with the sceptre of the Moravians; and he restored to the consulate of Lothian and its sister provinces [*Londonesiae ceterarumque comprovinciarum*], which pertained to him, Lot, who had married [Arthur's] sister in the time of Aurelius Ambrosius, and had had by her Walgannus and Modredius. Finally after restoring the state of the whole country to its former dignity, he married a wife, Guanhumara. . . ." See Fordun, Chronica, III, 24, 25. Notwithstanding the difference in names, the anonymous Life has been influenced here by Geoffrey's History.

The anonymous Life says that this Thanea was a Christian, and wished and prayed that she might emulate the virginity and motherhood of Mary. She rejected a suitor whom her father favoured: "For her suitor was a certain most elegant youth, Ewen, the son of Erwegende, sprung from the most noble blood of the Britons. . . . Ewen is called the son of king Ulien in the Gesta Historiarum." (He is called "Ewen Eufurenn, king of Cumbria," in the Aberdeen Breviary, i, 8, 28.) Rather than marry, she chose to be the slave of a swineherd, who "gave all the honour he could to the girl, because he was chaste, and secretly a Christian; and indeed, in the fields and house he taught her with diligence daily in the things that he had learned from his Christian teachers. He had received teaching in the Christian law in Scotland, from St Serf, a sacred teacher of the faith.

"This Serf [*Servanus*] had been a disciple of the venerable Palladius, the first bishop of the Scots, in the original church of the Scots. [Palladius] was sent by pope Celestine to the Scots who believed, as their first bishop, in the year of the Lord's Incarnation 430. He found the blessed Serf in Scotland [*Albania*] before him, a Christian man: and afterwards he initiated him sufficiently in church doctrine, and made him his suffragan, to teach those whom he could not." (This paragraph is quoted by Fordun, III, 9 (i, 94), in nearly the same words.) The Life falsely imagines that the Scotia to which Palladius was sent was Scotland, instead of Ireland.

Cf. the Book of Lecan, fo. 43 bb: "And [Serf] is the ancient elder that possesses [as patron] Culross in Strathearn in the Comgellaig, between the Ochil Hills and the Firth of Forth" (*acus ise sin in sruith senoir congeb Cuilendros hi sraith Hirend hi Comgellgaib itir sliab n-Ochel acus muir n-Giudan;* Reeves, Culdees, 124, note). Cf. B.B., 214. These MSS. say

that Serf was the son of Proc, king of Canand (Canandan, in B.B.) of Egypt; and Alma (Alína, in B.B.), daughter of a king of the Cruithni. A fabulous Life of the saint says that he was a son of Obeth, son of Elind, king in Canaan; and of Alpia, daughter of a king of Arabia (Reeves, u.s.). The Comgellaig [hostage-lands?] of Strathearn are apparently the district in which Culross stands, now an isolated part of Perthshire.

Reeves compares the Latin Life of Serf (ibid.): "Thy followers shall inhabit the land of Fife, and from the mountains of the Britons to the mountains that are called Ochil" (*Habitent terram Fif, et a monte Britannorum ad montem qui dicitur Okhél;* P. & S., 416). The "mountain of the Britons" may have meant Dumbarton.

For St Serf, cf. the Breviary of Aberdeen, ii, 8, 15. See the pleasant description of St Serf and his tame robin, in Joceline's Life of Kentigern, V; Historians of Scotland, v, 170, 42.

The anonymous Life goes on to say (II) that Ewen persevered in his attentions. He dressed himself as a woman, and ravished the girl.

(III) "When the king her father learned that she was pregnant and that she invoked the name of Christ, he ordered her to be crushed with stones [*lapidibus obrui*], according to the law of his country, as a daughter who had acted wantonly and had transgressed her father's law. For a decree of their law at that time commanded that every woman born of noble parents, if she were caught in fornication, should be crushed with blows of stones; while a serving-maid was to be branded in the face with a mark of wickedness, and held in scorn by all."

(IV) But because each of her executioners was unwilling to be the first to be guilty of shedding royal blood, "she was taken to the brow of a mountain which is called Kepduf, so that she might be placed in a chariot and, hurled down from the summit of [the mountain], might be consigned to a dreadful death, while so the executioners [*exactores*] seemed innocent of her end." She commended herself to St Mary's protection, and was unhurt; the wooden chariot-wheels made ruts in the hard stone. (VI) But her escape was attributed to magic art; "and the king, not to appear to place affection for his daughter before the justice of his realm, said: '[To find] if she be worthy of life, let her be given up to Neptune; and let her God deliver her from the danger of death, since he will.'

"So she was taken to the firth that is about three miles distant from the mountain of Kepduf, to the mouth of a river which is called Aberlessic —that is, the 'river-mouth of stench,' because there abounded at that time so great plenty and quantity of netted fish that it was too much trouble to the inhabitants to carry away the multitude of fish cast out of the boats upon the shore; and so much decomposition set in among the fish left behind upon the shore of the river's mouth that the sand was cemented with the putrescent fluid, and the stench of violent rottenness used to send away very quickly many who came there."

The girl was accompanied by many sympathizing men and women to this place. She called to God for judgement upon her persecutors. (VII) While the swineherd was being pursued, he threw a thonged javelin

and killed the king. "And the king's friends set up a great stone in the place where he fell, as a mark of his royal rank; and they placed above it a smaller stone, [fitted] by mason's craft [*arte cavatoria*]; it still stands there, about one mile distant from the mountain of Dumpelder, on the southern side." (I.e., Dunpender or Traprain.)

". . . Meanwhile the mother of a blessed child (who, though still unborn, was divinely directing his mother) was put into a coracle [*in laubo*], that is, a boat made of hides, and towed out into the deep sea beyond the island of May.

"But when the pregnant girl left the estuary of the aforesaid shore, all the fish of that margin of the sea accompanied her in procession, as their mistress. And after the day of her departure, the take of fish there ceased. And the estuary of the described fecundity remains sterile to this day, because it received the child unjustly condemned. And the fish that followed the woman remain where she was cast adrift. Indeed from that time to this day there abounds there so great plenty of fish that from every sea-coast very many fishermen, English and Scottish, and also from the shores of Belgium and France, come there to fish" (*sic lege*); "and all these the island of May receives fitly in its harbours.

"The mother of the blessed child was left alone in the middle of the sea. To God, who made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that is in them; who guards the truth, and does justice to those that suffer injustice, she most devoutly committed her purity of conscience. And when morning broke, she came to land safely in Scotland" (i.e. north of Forth) "upon the sand of the sea near Culross [*Collenross*], which is thirty miles distant, according to sailors' reckoning, from the island of May. She was suffering greatly from the pangs of child-birth, and torturing pain."

(VIII) Commending herself to God, she found and rekindled a half-extinguished fire; and her child was born. Herdsmen found her, and told it to St Serf, who remarked: "*A dia, cur fir sin!*" ("O God, may it be true"; the only Gaelic speech quoted in this Life.) ". . . And he said, 'Thanks be to God; for he shall be my [dear] son.' Because at the time of the boy's birth, [St Serf] had been in his oratory, praying alone, after matin lauds; and he had heard in the sky *Gloria in excelsis* solemnly sung. He remembered therefore the joy of the angels and the visit of the shepherds at Bethlehem, in the case of the boy Christ and his mother Mary; and he saw that in some sort the birth of the servant was like to the Nativity of the Lord; in the angelic celebration, in the visit of herds, in the solitude of the place. Triumphantly with his clerks he raised his voice and sang those hymns of praise, *Te deum laudamus*, and *Gloria in excelsis*." The Life ends with a dissertation upon the real chastity of Kentigern's birth, which had been the answer to his mother's prayers.

Joceline's account omits mention of the rape; he suggests that an anaesthetic might have been used. (163: "It is well known to us that many, after taking a draught of oblivion, which the physicians call Letargion, have fallen asleep; and have had incision made in their limbs,

and sometimes cauterization, and abrasion in their vitals, without feeling anything ; after arousal from sleep they have been ignorant of what had been done to them.") He does not name Kentigern's father, but admits the virtual fulfilment of Thanea's prayers for a maiden conception. He omits also her father's death in answer to her prayer. There is no doubt that the anonymous Life follows the older version of the legend, which Joceline wished to improve.

For the remainder of Kentigern's life we have only Joceline's authority. According to him, (IV) St Serf baptized both mother and child, "calling the mother *Taneu* and the boy *Kyentyern*, which is interpreted Chief Lord." Kentigern grew up to be so gifted in intelligence and disposition that Serf "called him also customarily in his native tongue *Munghu*, which is in Latin *Karissimus Amicus*" ("dearest friend"). "The common people have been accustomed to call him by this name very frequently, down to the present day, and to invoke him [by it] in their difficulties." (This identifies Kentigern with Mungo, patron saint of Glasgow. Perhaps, however, Mungo was his original name ; Kentigern, his later name.)

(V) Kentigern's miracles began with the restoration to life of Serf's tame robin. This was followed by many other miracles (VI, VII, VIII, IX).

(VIII) He left Serf secretly. "Setting out, he came to the Frisian Shore ; and there the river named Mallena overflowing its bed because the water of the sea was flowing in, removed all hope of going across." The water parted to let him cross. "Then passing over a little arm of the sea by a bridge which is called Serf's Bridge by the inhabitants, he looked back to the shore, and saw that the waters, which had before stood up in a heap, had advanced again and filled the bed of the Mallena ; they had also poured over the bridge named above, and altogether refused a passage to anyone." Thus Kentigern was parted from Serf, and they never met again. "And the place through which St Kentigern had crossed became thenceforth altogether impassable. For the bridge was ever afterwards covered by the water of the sea, and gave no one any longer the opportunity to cross it ; and the Mallena also changed the direction of its course from its own place, and from that day till now turned back into the bed of the river Ledo. So indeed the two rivers, which had till then been separated, became combined and united." (The river-names Mallena and Ledo are fanciful ; see Forbes, ibid., 328. Forbes thinks the Forth and Teith are meant ; but probably some stream with tidal estuary nearer to Culross is indicated.)

(IX) Kentigern came on the same day to Carnock (*Kernach*), and took thence the body of an old man (Fergus, who had lived long enough to see Kentigern and die in his presence) in a wagon drawn by "two untamed bulls," "as far as Cathures, which is now called Glasgow" : and buried him there, in "a certain cemetery formerly consecrated by St Ninian."

(X) Here Kentigern took his abode. (XI) "The king and clergy of the Cambrian district, with the rest of the Christians—although they were very few—" elected him their bishop. He was consecrated (although only in the twenty-fifth year of his age ; XII) by one bishop, "after the custom of

the Britons and the Scots of that time." This bishop was brought from Ireland. "[Kentigern] appointed his cathedral see in the village named *Glesgu*, which is interpreted the 'Dear Family'; it is now called Glasgow [*Glasgu*]. There too he united to God a very numerous" (reading *plurimam*) "family dear and renowned, of men serving God in continence, and living after the manner of the original church under the apostles without property, in holy discipline and godly obedience.

"And the diocese of his episcopate extended to the boundaries of the Cambrian kingdom. This kingdom [extended], as did formerly the rampart [built] by the emperor Severus, from sea to sea; afterwards, by aid and counsel of the Roman legion—to check invasion by the Picts—there was built in the same place a wall, eight feet in breadth, twelve feet in height. It reaches to the river Forth [*flumen Fordense*], and as a boundary-line divides Scotland from England." Joceline calls the kingdom "the district of Cambria" (but *Cambrina* in the Dublin MS.).

Joceline next describes (cf. also XXVII) the mythical conversion of Britain in the time of pope Eleutherius (who was pope for 15 years from 176, according to Prosper; M.G.H., Auctores, ix, 431). This story passed from the Liber Pontificalis (M.G.H., G.P.R., i, 17) to Bede and Nennius (M.G.H., Auctores, xiii, 288, 164). See Haddan and Stubbs, Councils, i, 25-26; Forbes, Historians of Scotland, v, 342.

(XII) Kentigern lived with great austerity, eating only bread with milk, cheese, or butter, and pottage [*pulmentum*]; and only on one day in three or in four. When he relaxed his abstinence upon a journey or dining with the king, he made up for it afterwards. (XIII) "He was clad in rough horse-hair next his skin, then in a tunic [*melote*] made of goats' skins, then in a cowl drawn like a fisherman's; above this he wore a white alb, and always carried a stole, placed upon his head. And [he had] a pastoral staff not rounded and covered with gold and jewels as one sees now-a-days, but of plain wood, bent only. He had in his hand his manual-book, ever ready to perform his office, when necessity or cause required. And so in the whiteness of his apparel he expressed the purity of his inner mind, and avoided vain-glory."

(XIV) He slept in a stone, hollowed like a sarcophagus. Rising before day he prayed and sang "until the second cock-crowing." Then he stood naked in a river, while he repeated the whole of the psalter; and after this "he sat, drying his limbs, upon a stone on the brow of a mountain called Gulath, beside the river and near his hut." (This place Skene would identify with the Penryn Wleth of Taliessin; F.A.B.W., i. 276, ii, 404.) Kentigern did this in all weathers. Thus he overcame bodily lusts. (XV) He weighed his words, but gave all his substance to the poor. (XVI) Marvels appeared in his celebration of mass. (XVII) He withdrew to desert places during Lent in rigorous fasts, returning before the Lord's Supper, afterwards on the Saturday before Palm-Sunday. He celebrated these occasions with great zeal, washing the feet of poor men and lepers, and fasting from Thursday till after mass on Easter Sunday.

(XVIII) "St Kentigern is said to have been, in bodily form, of medium

stature, but rather approaching to tallness. He is stated to have been physically strong, and almost indefatigable in enduring every kind of labour, whether in body or in spirit. For he was beautiful in face, and fair in form. He had a countenance full of grace and reverence, and with his dove-like eyes and turtle-dove cheeks drew the hearts of all beholders to affection for him." His cheerfulness was the mark of gentleness and spiritual joy. He detested hypocrisy.

(XIX) He set himself to the work of the bishopric. "The renowned warrior began to make war upon the shrines of demons, to throw down images, to build churches, to dedicate those he had built; to mark out parishes with fixed boundaries in the cord of distribution; to ordain clergy; to dissolve incestuous and unlawful marriages; to change concubinage into legitimate wedlock," and to establish ecclesiastical usages. He did all this, travelling about on foot.

(XX) He trained his disciples to the principles of the primitive church; ". . . possessing nothing of their own, . . . they lived in separate huts, as soon as they had grown to age and wisdom, just as St Kentigern dwelt himself. And so the separate clergy [*singulares clerici*] were called by the people Céli-dé [*Callidei*]." Cf. Reeves, Culdees, 27.

He worked at agriculture. Having no oxen, he once employed wild stags. One was killed by a wolf; the wolf was yoked with the other to the plough. Having no seed, he sowed sea-sand and reaped good wheat.

(XXI) "A considerable period of time having passed, a tyrant called Morgan [*Morken*] had ascended the throne of the Cambrian kingdom." This worldly man opposed Kentigern, and refused him the necessary alms; saying that his poverty proved his teaching to be false, and taunting him that his God could not transfer the corn from the barns of the king to those of the bishop. But the Clyde rose and did transfer the corn. Kentigern remonstrated with the king, who accused him of sorcery and kicked him. The king's abettor Cadvan (*Cathen*) fell with his horse and broke his neck; Morgan himself died of gout, which became hereditary in his family. He died in a place called Thorp-morgan (*Thorp-morken;* unidentified).

Kentigern had a time of peace. (XXIII) But Morgan's relatives still hated Kentigern, and conspired to kill him; and Kentigern escaped to bishop David in Menevia.

On his way, Kentigern visited Carlisle, and erected in the mountains a cross, which gave its name to Cross Fell: thence he proceeded by the shore. He gained the friendship of the people of Menevia, including their "king Catguollaun [*Cathwallain*], who was the ruler in that district." This king granted him the site of a monastery at Llancarvan; thither he went with his disciples, leaving St David.

(XXIV) Led by a white boar to a spot beside the river Elwy (*Elgu*), they began to build a monastery. The prince of the district interfered, but was afflicted with blindness until he repented. (XXV) Many disciples flocked to the monastery. One of them was the boy, St Asaph, who in early youth began to perform miracles (cf. Aberdeen Breviary, i, 8, 92).

(XXVI) Kentigern saw the reception of St David in Heaven. (David died

in [601], according to the Annales Cambriae. He was a grandson of Ceretic, Cuneda's son. Cf. Anscombe, Archiv für celtische Lexicographie, i, 534, from a pedigree at the end of De Situ Brecheniauc.)

XXVII (Historians, v, 209-210): ". . . Lastly Britain was vanquished by the Angles, who were still pagans, and from whom it was called Anglia; the natives were driven out, and [the land] made subject to idols and idolatry. And the natives of the island fled across the sea to Lesser Britain, or into Wales. But although fugitives from their own land, they yet did not all wholly abandon the faith.

"And the Picts received the faith first, in great part, through St Ninian; afterwards through saints Kentigern and Columba. And then they fell into apostasy, but were again converted to the faith (as we have said already and shall say more fully), or confirmed in the faith, through the preaching of St Kentigern—not only the Picts, but the Scots, and innumerable peoples placed in various regions of Britain.

"And St Augustine, renowned for monastic habit and life; and other religious servants of God, came to England, being sent by the blessed chief pontiff Gregory. . . .

"Because, then, Britain had been exhausted by so many troubles, and Christianity had been so often beclouded there, or even destroyed, different rites had appeared in her at different times, contrary to the standard of the holy Roman church and to the decrees of the holy fathers. In order, therefore, to have knowledge and ability to face and to remedy all these things, the blessed Kentigern left his monastery mentioned above, and went to Rome seven times; and he learned at Rome and brought back the reforms that Britain needed. But returning home the seventh time he fell ill of a very serious malady, and arrived there with the greatest difficulty.

"On one occasion he went to Rome while the blessed Gregory ruled the apostolic see [590-604], a man in office, authority, doctrine, and life, apostolic; and the special apostle of England, because the English are the tokens of his apostolate. . . .

"The holy pope, excelling in the spirit of counsel and discretion, and as it were being filled with the holy Spirit, recognized in [Kentigern] a man of God, and one full of the grace of the holy Spirit; and he confirmed his election and consecration, because he knew that both had come from God; and at [Kentigern's] request, many times repeated and with difficulty obtained, he supplied what was lacking in his consecration, and sent him to the work of the ministry laid upon him by the holy Spirit. After receiving apostolic absolution and benediction, the holy bishop Kentigern returned home, carrying with him books of canons, and as many other books as possible of holy writings; also privileges, and many relics of saints; and church decorations, and the other things that belong to the adornment of the house of the Lord. And he gladdened his disciples with his return, and with holy gifts and presents.

"He passed some considerable time there" (in Llancarvan) "in great quiet, and [religious] life. And he ruled with sanctity and vigour, and with great solicitude, both the monastery and the episcopate."

(XXVIII) He had a gift of insight that detected crime and heresy.

(XXIX) While Kentigern remained in Wales, his enemies in Cumbria (the *Cambrina regio*) perished by various deaths; and those who had returned to idolatry were victims of death and famine. "But when the time arrived to have mercy upon them, when the Lord should remove from them the rod of his indignation, and when they should turn to the Lord and he should heal them, he raised up as king over the Cumbrian kingdom [*regnum Cambrinum*] a man called Riderch [*Rederech*], who had been "baptized in the faith in the most Christian manner by the disciples of St Patrick in Ireland; and one that with his whole heart sought after the Lord, and endeavoured to restore Christianity. And truly it is a manifest indication of divine mercy when the Lord has appointed as rulers and kings to the control of the holy church and to the principate of the land, men who make just decrees, and who live holily: men who seek their people's good, and who judge with justice in the land. . . ."

(XXX) Riderch, desiring to resuscitate Christianity in his kingdom, invited Kentigern to return; Kentigern was bidden by an angel to go back to his church in Glasgow. (XXXI) He therefore enthroned Asaph as his successor, and departed, by the north door of the church, taking with him to Strathclyde 665 of his disciples. (These all rest "in the cemetery of the church" of Glasgow; XLV.) In memory of this occasion the north door of that church (of Llancarvan) was opened only once each year, on St Asaph's festival (May 1st). "When king Riderch and his people heard that Kentigern had arrived from Wales in Cumbria, from exile into his own country; the king with great gladness, and a very great crowd with joy and praise, went in procession to meet him. . . ." (XXXII) Kentigern exorcised many demons from the crowd. In Hoddam (*Holdelm*) the ground where he had sat down to teach rose into a high knoll (*monticulum altum*).

"And after the inhabitants of Cumbria had turned to the Lord, and been washed in the saving laver, all the elements, which appeared to have conspired for their destruction in vengeance for the wrong they had done to God, now put on a new face towards them, for the salvation of both soul and body. . . ."

(XXXIII) "And so king Riderch, seeing that the hand of the Lord was good to him, and was working with his wishes, was filled with great joy; and he was quick to show openly how great devotion burned within him. He divested himself of the royal robes, and, bowing his knees and joining his hands, with consent and counsel of his nobles offered homage to St Kentigern, and gave up to him dominion and sovereignty over his whole kingdom, and wished [Kentigern] to be called king, and himself ruler of the country under him; even as he knew the former emperor, Constantine the Great, had done to St Silvester.

"And so the custom sprang up, [and continued] during the course of many years, so long as the Cumbrian kingdom lasted unimpaired, that the prince was always subject to the bishop."

Riderch said that St Serf had given Kentigern his name prophetically (*Ken, capud Latine; tyern Albanice, dominus Latine, interpretatur*).

"St Kentigern, as if being made a new Melchizedech, refused not to receive what the king so devoutly offered him, to the honour of God; because he foresaw that this too in the future would benefit the church of God.

"He had also a privilege sent him by the chief pontiff, to the effect that he was subject to no [other] bishop; but rather was called to be, and was, the lord pope's vicar and chaplain.

"And the king who had raised the holy bishop in glory and honour got from the Lord glory in return for glory, and greater honours and riches."

The queen (*Langaueth*, Dublin MS.; *Languoreth*, London MS.) after long barrenness was blessed with a child, who was named Constantine, after the emperor.

"[Constantine] grew in age and grace, [and became] a boy of excellent disposition, beloved of God and men; and after his father had yielded to fate he succeeded him in the kingdom by hereditary right; and he was always subject to the bishop, as was his father. And because the Lord was with him he reduced to his own nation, without shedding blood, all the neighbouring barbarous races. He excelled all the kings that had reigned before him in the kingdom of Cumbria, in riches and glory, in dignity and (what is more noble) in sanctity. Hence he was renowned for his merits, and used his days for good; and merited to triumph over the world, and so be crowned in heaven with glory and honour; and to this day many are accustomed to call him St Constantine. [Cf. year 589, note.]

"This we have said as in anticipation, because we made mention of Constantine's birth at the prayers of St Kentigern, and his baptism and education by him.

"The holy bishop Kentigern built churches in Hoddam, and ordained elders and clergy; and he fixed his episcopal see there, for a certain reason, for some time. Afterwards instructed by divine revelation he transferred it, as justice required, to his city of Glasgow."

(XXXIV) Kentigern visited his diocese, cleared away remnants of idolatry and "restored Christianity generally to a better state than it had ever been in there before.

"Then the soldier of God, kindled with the fire of the holy Spirit—like [fire] which burns up wood, and flame burning the hills—, after he had put right what was nearest to him (that is, his own diocese) advanced to things more remote, and purged from the filth of idolatry and the contagion of heretical doctrine the country of the Picts, which is now called Galloway [*Galwiethia*], and its neighbourhood. And all that he found [there] contrary to the Christian faith and to sound doctrine he brought with shining miracles to the rule of truth, and corrected to the best of his power.

"In all this the fervour of his devotion was not turned aside, but his hand was still extended to works of power, and to the extension of the glory and honour of the highest name; his feet being shod in the preparation of the gospel of peace.

"For he went to Albany, and there with excessive and almost unbearable labour, frequently risking his life in the barbarians' toils, yet standing fearless in faith, the Lord helping him and giving power to the voice of his preaching, he converted the land from the worship of idols and the profane rites almost equivalent to idolatry, to the [true] lines of faith, and ecclesiastical customs, and canonical decrees. For there he built many churches, and dedicated them after they were built; he ordained elders and clergy, and consecrated as bishops many of his disciples. In these parts also he founded many monasteries, and placed over them as fathers some of the disciples whom he had instructed."

He also sent missionaries to Orkney, Norway, and Iceland.

He returned to Glasgow, and performed there as elsewhere daily miracles of healing. (XXXV) His faith protected him and his companions from rain, snow, or hail.

(XXXVI) Queen Langueth (she is called "the queen of Cadzow" in the Aberdeen Breviary, i, 8, 29, where this story is quoted "from the history of the blessed Kentigern,") had given the king's ring to a lover. Learning this, Riderch took the ring while the man was asleep, and threw it into the Clyde; then he threatened to put the queen to death unless she brought him the ring. In extremity, the queen appealed to Kentigern; he sent her messenger away to fish. A salmon was caught, and the ring was found in it. Reconciled to her husband, the queen sinned no more, and Kentigern kept the secret. (This is grafted upon Kentigern's Life from an old heroic story; compare the story of Fraech and Findabair's ring in the Táin bó Fráich. Y.B.L., 58.)

(XXXVII) To save the king's honour, Kentigern provided a dish of mulberries demanded by a jester who had been sent by an Irish king to the Cumbrian court for the Christmas holidays.

(XXXVIII) Kentigern lived upon milk. He sent some to a smith whom he employed, and it was accidentally poured into the Clyde, where it was not lost, but turned into cheese.

(XXXIX) "In the time when the blessed Kentigern, placed in the Lord's chandelier, like a lantern glowing with celestial desires and shining with salutary words, with exhibitions of virtues, and with miracles, shone upon all that were in the house of God, the holy abbot Columba (whom the Angles call Columkill), miraculous in doctrine and virtues, renowned for predictions of the future, filled with prophetic spirit, dwelling in that glorious monastery which he had built in the island of Iona [*insula Yi*], wished to exult in St Kentigern's light not for an hour, but continually. He had heard for a long time the report of his holy renown, and desired to come to him, to visit him, to see him, to obtain intimate friendship with him, and to consult the sanctuary of his holy bosom concerning the things that lay next his own heart.

"And when a fitting time arrived, the holy father Columba set out; and a great crowd of his disciples, and others who desired to visit and see the face of the notable man, accompanied him. And when he had approached the place called Mellindonor" (*Mellindenor* in Dublin MS.) "where the

saint abode at that time, he divided all his followers into three companies, and sent a messenger before him to announce to the holy bishop the arrival of himself and his followers."

Kentigern advanced with three companies to meet Columba; both sides sang psalms; the saints met and embraced. Columba distinguished Kentigern from the rest by seeing him "clothed with light, as with a garment, and with a golden crown placed upon his head."

(XL) Two of Columba's followers, being naturally thieves, stole the fattest wether from one of Kentigern's flocks. The shepherd bade them ask for it; but one of the thieves insulted him while the other cut off the ram's head. But the decapitated ram ran away and fell beside his flock, while his head turned to stone and refused to leave the robbers' hands. They were compelled to implore Kentigern's forgiveness. They received it, and also the ram's carcase; "but the head, turned to stone, remains there to the present day in witness of the sign; and mutely preaches the merit of St Kentigern."

"In the place where this miracle was performed by St Kentigern, and made apparent in the sight of Columba and many others, each took the other's staff, as a pledge and witness of their mutual love in Christ. The staff that St Columba gave to the holy bishop Kentigern was kept for a long time in the church of St Wilfrith, bishop and confessor, at Ripon; and it was held in great veneration because of the sanctity both of the giver and of the receiver.

"So these saints stayed there together for several days, and mutually conferred upon the things which are God's, and which belong to the saving of souls; afterwards they bade each other farewell, never to meet again; and giving each other benediction in love, they departed homeward."

(XLI) Kentigern erected many crosses throughout the country. "Among many crosses which the man of the Lord erected in many places he put up two that to the present day work miracles." One was of such size that men with machinery failed (on Saturday) to set it up; but an angel raised it "in the following night, which was regarded as Sunday [night]." "When the people came to the church in the early morning and perceived what had been done, they were amazed, and glorified God in his saint: for [the cross] was very large. And from that time it never lacked great virtue: for many men delirious [*arrepticii*] and tormented by unclean spirits are customarily bound to that cross on Sunday night; and on the following day they are found in their right minds, delivered and cleansed, or else frequently dead, or about to die by a rapid death.

"He constructed another cross—unbelievably, if it could not have been examined by sight and touch—of sea-sand alone, while he meditated righteously and religiously upon the resurrection, in Borthwick [*Lotheververd*]. And he dwelt in this place for the space of eight years. Who indeed should doubt that the Lord will restore our mortal bodies, although resolved into dust, since he has promised this with his blessed mouth; when in his name this saint, of like sufferings to us, through prayer to the Lord has set up a cross of the sand of the sea? . . .

"To this cross also are bound in the evening many that are afflicted by various diseases; but especially maniacs, and those that are tormented by a demon: and frequently in the morning they are found well and unhurt, and they return home in freedom.

"There are also many other places where he used to dwell; and places unknown to us, which (especially in Lent) the saint sanctified with his presence and holy habitation." (He used to live, in Lent, in caves: XVII.) But many places retain his influence, in curing the sick and in other signs.

(XLII) Kentigern's body began to show signs of approaching dissolution: he was extremely old. Cf. chapter XII: "To depict his whole life briefly, he broke his fast only after three days or frequently four days of fasting, from the time of his ordination, which befel him in the twenty-fifth year of his age, until the very end of his life, which lasted for a space of a hundred and sixty years. . . ." (The two numbers—25 and 160—are not here to be added together. But in chapter XLIV Joceline says: "And so the blessed Kentigern passed to the Father in such manner from this world, full of days, since he was a hundred and eighty-five years old; ripe in merits, renowned for signs and prodigies and prophecies. . . ." The number 185 is accepted as Joceline's meaning by Skene and Forbes; Historians, v, 369-370. But Joceline gives in reality two conflicting accounts, in the later of which the number may have arisen from the addition of a part to the whole of the earlier number—such an error as has occurred e.g. in the traditions of Patrick's age, and of Harold Fairhair's reign. In such cases the lesser number is the earlier; in this case it too may have been increased by similar means. The Life of Kentigern is not of such authority as to justify any argument of the possibility of so long a life.) Kentigern was so decrepit that he had to support his chin with a linen bandage; but he was still able to speak: and he instructed his disciples to practise the Christian virtues; and more especially to adhere to the laws and customs of the church, and to have no dealings with heretics. Then he kissed and blessed them, and laid himself down "in his noble stone couch." (XLIII) His disciples, seeing him about to depart, begged that they might accompany him. An angel announced that this prayer should be granted: (XLIV) "And when the octave of the Lord's appearance dawned" (i.e. the 13th January)—"the day on which in every year the gentle bishop had been accustomed to wash a multitude of the people with holy baptism," Kentigern entered a warm bath, in which, as if falling asleep, he died. Then (following the angel's instruction) his disciples entered the bath, one after another, struggling for precedence; and so long as the water remained warm, all who entered it died. "But after the water had cooled, there was cessation not only of the obtaining of death, but also of every smallest spark of discomfort." The remaining disciples preserved some of Kentigern's garments as relics. Kentigern's body was buried under a stone to the right of the altar; his disciples' bodies were placed "in the cemetery, in the order in which they had passed from this world, after the holy bishop." (This story might possibly rest upon some basis of a real epidemic.)

Miracles were still performed at his tomb. "From the day of his burial to the present time, his sacred bones are known to blossom in their place with very frequent miracles. . . . At his tomb sight is restored to the blind, hearing to the deaf, walking to the lame, speech to the dumb, clean skin to the leprous, control of limbs to the paralytic, senses to the maniacal. The impious, the sacrilegious, the treacherous, and violators of the peace of his church, and defilers of the holy place, are punished with deserved penalty." The theft of a cow was punished with death. "Many also who have ventured [to violate] with any servile work the day of his festival, when a crowd is accustomed to gather from different quarters to the church in Glasgow where his most holy body rests, to beg his intercessions and to see the miracles that commonly take place there, have very often suffered the vengeance upon themselves of their crime."

(XLV) "In the same year in which St Kentigern was removed from earthly things and departed to the skies, the often mentioned king Riderch stayed longer than usual in the royal village which is called Partick" (*Pertnech*, Dublin MS.; *Pertinet*, London MS.). "In his court lived a weak-witted man, named Laloecen," (*Laloicen* in London MS.) "who received the necessaries of food and clothing from the king's munificence. (For the nobles of the land, the sons of the kingdom, being addicted to vanity, are accustomed to keep men of this kind about them; so that they may move their lord and his household to jests and loud laughter by foolish words and acts.) After the death of St Kentigern, this man took to the most grievous lamentations, and he would receive no consolation from anyone.

"When he was asked why he mourned so inconsolably, he replied that his lord king Riderch [*Rederech*], and one of the nobles of the land, called Morthec, could not delay very long in this life after the death of the holy bishop, but would yield to fate in the same year.

"Since this saying of the fool had been spoken not foolishly but rather prophetically, it was clearly confirmed by the deaths of the men named, within the same year." (See above, year 573.) ". . . In the same year, therefore, in which the holy bishop Kentigern had died, the aforesaid king and prince departed; and they were buried in Glasgow." Joceline concludes with a peroration upon the merits of Glasgow church and its patron saint.

In the office for Baldred, the Aberdeen Breviary (i, 8, 63) says that Kentigern died on 13th January, 503, "at the city of Glasgow, which he ruled, in the 183rd year of his age": and that Baldred was his pupil and suffragan. (For Baldred's death, see year 756.)

For the Aberdeen Breviary's 13th January, 503, Skene reads Sunday, 13th January, 603 (F.A.B.W., i, 176, note). Even with this correction the authority of the Breviary cannot stand against that of the Annales Cambriae, if there St Kentigern is meant.

The Breviary of Aberdeen mentions a disciple of St Kentigern, Conuallus (ii, 8, 112), under September 28th.

Fordun, Chronica Gentis Scotorum, III, 29 (i, 115): "Contemporarily

ca. 613

Annales Cambriae, Y Cymmrodor, vol. ix, p. 156, s.a. [613][1]

The battle of Chester[2]; and there fell Selim, Cinan's son. And the repose of Jacob, Beli's son.[3]

with St Columba flourished the most blessed Kentigern, bishop of Glasgow, a man of marvellous sanctity, and a worker of many miracles. His venerable bones rest there entombed, made famous by many miracles to God's praise. His bishopric's furthest boundary towards the south was at that time, as it ought now to be, the royal cross below Stanemor.

"One of his principal disciples was St Convallus, famous for miracles and virtues, whose bones therefore rest buried at Inchinnan, near Glasgow."

The southern boundary was the "Rerecross on Stanemoor" H. & S., ii, 11; i.e., Rere Cross on Stanemore, in Westmoreland, near the border of that county and of Skipton Parish in the North Riding of Yorkshire.

[1] 10 years after the "160th," 1 year before the "170th year" after 444.

[2] *Gueith cair legion.* This is the battle described by Bede, Historia Ecclesiastica, II, 2 (i, 83-84): "To these [bishops of the Britons] the man of the Lord, Augustine, is said to have foretold threateningly, that if they refused to accept peace with brethren, they should have to accept war from enemies; and if they refused to preach the way of life to the race of the Angles, through their hands they should suffer the vengeance of death. And through divine judgement this was entirely accomplished as he had foretold.

"For after this the English king of whom we have spoken, Æthelfrith, collected a great army to the city of Chester [*ad civitatem Legionum*], which is called Legacaestir by the English race, and by the Britons is more correctly called Carlegion, and he made the greatest slaughter of the faithless race. And when (setting out to the battle) he saw their priests, who had assembled to pray to God for their army during the battle, he enquired who these were, and what they had assembled there to do. Very many of them were from the monastery of Bangor, in which there is said to have been so great a number of monks that after the monastery had been divided into seven parts with the rulers placed over it, none of these parts had less than three hundred men; and they all used to live by the labour of their hands. Very many of these, then, had assembled to the aforesaid action, with others, to pray, after accomplishing a three-days' fast; and they had a defender called Brocmail, to protect them from the swords of the barbarians while they were employed in prayer.

"When king Æthelfrith had understood the cause of their coming, he said: 'If then they cry to their God against us, they also indeed fight against us, although they bear not arms, since they pursue us with adverse prayers.' Therefore he commanded the sword to be used against them first; and so he destroyed also the rest of the forces of the wicked army,

not without great loss to his own army. It is said that of those who had come to pray about a thousand and two hundred men were killed in that fight, and that only fifty men escaped. At the first arrival of the enemy, Brocmail and his followers turned their backs, and left those whom they ought to have protected, naked and unarmed, to the blows of the sword.

"And so the prophecy of the blessed bishop Augustine was fulfilled, although he had been raised to the heavenly realms already a long time ago ; so that the treacherous ones might feel, in the vengeance of temporal death, that they had despised the counsels offered to them of perpetual salvation."

Since Augustine had been for a long time dead, the battle must have been fought several years after 26th May 604, when he died.

A note of this battle is entered in A.S.C. A (insertion under 607) and E (s.a. 605). Cf. Giraldus Cambrensis, vi, 217. According to Sigebert (M.G.H., Scriptores, vi, 321), s.a. 602, Augustine's prophecy was directed against the Scots as well as the Britons. In fact the "Britons" would at that time have included the Britons of Strathclyde.

Æthelfrith's victory over the Welsh separated North Wales from Cumbria and Strathclyde.

[3] MS. B reads (Ab Ithel, 6): "The battle of Kairlion, in which Seysil, Cinan's son, and Jacob, Beli's son, died, with many others." MS. C (ibid.): "The battle of Caer-Legion, in which Silla, Cinan's son, fell."

A.I., 11, O'Conor's year 606=614 (15 years after 599): "The battle of Chester [*Cath Legeoin*], in which hosts of saints fell, [was fought] in Britain between Saxons and Britons."

Tigernach, Annals ; R.C., xvii, 171, s.a. [611] (f.n. 6): "The battle of Chester [*cath caire Legion*] where the saints were slain ; and [where] Solon, Conan's son, king of the Britons, and king Cetula fell. Æthelfrith was the victor ; and immediately afterwards he died." (Omitted in C.S.) Æthelfrith died in 617 (A.S.C. E).

A.U., i, 86, s.a. 612=613 (with f.n. and e. of 613): "The battle of Chester [*bellum Caire legion*] in which the saints were slain, and Solon, Conan's son, king of the Britons, fell." (This is followed by : "Heraclius reigns for 26 years" ; derived from Bede's Chronicle, M.G.H., Auctores, xiii, 310. Heraclius reigned 610-641. Tigernach places this reign ("22 years") at the beginning of the year-section, and continues with further extracts from Bede, ibid., 310-311. T. gives the marginal date 4592 (=641) ; Bede, 4591 (=640).)

Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 99, s.a. 613 : "The battle of Carleil or Carlegion, where Folinn, Conan's son, king of the Britons, was killed by Æthelfrith ; who having the victory died himself instantly."

In 614, the West Saxons under Cynegils and Cuichelm inflicted a heavy defeat upon the Welsh, at Beandune (A.S.C., ABCE, s.a. 614). Fordun, III, 33, says that Catguollaun fled to Scotland, obtained aid there and from Ireland and Armorica, and was afterwards able to hold his own.

616-617

Annales Cambriae, Y Cymmrodor, vol. ix, p. 157, s.aa. [616] and [617][1]

Ceretic died.

Edwin began to reign.[2]

?617

Annals of Innisfallen; Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores, vol. ii, part 2, p. 11; under O'Conor's year 610=618[3]

The death of Talorcan.[4]

?618

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, pp. 171-172, s.a. [615][5]

The burning of Donnan of Eigg, on the fifteenth[6] before

[1] Placed 2 and 3 years after the "170th year" after 444. (Not in MS. C; Ab Ithel, 6.)

[2] For the death of king Æthelfrith in 617 in the battle of the Idle, and the escape of his children to Scotland, with their subsequent conversion to Christianity, see Bede, H.E., II, 12, III, 1; A.S.C. E, s.a. 617; F.W., s.a. 616. (From these sources Fordun, III, 33, derives his account.) See E.C., 12-13; and for Æbbe, step-daughter of king Æthelfrith and granddaughter of king Ælle, E.C., 13, 39.

Aberdeen Breviary, ii, 8, 87-88, under August 23rd: "Ebba, a glorious virgin, uterine sister of Oswald, king of Northumberland, was sent with her seven brothers to exile in the land of the Scots, and, along with her brother king Oswald and his brothers, was received and cherished with honour by Donald Brecc, king of the Scots. And like her brothers and many more, so she too received the faith of Christ from the Scots." She became a nun, taking the veil from "St Finan, a Scot by race, bishop of Lindisfarne." She died [†683] four years before St Cuthbert [†687]. Her remains were found "by the prior and convent of the monastery of Coldingham, by command and revelation of the same holy virgin," and transferred to the church of St Mary of Coldingham, where the oratory was in ruins. After a few days, Ebba appeared to a monk Henry, "and commanded that an oratory should be built to her in that place," in the year 1188.

[3] Placed 19 years after 599.

[4] In MS. *Tolorggain.*

[5] F.n. 4. The remainder of the year-section appears thus in Tigernach and in A.U.: "Down to this year Isidore wrote his chronicle, thus speaking: 'From now Heraclius is in the fifth year of his empire,' that is to say in the fifth year of the empire of Heraclius and the fourth year of the most religious prince Sisebert. From the beginning of the world to the present year of Heraclius, his fifth, are 5814 years." This is taken from Isidore, Chronica Majora, 480, s.a. 5813=615 A.D.

[6] 17th April.

the Kalends of May, with a hundred and fifty martyrs; and the devastation of Tory Island, and the burning of Connor.[1]

[1] This passage appears similarly in A.U., i, 88, s.a. 616=617 (with f.n. and e. of 617). They prefix the sentence: "The burning of the martyrs of Eigg."

C.S., 74, s.a. [615] (Hennessy's year 617), agrees with T., but does not mention Connor. (For xii in the text read xu.)

A.I., 11, O'Conor's year 611=619 (20 years after 599): "The slaying of Donnan of Eigg, on the fifteenth before the Kalends of May."

The Martyrology of Gorman, April 17th, p. 78: "Great Donnan and his monks, to our assistance, the devout ones"; with the note:—"The number of their congregation was 52, and the sea-pirates came to the island where they were and killed them all. The name of that island is *Ego*."

Oengus, April 17th: "Donnan, of chilly Eigg, [*Ega*; *Eca* in L.B.] with his followers, a fair company" [*dine*; perhaps "garrison"?]. In the notes it is suggested that Eigg was "a spring" (L.B.; so also in L.L., 359a); "a spring in the [land of the] Old-Saxons, or in Caithness" (Laud 610); "a river in Scotland" (Rawlinson B 512). But the annotators also identify the place as an island, and there is no doubt that the island of Eigg is meant. See the notes in 1880 Oengus, lxxi; 1905 Oengus, 116.

Upon "followers," L.B. notes: "i.e., fifty-four"; and gives the following account in the margin (L.B., 86; 1880 Oengus, lxxiv-lxxv): "Donnan of Eigg, i.e. Eigg is the name of an island in Scotland, and Donnan is in it; or in Caithness; and St Donnan died there with his community, fifty-five [in number].

"This Donnan is he who went to Columcille, to take him for his confessor. And Columcille said to him, 'I will not be a confessor,' said he, 'to people who are to suffer violent martyrdom; for thou shalt enter violent martyrdom, and thy community with thee.' And that is what was fulfilled. Donnan went after that among the Gall-gaidil, and took up his abode in the place where the queen of the country's sheep used to be. This was told to the queen. 'Kill them all' said she. 'That is not devout' said the others.

"Thereafter men go to them, to kill them. The priest was then at mass. 'Grant us peace till the mass is ended' said Donnan. 'We will' said they. Thereafter they were all killed, as many as were there."

Of the above, only the sentence that says that Donnan died in Eigg is in Latin; the rest, in Irish, is a different account and is fabulous. (Similarly in Rawlinson B 512 and Laud 610; 1905 Oengus, 116.) For the Gall-Gaidil see below, year 856.

Cf. L.L., 371: "*Donnan of Eigg*" (with this note between the lines by the compiler:—"That is, a rock between Galloway and Kintyre, standing out opposite [Galloway]"—*inacamair immuich*—surely meaning Ailsa Craig:) "Eigg is the name of a spring in Aldasain, in Caithness in the north of Scotland. And there Donnan with his community endured martyrdom. It happened thus that a certain rich woman dwelt there before Donnan, and there her sheep used to be fed. For the ill-will there-

fore which she had against them she persuaded certain robbers to slay Donnan with his followers. But when the robbers came there, they found them in the oratory, singing psalms; and there they were not" (for *nunc*, reading *non*) "able to kill them. But Donnan said to his disciples, 'Let us go into the refectory, that these men may be able to kill us where we used to live after the flesh; because so long as we are where we have endeavoured to please God, we cannot die. But where we have favoured the flesh we shall pay the debt of the flesh.' And so they were killed, on the night of Easter" (i.e., the night before Easter), "in their refectory. And they that suffered with this Donnan were fifty-four in number." A similar account (but omitting "in Aldasain" and "on the night of Easter") is given by Rawlinson B 505 (1905 Oengus, 114-116). The number 54 is also given by Laud 610, 1905 Oengus, 116.

April 17th was Irish Easter in 623; April 16th was Irish and Roman Easter in 618 (MacCarthy).

The Martyrology of Donegal, April 17th, p. 104, has a more credible account: "Donnan of Eigg, abbot. Eigg is the name of an island in which he was after he left Ireland. And sea-robbers came one time to the island, while he was celebrating mass; he begged them not to kill him till he had concluded the mass; and they gave him this favour [*cairde*]. And afterwards he was beheaded, and 52 of his monks along with him. And all their names are in a certain old book of the books of Ireland. A.D. 616."

A list of Donnan's fellow-sufferers is given in the Martyrology of Tallaght (L.L., 359).

Brussels Martyrology of Tallaght, Kelly's edition, p. xxi, April 17th: "[Festival] of Donnan of Eigg with his 52 companions, whose names we have written in the larger book." This seems to show that the writer of this version had written also the version fragments of which occur in the Book of Leinster.

An alternative date is given by the Brussels Martyrology of Tallaght, Kelly, p. xxii, April 30th: "The household of Eigg, [*familia Eago*] as some say." Similarly in the Book of Leinster version, p. 359: "The household of Eigg, [*Ega*] as others say."

Cf. the Breviary of Aberdeen, i, 8, 87.

Donnan's death was the subject of an Irish literary composition (L.L., 190).

A barrow in Eigg is said to be Donnan's tomb.

The death-years of some other saints of Eigg have not been recorded.

"Berchan of Eigg" is commemorated on April 10th; Franciscan MS., 1905 Oengus, 114; Brussels Tallaght, xxi; Donegal, 98: and in Gorman, 74, "Gracious Berchan, to whom I stretch" (tr. Stokes), has the note: "of Eigg" (*Aego*).

"Festival of Enan of Eigg" (*Enani Eago*) Brussels Tallaght, xxii, April 29th. Enan's name stands under the same day in Gorman, 86, with the note "of the island of Eigg" (*insi Áego*).

"Congalach, from Ard Aego" (*o Árd Áego*) Donegal, 344, December

?621

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, pp. 174-175, s.a. [619][1]

Duncan, Eoganan's son,[2] and Nechtan, Cano's son,[3] and Aed, died.[4]

?622

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, pp. 175-176; s.a. [619][5]

The battle of Cend-Delgthen, in which fell the two sons of Libren, son of Illann, son of Cerball. Conall, son of Suibne, was the conqueror, and with him Donald Brecc.[6] . . .

22nd. This is derived from Gorman, 244, same day: "High Congalach of Aeg" (*Congalach ard Aego;* tr. Stokes).

"Conan of Eigg" Donegal, 14, January 12th.

[1] F.n. 2.

[2] "Eogan's son," in A.U. His father may have been the Eogan or Eoganan, Gabran's son, whose death is placed above in 597. But the last Eogan mentioned in A.U. was the son of Eochaid Laib, and probably the king of Dalaraide. See above, p. 49.

[3] This name is spelt in T., *mac Canand;* in A.U., *mac Canonn;* in C.S., *mac Cananainn*, "the son of Cananann." See year ?601, note.

This Nechtan has been regarded as the same as "Nectu, grandson of Uerd" or "Uerb," whom the Chronicle of the Picts places for twenty years at this time on the Pictish throne; i.e., perhaps from 601 to 621. If Verb was his grandmother's name, his claim to the throne would have been through his father.

Nechtan Cano's son may have been the father of Angus, who died ?636; and possibly the father of Lochene, Nechtan Cendfota's son, who was killed in the battle of Segais; below, year ?637, note.

The legend of St Boniface († March 16th) in the Breviary of Aberdeen, i, 8, 69 (P. & S., 423) says that king Nechtan received pope Boniface [IV] and many followers at Restennet in Pictland, beyond the Scottish sea. This Boniface is stated to have set out on a missionary enterprise, emulating the work of his predecessor, Gregory I (pope, 590-604). Boniface IV was pope from 607 to 614; if he sent a mission to Pictland, it would have been between those years, and within the reign of Nechtan (?601-?621). But Skene erroneously places the mission a century later, ca. 710, in the reign of Nechtan Derile's son (706-724). S.C.S., i, 277-278.

[4] This passage appears similarly in C.S., 76, s.a. [619] (Hennessy's year 621); and in A.U., i, 92, s.a. 620=621 (with f.n. and e. of 621).

[5] F.n. 2.

[6] Similarly in C.S., 76. s.a. [620] (Hennessy's year 622).

Conaing, son of Aidan, Gabran's son, was drowned. This is what Ninnine the poet sang:

"The great clear waves of the sea reflected the sun's rays; they flung themselves upon Conaing, into his frail wicker coracle.

"The woman who threw her white hair into Conaing's coracle, her smile has beamed to-day upon the tree of Tortu."[1] . . .

The death of Colgu, son of Cellach.[2]

A.I., 11, under O'Conor's year 615=623 (24 years after 599): "The battle of Cend-De[l]gthen, in which fell two sons of Libren, son of Illedan, son of Cerball. Conall, son of Suibne, son of Colman, conquered."

A.U., i, 92, s.a. 621=622 (with f.n. and e. of 622) agree with T. and C.S., but do not mention Donald Brecc.

F.M., i, 240, s.a. 617: "The battle of Cend-Delgthen [was fought] by Conall, Suibne's son, and by Donald Brecc; and there were slain two sons of Libren, son of Illann, son of Cerball."

Donald Brecc was not yet king of Dalriata; he seems to have reigned from 630 to 643.

Cend-Delgthen seems to have been in Meath. Conall, Suibne's son, was the great-great-grandson of Fergus Cerrbel or Cerball, king of Ireland, through that king's son Diarmait, who was defeated in the battle of Cuil-Dremne (see above, year 563).

Suibne, son of Colman Mor, was killed by Aed Slaine, joint-king of Ireland with Colman Rimid (A.U., s.a. 599=600). Aed Slaine was killed by Conall, Suibne's son (A.U., 603=604). Angus, Colman Mor's son, king of the southern Ui-Neill, was killed (A.U., 620=621); and in the next year Conall, Suibne's son, (the nephew of Angus,) won the battle of Cend-Delgthen, aided by Donald Brecc. Two sons of Aed Slaine were killed by Conall, Suibne's son (A.U., 633=634). Diarmait, son of Aed Slaine, killed Conall, Suibne's son (A.U., 634=635).

After this, Donald Brecc invaded Meath and was defeated in the battle of Moira by the king of Ireland and the sons of Aed Slaine. See below, year 639.

[1] The passage in inverted commas is in verse in the original.

The whole account of Conaing's death appears similarly in C.S., 76, u.s. A.U., u.s., say: "Conaing, Aidan's son, was drowned," and give (somewhat differently) the first of the two quatrains translated above.

[2] Similarly in C.S. and A.U., u.s.; F.M., i, 240, s.a. 617.

Colgu, Cellach's son, is twice mentioned by Adamnan, but there is no indication of the place of his monastery.

Adamnan, I, 35 (Skene, 135): "*Concerning Gallan, son of Fachtna, who was in the district of Colgu, Cellach's son.*

"Again one day the saint, sitting in his little hut, said in prophecy to

ca. 623

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 176, s.a. [619][1]

The death of Fergna, abbot of Iona.[2]

ca. 625

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 178, s.a. [624][3]

Mongan, son of Fiachna Lurgan, was struck with a stone by Arthur, Bicoir's son, a [north] Briton,[4] and perished.

the same Colgu, who was reading beside him: 'Now demons are dragging to hell a grasping chief from among the governors of thy district.' [Literally "diocese."]

"And, hearing this, Colgu wrote down on a tablet the time and hour; and returning to his country after some months he found, on enquiry of the natives of that district, that Gallan, son of Fachtna, had died at the same moment of the hour at which the blessed man [Columba] had related to him that [Gallan] had been seized by demons."

In Adamnan, III, 15, this Colgu was one of those to whom in Iona Columba described a miracle which he perceived by second-sight at the time it occurred, in Durrow. (Skene, 203-204.)

[1] F.n. 2, as above. One or two year-headings have been omitted here in our text of Tigernach.

[2] Fergna's death is noted to the same effect in C.S., 76, s.a. [621] (f.n. 4; Hennessy's year 623), and in A.U., i, 92, s.a. 622=623 (with f.n. and e. of 623).

A.I., 11, O'Conor's year 616=624 (24 years after 599): "The repose of Fergna, abbot of Iona."

F.M., i, 244, s.a. 622 (and "the twelfth year of Suibne" Mend as sovereign of Ireland): "St Fergna the Briton, abbot of Iona and bishop, died on the second day of March."

The Martyrology of Oengus places "the white festival of Fergna of Iona" on the 2nd of March, with this note in Lebar Brecc (1880 Oengus, p. lx): "Fergna the Briton, abbot of Iona of Columcille"; to which note Rawl. B 512 adds this pedigree: "Fergna son of the poet, son of Finntan, son of — —, son of Cuinnid, son of Daithem, son of Cas, son of Fraech, son of Cumscrach" (1905 Oengus, 86).

The death of "Fergna of Iona" is placed in the Martyrology of Gorman, p. 46, under March 2nd, with the note: "a Briton, abbot of Iona of Columcille, and bishop also." He is called "abbot of Iona" in the Brussels Martyrology of Tallaght; Kelly, p. xvii, March 2nd. Fergna's death is placed on 2nd March, 622, in the Martyrology of Donegal (60). He is the *Uirgnous* of Adamnan.

[3] F.n. 1. The year-section begins with the note "a dark year" (ibid., 177); so also in A.U. This appears as "an eclipse of the sun" in

And hence Bec Boirche[1] said: "The wind blows cold over Islay; there are youths approaching in Kintyre: they will do a cruel deed thereby, they will slay Mongan, son of Fiachna."[2] . . .

A.I. The year meant must surely be 625, when a solar eclipse occurring on June 10th at ½ p.m., Paris time, according to L'Art de Vérifier les Dates, was visible all over Europe.

From here to the end of the early years indicated in Tigernach by ferial numbers, the years intended are uncertain; events are entered in general from three to six years too early.

Tigernach enters in the same year-section: "The baptism of Edwin, Ælle's son, who was the first in the districts of the Saxons to believe." The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle places this event in 627: Annales Cambriae, 6, under [626] ("the 182nd year").

[4] *ab Artuir filio bi coirpre tene* in MS. (Stokes): C.S. and F.M. read *Britone* for *pretene*. Professor K. Meyer translates *pretene* "a Pict"; see (comparing his Bran, i, 84; and Rhys, Y Cymmrodor, xviii, 83) his Zur Keltischen Wortkunde, II, 39 (Sitzungsberichte d. Königl. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Klasse, 12th December 1912).

[1] Bec Boirche, king of Ulster, died, according to A.U., i, 166, in 717=718.

[2] The passage in inverted commas is in verse in the original.

The whole passage stands similarly in C.S., 78, s.a. [623] (f.n. 7; Hennessy's year 625), and in F.M., i, 242-244, s.a. 620.

Mongan's death is noted by A.U., i, 94, s.a. 624=625 (with f.n. and e. of 625); and in A.I., 11, O'Conor's year 618=626.

Later we find the king of Dalriata avenging the death of Mongan's father, the king of Dalaraide; below, year 627. Mongan early became a hero of romance. See Nutt and Meyer's Voyage of Bran (1895), e.g. i, 137-139.

Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 100, s.a. 627: "Mongan, Fiachna's son, a very well-spoken man, and one much given to the wooing of women, was killed by one Bicor, a Welshman, with a stone [625].

"Cathal, Aed's son, king of Munster, died.

"Saint Maedoc [*Mayochus*] of Fearns died [†625].

"The battle of Lethet-midind [*Leheid-mynd*] was fought, where Fiachna Demman's son, called Fiachna Baetan's son, king of Dalaraide, was killed [626], and in revenge thereof those of Dalriata challenged Fiachna Demman's son and killed him in the battle of Corrann, by the hands of Connad Cerr [*Conard Kearc*]" [627]. (The dates in brackets are supplied from A.U.) See below, ca. 627, note.

For Mongan, cf. the Yellow Book of Lecan, facsimile, 135-136, 192-194; Lebar na hUidre, 134; S. H. O'Grady, Silva Gadelica (1892), i, 391-392.

The "History of Mongan son of Fiachna" is one of the historical works enumerated in the Book of Leinster, 189 c.

ca. 625

Tigernach, Annals; u.s., p. 177

. . . Colman, Comgellan's son, departed to the Lord.[1]

ca. 627

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 179, s.a. [625][2]

The battle of Ard-Corann, in [which the men of] Dalriata[3] were the conquerors, [and] in which Fiachna, the son of Deman, fell, [killed] by Connad Cerr, king of Dalriata.[4]

[1] Similarly in A.U., u.s. F.M., i, 242, s.a. 620:—"Colman, Comgellan's son, died."

Cf. above, year 575, notes.

[2] F.n. 2.

[3] This sentence is divided here by another (noting the death of abbot Lachtnene).

[4] The battle is similarly described in A.U., i, 96, s.a. 626=627 (with f.n. and e. of 627); but they do not mention the king of Dalriata: also in C.S., 80, s.a. [625] (f.n. 2; Hennessy's year 627), which mentions the king but omits his name.

F.M., i, 248, s.a. 624: "The battle of Ard-Corann [was fought] by Connad Cerr, lord of Dalriata; and there Fiachna, Deman's son, king of Ulster, was killed."

Connad Cerr seems not to have become the principal king of Dalriata until a few years after this battle: see below, year 630. He may, however, have been king of a part of Scottish Dalriata at this time.

The battle of Ard-Corann followed "the battle of Lethet-Midenn, in Drong; in which Fiachna, Baetan's son, the king of Dalaraide, was slain. Fiachna, Deman's son, was the conqueror"; Tigernach, u.s., s.a. [624] (f.n. 1). C.S., 80, s.a. [624] (f.n. 1, Hennessy's year 626), calls Fiachna, Deman's son, "the king of Dal-Fiachach." A.U. give a similar account, i, 94-96, s.a. 625=626 (with f.n. and e. of 626); they call the place *Leithet Midind*, and name the conquered king "Fiachna Lurgan." Fiachna Lurgan was the father of Mongan, for whom see above, year 625.

Lethet-Midenn is called "the castle of Lethet" in Berchan's Prophecy, stanza 30. (The glosses there indicating Baetan and his son Fiachna have been transposed.) See year 581. The Prophecy implies that this place was in the east of Ulster.

The Book of Leinster (facsimile, 41, c) says that "Fiachna, Baetan's son, was killed in the battle of Drong." The two Fiachnas stand there among the kings of Ulster. They were followed by Congal Caech, who fell at Moira (see below, year 639).

Fiachna Lurgan, king of Ireland, son of Baetan, son of Cairell, is said to have obtained authority over Scotland, in a fairy-tale of the Yellow Book of Lecan, facsimile, 212-213. For his brother Maelumai see year 603, note.

627

Annales Cambriae, Y Cymmrodor, vol. ix, p. 157, s.a. [626][1]

Edwin was baptized; and Run, Urbgen's son, baptized him.[2]

627, 640

Bede, Chronica; M.G.H., Auctores, vol. xiii, p. 311.

At this time there had arisen among the [Irish] Scots the error of the quartodecimans in the observance of Easter. Pope Honorius[3] refuted it in a letter; but John, who succeeded [Honorius'] successor Severinus, while still elect to the pontificate, wrote for their benefit concerning the same Easter,[4] and of the Pelagian heresy, which was reviving among them.[5]

ca. 627

Annales Cambriae; Y Cymmrodor, vol. ix, p. 157, s.a. [627][6]

Belin died.

ca. 629

Annales Cambriae, Y Cymmrodor, vol. ix, p. 157, s.a. [629][7]

The besieging of king Catguollaun in the island of Glannauc.

[1] Placed 2 years after the "180th year" after 444. Not in MS. C. MS. B reads instead of the second sentence: "by Paulinus, bishop of York" (ed. Ab Ithel, 6).

[2] See above, p. 14.

[3] Honorius I was pope from 625 to 638. According to A.S.C. E, this letter was written in 627: "And [Pope Honorius] sent the [Irish] Scots a writing, that they should turn to the right Easter." See Bede, H.E., II, 19.

[4] Severinus was buried on 2nd August, [640]; the see was vacant for 4 months, 28 days. Then John IV held it, for 1 year, 9 months, 18 days; he was buried on 12th October, [642]. This letter was therefore written in 640 after August 2nd and before December 24th, which was the day of John's consecration.

[5] This passage is quoted in Hugo's Chronicon, M.G.H., Scriptores, viii, 324; the Chronicon Universale, ibid, xiii, 14; Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum, in M.G.H., Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum, 415.

Tigernach (R.C., xvii, s.a. [611], f.n. 6; in the section with the reign of Heraclius [610-641], and the marginal date 4592 A.M.=641 A.D.) copies Bede, omitting "while . . . pontificate."

[6] 3 years after the "180th year" after 444.

[7] Placed 5 years after the "180th year" after 444.

?630

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 181, s.a. [627][1]

The death of Eochaid Buide, Aidan's son.[2]

?630

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 98, s.a. 628=629[3]

The death of Eochaid Buide, king of the Picts, the son of Aidan. So I have found in Cuanu's Book.[4]

[1] With f.n. 5.

[2] Eochaid's death is placed in T., C.S., and A.U., 23 years after the death of Aidan, and immediately after the battle of Fid-eoin. But Connad Cerr, who is said to have been killed in that battle, appears to have been Eochaid's successor.

C.S., 82, s.a. [627] (Hennessy's year 629): "The death of Eochaid Buide, Aidan's son, in the 20th year of his reign."

A.I., 12, O'Conor's year 623=631 (32 years after 599): "The death of Eochaid Buide, Aidan's son." This is placed 22 years after the death of Aidan.

A verse relating to Eochaid Buide is quoted from B.B. 289 a, and a Dublin MS. (Trin. Col. H. 2.12.8), in Irische Texte, iii, 67 (ed. R. Thurneysen).

The Duan Albanach, in P. & S., 60: "Seven times ten years," (for *fo seacht* read *acus seacht*, i.e. "seventeen years"?) "a course of renown, in the sovereignty of Eochaid Buide."

[3] With f.n. and e. for 629.

[4] This is the last reference to Cuanu's Book in A.U.: if it is used afterwards, it is not named. It may have ended about this date. The first quotation from it is at the year 467. There is no indication of the date at which Cuanu's Book was written, except that some Irish words in the quotations from it were not written before the 8th century; they may, however, have been translated into Irish from a Latin original by an 8th-century (or later) compiler.

The oldest Chronicles of Dalriata give Eochaid Buide a reign of 15 or 16 years (see p. cxxx); the Duan, of 17 years (s.l.). He does not seem therefore to have reigned over Dalriata during the whole period between his father's death and his own.

Eochaid was evidently very young at the time when Columba chose him as Aidan's successor (above, p. 95).

According to Fordun, (i, 84, 119) the hand of Eochaid Buide (or of Eochaid Domangart's son; †697) was cut off and buried on his extreme frontier, at Stanemore.

The words "king of the Picts," (*rex Pictorum*) if not a mistake for "king of Scotland" or Dalriata, would imply that Eochaid had reduced some part of Pictish territory to his dominion. We may compare with this

ca. 630

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, pp. 180-181, s.a. [627][1]

The battle of Fid-eoin, in which Maelcaich, Scandal's son, king of the [Irish] Picts, was the conqueror. [The men of] Dalriata fell.

Connad Cerr, king of Dalriata, fell, and Dicull, Eochaid's son, king of the kindred of the Picts,[2] fell; and Aidan's grandsons fell, Rigullan, Conaing's son, and Failbe, Eochaid's

implication the statement of Tigernach (above, year 627) that Connad Cerr was king of Dalriata during Eochaid Buide's life-time. (The conjecture in S.C.S., i, 241-242, that Eochaid reigned in Galloway, Connad in Argyle, would imply either that Aidan had ruled over Galloway, or that between 607 and 630 the Scots had encroached upon the kingdom of Bernicia; the former is improbable, the latter is expressly denied by Bede (E.C., 12). It seems more likely that Connad ruled some part of Dalriata under Eochaid. The Picts of Galloway at least were subject to Oswald (634-642) and his successors.)

It is probable that Irish emigrants from Dalaraide had settled in Galloway, as emigrants from Irish Dalriata had settled in Argyle. The settlers in Galloway might have had relations with their kinsmen in Argyle. But they can hardly have been the Picti of whom Eochaid Buide was the king, since they (like the Picts of Dalaraide) would have been called Cruithni, not Picti, by the Irish annalists.

Some division of Dalriatan territory had probably been made; and a more Pictish part was probably ruled by Eochaid Buide, while a southern part was under Connad Cerr. It is possible, however, since Connad's subjects were twice in conflict with the Cruithni of Dalaraide, that the annalists thought him the king of Irish Dalriata; and that Eochaid's subjects are called Picts in distinction from the Irish Dalriatans.

[1] F.n. 5.

[2] *rí ceneoil Cruithne:* i.e., a claimant of the kingdom of Dalaraide, and possibly the son of Eochaid Buide. In that case he would have been the brother of Failbe, and might have had some hereditary claim, perhaps through his mother.

Fiachna, Deman's son, king of Dal-Fiatach (a section of Dalaraide), had killed Fiachna Lurgan, Baetan's son, the king of Dalaraide, in ?626; and had made himself king of the Cruithni of Dalaraide. Connad Cerr had defeated and killed Fiachna Deman's son in the following year; and presumably had set up Dicull as king in his place. Maelcaich, Scandal's son, then made himself king. In 645, "Locheni, the king of the Cruithni, son of Fingin, died"; in 646, "Scandal, son of Bec, son of Fiachra, king of the Cruithni" was wounded; in 666, "Maelcaich, Scandal's son, king of the Cruithni," and "Eochaid Iarlaithi, king of the Cruithni," died (A.U.). Scottish Dalriata does not appear to have avenged the defeat of Fid-eoin.

son; and Osric, Ælfric's son,[1] the crown-prince of England, with very great slaughter of his men.[2]

ca. 630

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 181, s.a. [628][3]

The death of Conaing Cerr, as others say, in the first year of his reign; he who was conquered in the battle of Fid-eoin.[4]

[1] In Tigernach, *mac Albruit* ("a scribal error for Albruic=Ælfric" Stokes, Transactions of the Philological Society, 1890, p. 426); in C.S., *mac Albirit*.

Osric, Ælfric's son, the apostate king of Deira, reigned 633-†634, according to Bede, H.E., III, 1. (A.S.C. E says that he became king of Deira in 634.) His death is wrongly placed here in the Irish annals, before the death of his predecessor Edwin. See year 633.

[2] *cum strage maxima suorum*, perhaps "of their men."

Similarly in C.S., 80-82, s.a. [627] (Hennessy's year 629).

A.U., i, 98, s.a. 628=629 (with f.n. and e. of 629): "The battle of Fid-eoin, in which Maelcaich, Scandal's son, king of the [Irish] Picts, was the conqueror. [The men of] Dalriata fell. Connad Cerr, king of Dalriata, fell. . . .

"Otherwise, the battle of Fid-eoin, in which fell Rigullon and Failbe, the grandsons of Aidan." The latter account they derive from Cuanu's Book. Other battles are entered in the same annal.

Tigernach, placing Connad's death in the following year, from another source, suggests that Connad survived the battle. But the variation seems to be one of date only: an alternative source would place the battle in 631, instead of 630.

The Annals of Clonmacnoise, 101, s.a. 627: "The battle of Fid-eoin [*ffeawyne*], wherein Maelcaich, Scandal's son [*Moylekeigh mcSeannoile*], king of the Picts, was killed; many of [the men of] Dalriata were killed, as Connad Cerr their prince; the nephews of Aidan were killed, Rigailan Conaing's son and Eailbe Eochaid's son; and Osric, Ælfric's son [*offrich mcAlfrithe*], prince of the Saxons, with many of his nobles, were likewise killed.

"Eochaid Buide, son of king Aidan of Scotland, in the 20th year of his reign died (in the year of his reign 15 or 16, of Christ 621)." The last words (*anno regni* 15 *vel* 16, *xti* 621) are evidently a gloss.

[3] F.n. 6 in O'Conor's edition; Scriptores, ii, 1, 191. The year meant here in T. and in C.S. is probably 631. Under the same year is placed "the death of Ælle, king of England"; an event which A.S.C. dates in 588. This anachronism appears in C.S. also.

[4] C.S., 82, s.a. [628] (f.n. 6; Hennessy's year 630): "The death of Connad Cerr, as others say, in the first year of his reign, in the battle of Fid-eoin." T. appears to have added to his alternative source the words "he who was conquered," suggesting that Connad survived the battle;

633

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 181; s.a. [629][1]

The battle of Edwin, Ælle's son, the Saxons' king, who ruled all Britain; and in this battle he was conquered by C[atguoll]aun, king of the Britons, and Penda the Saxon.[2]

The death of Kenneth, Luchtren's son, king of the Picts.[3]

633

Annales Cambriae, Y Cymmrodor, vol. ix, p. 157, s.a. [630][4]

Guidgar comes and does not return, on the Kalends of January. The battle of Meicen, in which Edwin was killed, with his two sons.[5] And Catguollaun was the conqueror.[6]

that suggestion does not appear in C.S., and was probably absent from T.'s source.

The Chronicle of Dalriata calls this king "Kenneth the Left-handed, Conall's son," and gives him a reign of three months.

The Duan Albanach, in P. & S., 60: "Connad Cerr [reigned] for a quarter, of noted fame; and his son Ferchar had [a reign of] sixteen" (quarters or years?). "After Ferchar—see the verses—fourteen years of Donald."

For Ferchar, see below, ?ca. 651. With *Feaghaidh rainn*, literally "look upon the stanza," cf. *gan roinn* ("without a stanza"), above, year 574. The gender and spelling are made dependent on the rhyme.

Fordun transposes the reigns of Eochaid Buide and Connad Cerr; and after Eochaid places a king Ferchar, Eochaid's son, wrongly (III, 31, 34).

[1] With f.n. 7. Placed 17 year-sections before 651.

[2] Edwin was killed on 12th October, 633 (Bede).

[3] To the same effect in C.S., 82, s.a. [629] (f.n. 7; Hennessy's year 631).

A.U., i, 98, s.a. 630=631 (with f.n. and e. of 631): "The battle of Ælle's son, and the death of Kenneth Lugtren's son."

A.I., 12, O'Conor's year 625=633 (34 years after 599): "The death of Kenneth, king of Scotland, and of Edwin, king of England."

Annals of Clonmacnoise, 101, s.a. 630: "Ælle king of the Saxons died. . . . The battle of Edwin, son of king Ælle who reigned king over all the Saxons, wherein Catguollaun [*Acathlon*] king of the Britons was overcome, was fought"; and 102, s.a. 632: "Kenneth, Luchtren's son [*Cenay mcLachtren*], king of the Picts, died."

The Chronicles of the Picts give Kenneth a reign of 19 (ABC) or 24 years (DK). T., C.S., and A.U., place his death 10 years after the death of Nechtan Cano's son, who may have been Kenneth's predecessor.

[4] Placed 6 years after the "180th year" after 444.

[5] Cf. Bede's account, below.

[6] This is derived from the Historia Brittonum, Genealogies; M.G.H., Auctores, xiii, 204: ". . . Yffe begot Ælle, [who begot] Edwin, [who begot] Osfrith and Eadfrith. Edwin had two sons, and they fell along

with him in the battle of Meicen ; and kingship never recurred in his line, because not one of his race escaped from this battle, but all were slain along with him by the army of Catguollaun, king of the district of Guenedota."

Bede, H.E., II, 20: "And when Edwin had ruled most gloriously for seventeen years over the nations both of the Angles and of the Britons—and during six of these years, as I have said, he too had been a soldier of Christ's kingdom—Catguollaun, king of the Britons, rebelled against him, with aid from Penda, that most vigorous man of the royal race of the Mercians ; [Penda] had moreover at that time ruled the kingdom of that nation with varying fortune for twenty-two years. And a severe battle was fought in the plain which is called Hatfield [*Haethfelth*], and Edwin was killed, on the fourth day before the Ides of October, in the year of the Lord's Incarnation 633, when [Edwin] was forty-eight years old. And his whole army was either killed or routed.

"In this battle also one of his sons, Osfrith, a valiant youth, had fallen before him ; the other, Eadfrith, compelled by need, made his escape to king Penda, and was killed by him afterwards, during Oswald's reign, in violation of his oath."

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, MS. E, s.a. 633 : "In this year king Edwin was slain by Catguollaun and Penda on Hethfelda, on the second day before the Ides of October" (i.e., October 14th). "And he [had] reigned for seventeen years. And also his son Osfrith was slain with him. And thereupon Catguollaun and Penda advanced, and destroyed all the land of the Northumbrians." (MSS. ABCF have simply : "In this year king Edwin was slain.") Edwin's death is placed in 633 also by the Annals of St Neots ; Stevenson's Asser, 122.

Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica, III, 1 : (Osric, king of Deira, had been baptized by Paulinus ; Eanfrith, king of Bernicia, had been baptized during his exile among the "Scots or Picts" ;) "And both these kings, as soon as they had obtained the insignia of earthly kingship, abandoned and betrayed the heavenly kingdom's sacraments, in which they had been initiated, and gave themselves up again to their former filth of idolatry, to be polluted and destroyed.

"Soon Catguollaun, the king of the Britons, slew them, with impious hand but in just retribution ; first Osric, the following summer, while [Osric] was besieging him rashly in a municipal town ; [Catguollaun] sallied suddenly forth with all his men, and taking [Osric] unprepared, destroyed him and his army. Afterwards, when for a whole year the victor had occupied the provinces of the Northumbrians, not as a king ; but as a tyrant had oppressed and destroyed them, and ravaged them with tragic slaughter, at last he doomed Eanfrith to a similar fate, when [Eanfrith] came to him unadvisedly with twelve picked soldiers to sue for peace.

"That year remains to this day of ill renown, and abhorred by all the good, both on account of the apostasy of the kings of the Angles, whereby they had stripped themselves of the sacraments of the faith ; and because of the savage tyranny of the British king. Hence it has seemed good to

634

Annales Cambriae; Y Cymmrodor, vol. ix, p. 157, s.a. [631]

The battle of Catscaul, in which Catguollaun fell.[2]

634

Adamnan, Life of Columba, book I, c. 1[3]

[Columba] often foretold the future rewards of very many still living in mortal flesh: of some happy, of others sad. And in the dreadful clashings of wars he obtained this of God by virtue of prayers that some kings should be conquered, and other rulers should be the conquerors. Such a privilege was granted to him by God (who honours all saints), as to a victorious and very powerful champion, not only while [Columba] continued in this life, but also after his passing from the flesh.

We shall give one example of this honour divinely conferred by the Almighty upon the honourable man, [an example] which was shown to Oswald, ruler of the Saxons, on the day before he fought against Catguollaun,[4] the most powerful king of the Britons. For when this king Oswald had encamped upon the verge of battle, sleeping in his tent upon a pillow he saw in

all who reckon the times of kings to put aside the memory of the faithless [*perfidorum*] kings, and to assign this year to the reign of the following king, that is, of Oswald, a man beloved of God. He, after the death of his brother Eanfrith, attacked [Catguollaun] with an army, small but strengthened by the faith of Christ; and the execrable leader of the Britons, with his innumerable forces, which he used to boast that nothing could withstand, was slain by him in the place that is called Denisesburna in the English tongue; that is, the stream of Denis." See also H.E., II, 2.

Fordun, III, 34, says that when Æthelfrith's sons heard of the death of Edwin, they appealed to king Donald for leave to depart, and for aid to recover their inheritance. The king gave them an escort, but refused military aid against his ally Catguollaun.

[1] Placed 7 years after the "180th year" after 444.

[2] This is derived from the Historia Brittonum, c. 64, M.G.H., Auctores, xiii, 207-208: "[Oswald] slew Catguollaun, king of the district of North Wales, in the battle of Catscaul, with great slaughter of his army." (Annales Cambriae read *Cantscaul*). According to Fordun, III, 34 (i, 121) the battle of Denisesburna was fought near the Roman wall "which is called Thyrlwall."

[3] Reeves's edition, 13-16; Skene's, 112-113.

[4] Adamnan uses the Irish form of the name, *Catlon*.

a vision St Columba beaming in angelic form, whose great height appeared with its head to touch the clouds. And the blessed man revealed to the king his name, and standing in the middle of the camp protected with his effulgent robe the camp, excepting a small outpost; and he bestowed these words in confirmation—the same which the Lord spoke to Joshua Ben Nun before the crossing of Jordan, after Moses' death, saying:—"Have courage and act manfully; behold I shall be with thee," and the rest.[1] And thus, saying these things to the king in a vision, the holy Columba added:—"Advance to battle from the camp this coming night; for on this occasion the Lord has granted to me that thy enemies shall be turned to flight, and thy enemy Catguollaun shall be given up into thy hands; and that after the battle thou shalt return as conqueror, and shalt reign happily." After these words the king arose, and related this vision to his assembled council; and all were encouraged by it, and the whole people promised that after returning from the battle they would believe and receive baptism: for up to that time the whole of that Saxon land had been overshadowed by the darkness of heathendom and ignorance, excepting king Oswald himself, with twelve men who had been baptized while with him in his exile among the Scots.

In effect, the same night following (as he had been instructed in the vision) king Oswald advanced from camp to battle, against numerous thousands, with a considerably smaller army; and as had been promised him, a successful and easy victory was granted to him by the Lord; king Catguollaun was killed, and [Oswald] returned with victory after the battle, and was afterwards appointed by God emperor of all Britain.

This narration was indubitably narrated to me, Adamnan, by my predecessor, our abbot Failbe,[2] who stated that he had heard it from the lips of king Oswald himself, when he related this vision to abbot Segine.[3]

[1] See Joshua, I, 1-9; noticing the boundaries mentioned in verse 4.

[2] Failbe died about 679; see below.

[3] Segine died about 652; below. He was abbot of Iona from about 623.

The episode is briefly narrated in the Life attributed to Cummine, XXV; Pinkerton's Vitae, 44.

634

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 182, s.a. [630][1]

A battle [was fought] by Catguollaun, and Eanfrith, who was beheaded; and in it Oswald, Æthelfrith's son, was the conqueror, and Catguollaun, king of the Britons, fell.[2] . . .

The island of Lindisfarne was founded.[3]

630×643
? ca. 635

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 205[4]

A battle in Calathros,[5] and in it Donald Brecc was conquered.[6]

[1] F.n. 2, placed 16 year-sections before 651.

[2] A.U., i, 100, s.a. 631=632 (with f.n. and e. of 632): "The battle of Catguollaun, king of the Britons, and of Eanfrith."

A.I., 12, under O'Conor's year 626=634 (35 years after 599): "The wounding of Catguollaun."

Annals of Clonmacnoise, 132, s.a. 634: "The battle between Catguollaun and Eanfrith was fought, who therein was beheaded; and Oswald son of Æthelfrith had the victory."

See E.C., 13, 18.

Oswald's victory and succession are recorded, after Bede, by Sigebert of Gemblours, M.G.H., Scriptores, vi, 323, s.a. 635.

Catguollaun's death ended British supremacy in Northumbria. Adamnan's narrative shows that Scottish sympathies were against the Britons on this occasion.

[3] *Inis Metgoit* in T.; *Inis Medgoit* in C.S. The monastery of Lindisfarne was probably founded in 635. See E.C., 13-18.

Its foundation appears similarly in C.S., s.a. [630] (for f.n. 5 read 2; Hennessy's year 632), and in A.I., u.s. F.M., i, 248, s.a. 627, add: "by bishop Aidan." See below, year, 651.

Aidan's mission to Lindisfarne is mentioned by Alberic of Trois Fontaines, Chronica; M.G.H., Scriptores, xxiii, 696, s.a. 635: Aidan's death, ibid., 697, s.a. 651.

[4] This is placed after the events quoted from Tigernach below, year 679.

[5] *Calitros*, in Tigernach; *Calathros*, A.U.; *Calatros*, Duald.

Skene understood this district to be the same as that named Calatria in Latin; but the identity of the two places is not established, and in fact this passage practically disproves it, because Bede says expressly that no king of the Scots had invaded Bernicia after the defeat of Aidan in 603.

Below (year 736) it seems that Calathros was within Dalriata; and it may perhaps have been the Cladrois placed by the Senchus in Islay (above, p. clii). See year 736.

About this time (635 or 636) Donald's rival of the house of Cowal,

?636

Annals of Innisfallen; Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores, vol. ii, p. 12; O'Conor's year 628=636[1]

The death of Angus, Nechtan's son.[2]

?637

The Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 102, s.a. 634=635[3]

The death of Gartnait,[4] Foith's son.[5]

ca. 637

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 183, s.a. [632][6]

Segine, abbot of Iona, founded the church of Rechru.[7]

Ferchar, son of Connad Cerr, seems to have obtained a share in the sovereignty of Dalriata. It seems possible that this division might have resulted from a battle in Dalriata in which Donald was defeated.

Donald fought also with his neighbours. His supporters were defeated ca. 640 in Glend-Mairison, which may have been in Pictish territory; but his death ca. 643 was caused by the Britons of Strathclyde.

[6] Similarly in A.U., i, 130, s.a. 677=678; and in D.M.F., II, p. 86, under [678]. Cf. below, year 679, note.

Annals of Clonmacnoise, 109, s.a. 674: "The battle of Calathros was given, where Donald Brecc was vanquished."

The only reason for dating this battle in 635 is that it is placed in A.U. 8 years before the misplaced entry of Donald Brecc's death. See year 643.

[1] Placed 37 years after 599.

[2] Perhaps this was a son of the Nechtan whose death is entered above in ?621.

[3] With f.n. and e. of 635.

[4] In text *Gartnain.*

[5] In the same year-section A.U. note (doubtless from another source): "The battle of Segais, in which fell Lochene, son of Nechtan Cendfota; and Cumuscach, son of Angus; and Gartnaith, son of Oith." This notice of the battle of Segais appears similarly in Tigernach, s.a. [632] (as below), and in C.S., without mention of Gartnait; his name ought probably not to be connected with it. Segais is stated to have been Curlieu Mountain, in county Roscommon (editors of A.U.).

The Chronicle of the Picts, version A, says that Gartnait reigned for 4 years; i.e., probably 633-637.

[6] F.n. 4. Placed 14 year-sections before 651.

[7] A.U., i, 100, s.a. 634=635 (u.s.): "The church of Rechru was founded."

F.M., i, 250, s.a. 630: "Segine, abbot of Iona of Columcille, founded the

A gathering of the Saxons against Oswald.[1]
Eochaid, the abbot of Lismore, reposed.[2]

ca. 639

Adamnan, Life of Columba, book III, c. 5 [3]

Cummine the Fair, in the book that he wrote about the virtues of St Columba, so said that St Columba began to prophesy concerning Aidan and his descendants and concerning his kingdom, saying, "Believe indubitably, O Aidan, that none of thy enemies will be able to oppose thee until first thou work deceit upon me and upon my successors. For this cause therefore do thou command thy sons that they also command their sons and grandsons and descendants not through evil counsel to lose their sceptre of this kingdom from their hands. For at whatever time they shall act against me or against my relatives who are in Ireland, the whip that I endured for thee from the

church of Rechrainn." (The name Rechru passes through the form Rechrainn to Rathlin.)

Annals of Clonmacnoise, 132, s.a. 634: "Segine, abbot of Iona, founded the church of Rathlin. The Saxons made great assemblies against king Oswald."

Stokes explains Rechru here as Lambay: but ecclesiastics of Rathlin or Lambay are not spoken of by A.U. for a hundred years after this date.

The island of Rechru mentioned in Adamnan, I, 5, and (*Rechrea insula*) in II, 41, was near Ireland, close to Coire-Brecain, and inhabited. This was apparently the original Coire-Brecain from which the modern Scottish Corrievreckan, between Jura and Scarba, got its name; and Adamnan's Rechru is Rathlin, formerly counted among the Hebrides.

Cf. the Irish addition to the Historia Brittonum of Nennius, in Skene's P. & S., 23: "Now the Fir-bolg took Man, and they took moreover the other islands Ara, and Ila, and Recca"; i.e., Arran, Islay, and Rathlin.

[1] This is in Latin.

[2] A.U., i, 102, s.a. 634=635: "Eochaid of Lismore died."

F.M., i, 252, s.a. 634: "St Eochaid, abbot of Lismore, died on the 17th of April." (17th April 634, according to the Martyrology of Donegal, 104.) "Eochaid of Lismore" is placed in the Martyrology of Tallaght (Book of Leinster, 359 a) under April 17th.

This was Lismore in Scotland. A.I. record the foundation of the Irish Lismore in O'Conor's year 630=638, and the death of Mochuta its founder in 631=639: A.U. place the death of Mochuta in 636=637 (T., R.C. xvii, 184, under f.n. 7=634; C.S., 84, Hennessy's year 636). All four annals place Mochuta's expulsion from Rahen in the year before his death. A.I.'s dates are probably correct.

[3] Reeves's edition, 199-201; Skene's, 197-198.

angel[1] shall be turned to a great disgrace upon them by the hand of God: and men's hearts shall be taken from them, and their enemies shall greatly rejoice over them."

And this prophecy was fulfilled in our days in the battle of Roth,[2] when Donald Brecc, Aidan's grandson, without cause wasted the province of Donald, grandson of Ainmire. And from that day to this[3] they have been held down by strangers; a thing that fills the heart with grief.[4]

[1] See above, year 573.

[2] Apparently the battle of Moira, for which see below.

[3] Adamnan's death is recorded below, year 704. For the date of his work cf. years 679, 686-688, notes.

[4] This passage appears thus in the Life attributed to Cummine, c. V; Pinkerton's Vitae Antiquae, p. 30: "Further, among the words of the ordination [of Aidan, Columba] prophesied the future concerning [Aidan's] sons and grandsons and great-grandsons; and laying his hand upon his head, he ordained and blessed him, and spoke these words: 'Believe indubitably, O Aidan, that none of thy enemies will be able to oppose thee, until first thou work deceit upon me and upon my successors. Speak to thy sons in these same words, lest they lose the kingdom. If they obey not, the scourge that for thy sake I have endured from the angel of God shall be turned against them.'

"And so it happened; for they transgressed the command of the man of God, and have lost the kingdom.'

These last words show that the Life attributed to Cummine was written at a time when the descendants of Aidan had lost the kingdom of Dalriata: i.e., 643×651, or after 697. Cummine might have written before 651. The phrase quoted by Adamnan, that Aidan's descendants were "held down by strangers," suggests rather that they reigned, but were not independent. It might have been taken from a later recension of the Life attributed to Cummine, made 651×669; or it might have been an adaptation of that Life's words, to suit the conditions of Adamnan's time. At the time when he wrote (ca. 688×693) Aidan's descendants may not have recovered the sovereignty of Dalriata.

More probably the Life attributed to Cummine was not written by Cummine, but was derived from Adamnan's Life. See above, p. 55.

In S.C.S., i, 250, 257, this passage was interpreted to mean that Argyle was under the supremacy of Strathclyde after the battle of Strathcarron (year 643); and of Northumbria, after the battle of the Winwæd (year 655). Cf. Bede, II, 5 (E.C., 25, note). But the Scots of Dalriata had recovered their independence of Northumbria in 685. Adamnan implies that the oppression continued when he wrote, and that it afflicted Aidan's descendants rather than the whole of Dalriata. Probably the hegemony of the Dalriatan tribes had gone to another house: to the house of Cowal, after the battle of Moira; to Ferchar Fota of Lorn, in Adamnan's time. Cf. year ?643, note.

ca. 639

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, pp. 183-184, s.a. [634][1]

The battle of Moira [was won] by Donald, Aed's son, and by the sons of Aed Slaine (Donald reigned in Tara at that time); and in it fell Congal Caech, king of Ulster, and Faelchu, with many nobles; and in it fell Suibne, son of Colman Cuar.[2]

[1] F.n. 7. Placed 12 years before 651.

[2] To similar effect in C.S., 84, s.a. [634] (Hennessy's year 636); but Suibne is not mentioned, and Faelchu is called "Airmedach's son, king of Meath." A.I., 13, under O'Conor's year 631=639 (40 years after 599): "The battle of Roth, in which Congal Caech fell."

A.U., i, 102, s.a. 636=637 (with f.n. and e. of 637): "The battle of Roth and the battle of Sailtire [Kintyre] were fought on the same day."

The Annals from the Book of Leinster, in Stokes's Tripartite Life, ii, 516 (without date): "The battle of Moira and the battle of Sailtire were fought in one day. One [was gained] over [the tribe of] Eogan, the other over the Ulstermen."

Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 100, s.a. 627: "The wasting and destroying of Leinster by Donald, Aed's son [628]. Donald, Aed's son, succeeded [628] next king of this land, and reigned 30 years; he got two victories of his enemies, by name the battle of Sailtire [*Sattynn*], and the battle of Moira [*Moyroth*]."

F.M., i, 252-254, s.a. 634: "The battle of Moira [was gained] by Donald, Aed's son, and by the sons of Aed Slane, over Congal Cloen, Scandlan's son, king of Ulster, and there fell Congal, [and] Ulstermen and foreigners along with him."

From Adamnan's account (above) it would seem that Donald Brecc, king of Dalriata, had been invading the lands of Tara with the king of Ulster. For Donald's part in these feuds see above, year 622.

O'Donnell's Life of Columba, in Colgan's Trias Thaumaturga, 416 b: "St Adamnan also relates in the acts of St Columba that this prophecy had been partly fulfilled. For when Congal Cloen, Scandlan's son, king of Ulster, had been exiled from the country because of his unjust undertakings, he brought in a great army from foreign nations, and among others the sons of Eochaid Buide, the son of Aidan, mentioned above, for the destruction of his own land; and they fought in the battle of Moira against Donald, Ainmire's grandson by his son Aed, and king of Ireland, and St Columba's relative; and Congal, and the sons of Eochaid aforesaid, were pitiably slaughtered, and perished, with great slaughter of the foreigners who took their part."

The Banquet of Dun na n-Géd, in O'Donovan's Battle of Moira, 34 (Yellow Book of Lecan, 321 a): "'I [Congal Cloen, Scandlan's son, king of Ulster] was fostered by thee [Donald, Aed's son, king of Ireland], until thou wast expelled by the king of Ireland, Suibne Mend, son of Fiachna,

ca. 640

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 184, s.a. [635][1]

The battle of Glend-Mairison, in which the people[2] of Donald Brecc fled; and the siege of Etain.[3]

son of Feradach, and didst go to the king of Scotland [Eochaid Buide]; and I went with thee in that exile. And thou gottest great love from him, and you made a treaty, thou and the king of Scotland, and he promised thee that he would not come against thee so long as there was sea round Ireland. Then thou didst go to Ireland, and I went with thee, for I was in exile along with thee.'" (Congal Cloen or Caech killed Suibne Mend, and Donald took the throne.)

In the late Battle of Moira, 106 (Y.B.L., 300 a) the investiture of Donald, Aed's son, as king of Ireland took place in the beginning of the third quarter of the day, just after the completion of the twelfth hour, in the middle of May, on Sunday, the fifth of the moon; i.e., after 6 p.m. of Saturday, 14th May, 628. For his death, see year 643, note.

The Banquet of Dun na n-Géd, in O'Donovan's Battle of Moira, 44 (Y.B.L., 321 b): "The old man [Cellach, son of Fiachna, Scandlan's brother] said to [Congal Caech, son of Scandlan,] 'Go to Scotland, to thy grandfather, Eochaid Buide, son of Aidan, son of Gabran; he is king over Scotland. For thy mother is his daughter, and thy grandmother, thy mother's mother, is the daughter of the king of the Britons, Eochaid Aingces, and the wife of the king of Scotland. Bring with thee to Ireland the men of Scotland and of the Britons, because of this kinship, to give battle to the king" [Donald, Aed's son]. Congal went to king Eochaid at Dun-Monaid [? Dunadd]. Eochaid could not help him in person, because of his treaty with Donald, but promised him the aid of his sons: Donald Brecc, Suibne, Congal Mend, Aed Green-robed (in order of age). Donald Brecc is spoken of as king; ibid., 56. Eochaid then sent Congal to "Eochaid Aingcess, king of the Britons," who also gave him aid. The battle of Moira was fought (ibid., 114) between Congal Caech and his supporters, and Donald, Aed's son, king of Ireland: Congal Caech was defeated and killed; three of Eochaid Buide's sons were killed, and Donald Brecc was taken captive (ibid., 246).

An earlier Battle of Moira, in the Yellow Book of Lecan, 209 b, says more correctly: "Then Congal went straightway to the territory of Scotland, namely to Donald, Eochaid Buide's son. . . ."

The late Battle of Moira, 114, dates the battle on Tuesday, the 24th of June, the twenty-fifth day of the moon: i.e. Tuesday, 24th June, 637.

[1] With f.n. 1; but placed 11 years before 651.

[2] *muindter*. In C.S. *familia*.

[3] *Cath Glinne Mairison . . . et obsessio Etain.* (So also C.S., but with *bellum* for *cath*.)

C.S., 84, s.a. [635] (f.n. 1; Hennessy's year 637): "The battle of Glend-Mairison, in which the family of Donald Brecc were put to flight; and the siege of Etain."

A.U., i, 102, s.a. 637=638 (with f.n. and e. of 638): "The battle of Glend-Mureson, and the siege of Etin" (*bellum glinne Mureson et obsesio Etin*).

L. C. Stern's assumption (Revue Celtique, xvi, 23) that *Beann Eadain* in Scottish = *Beann Eadair* (the Hill of Howth) in Irish Gaelic appears not to be correct.

Reeves (Adamnan, 202, note) would identify Etain with Carriden, an older town than Edinburgh. Skene held this view (F.A.B.W., i, 178; 1868), but abandoned it (S.C.S., i, 249; 1886: "That Etin here is Edinburgh need not be doubted.") Joseph Anderson wished to identify the place with "Edin's Hall or Etin's Hold, on Cockburn Law, near Dunse, in Berwickshire" (Tr. S.A.S., (1871) v, 164); for which see also J. Stuart, P.S.A.S., viii (1868-9), 41-46; D. Milne Home and G. Turnbull, in Tr. Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, (1856-62) 246-248, (1850-6) 9-20.

There is some doubt about the identification of *Etain* or *Etin*. *Dun-etain* might possibly have been an Irish translation of *Eadwinesburh*, which would have been a name of very recent origin in 640. The modern Gaelic name of Edinburgh (*Duneideann*, with palatal *d*, non-palatal *n*) is not derived from *Dun-etain;* but it might have come from *Dun-etin* (cf. the spelling in A.U.). The Welsh *Eiddyn* is not the equivalent either of *Etain* or of the modern *Duneideann* (cf. the Aneurin, Gododin, e.g. Skene's F.A.B.W., i, 413, 414), but rather of *Cair-Eden*, or Carriden (see below, year 962, note). *Eden* (with aspirated *d*) was not the equivalent of *Etain*.

Glenn-Mairison or *Glenn-Mureson* has been rashly identified with the valley of Murieston Water, which joins the Linhouse Water and with it the Almond at Mid-Calder (12 miles from Edinburgh). But Murieston Water is spelt Muirhouseton Water in old maps, and appears to take its name from Muirhouse on the border of Mid and West Calder parishes; just as its sister-stream took its name from a place called Linhouse. (Black's County Atlas of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1848.) The name Muirhouseton is English and modern, and even if it had existed in the 7th century (*Mór-hús-tún*) it would hardly have become *Mureson* in Irish. *Mureson* or *Mairison*, and Murieston, might have been derived from *Mórestún;* if that were the original name, Muirhouseton would have been a form resulting from folk-etymology.

The English chroniclers give no indication of a Dalriatan invasion of Northumbria at this time. St Aidan was labouring to Christianize Northumbria; Oswald, a friend of the Scots, was king there. Donald had had difficulties at home; there is no reason to suppose that he would have ventured so far from his own land to invade the most powerful kingdom in Britain, with which his nation had peaceful intercourse. He would have had to pass through a country that four years later was hostile to him.

Glend also is part of the place-name, since it is Irish in a Latin sentence. There is a Glen Moriston or Morrison west of Loch Ness, about 30 miles within Pictish territory from the shore of Loch Eil. This may have been the place, if it is not, as it appears, of Teutonic origin.

Etain may have been within the same locality, or on the line of retreat

ca. 642

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 104, s.a. 640=641 [1]

The wreck of a boat of the community of Iona.
The siege of Ritha.[2]

642

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 185, s.a. [636] [3]

Oswald's battle against Penda; and in it Oswald fell.[4]

of the Scots. But the identification with Edinburgh is probably to be preferred, since the castle at Edinburgh was a place worthy of siege, and hardly to be taken by assault.

[1] With f.n. and e. for 641.

[2] *Obsesio Rithae.* This place is unidentified; its siege may have been a continuation of the warfare in which Etain was besieged; and since both sieges are mentioned after Scottish affairs, they seem to have occurred in Scotland. Cf. ca. 704.

[3] F.n. 2. Placed 10 year-sections before 651. In the margin is the date 4617; the year-section begins with the note: "Heracleonas, with his mother Martina, reigned two years." (This ends the year-section in A.U.) This is taken from Bede's Chronicle; M.G.H., Auctores, xiii, 312, s.a. 4593. His reign lasted some seven months in 641 (Gibbon). Near the end of the same year-section is the note: "At this time pope Theodore flourished" (so also in C.S., 86, s.a. [636], Hennessy's year 638). This is taken from Bede, u.s. ("in these times, that is under pope Theodore"). Theodore I was pope from 642 to 649.

[4] This battle is noticed by A.U., i, 104, s.a. 638=639 (with f.n and e. of 639). It is called the battle of Cocboy by the Historia Brittonum, below. A.I., 13, O'Conor's year 636=644 (45 years after 599): "The death of Oswald, king of the English," with the gloss *Saxan* ("of the Saxons") above, and the note: "English is interpreted Saxon."

Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 103, s.a. 638: "The battle of king Oswald against king Penda, wherein Oswald was slain."

For the battle of Maserfelth (August 5th), see Bede's H.E., III. 9; A.S.C., s.a. 641 (BCEF; 642, A). Oswald had reigned 9 years, including the year (633-634) of Osric and Eanfrith.

Cf. Fordun, III, 36 (i, 122).

The Martyrology of Oengus places his death on August 5th: ". . . holy Oswald, to whom we pray, the noble sovereign of the Saxons."

Alberic of Trois Fontaines, Chronica; M.G.H., Scriptores, xxiii, 697, s.a. 642: "The passion of St Oswald, king of the Northumbrians."

642

Historia Brittonum, c. 65; Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores, vol. xiii, p. 208

Penda, son of Pybba, reigned for ten years.[1] He first separated the kingdom of the Mercians from the kingdom of the Northumbrians. And he slew Anna, the king of the East-Angles,[2] and Oswald, the king of the Northumbrians,[3] by treachery. [Penda] fought the battle of Cocboy,[4] in which fell Eova, Pybba's son, [Penda's] brother, king of the Mercians; and Oswald, king of the Northumbrians. And he was the conqueror by diabolical arts. He had not been baptized, and he never believed in God.

?642

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 185, s.a. [637][5]

The death of Brude, son of [Foith].[6]

?643

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 186, s.a. [638][7]

Afterwards[8] Donald Brecc was slain in the battle of

[1] For his death, see year 655, below.

[2] Anna, king of the East Angles, was killed in 654 (A.S.C., ABCE).

[3] See above, p. 15.

[4] I.e. the battle of Maserfelth (perhaps Oswestry), 5th August, 642; Bede, H.E., III, 9.

The Annales Cambriae, in Y Cymmrodor, ix, 158, s.a. [644] (the "200th year" after 444): "The battle of Cocboy, in which fell Oswald, king of the Northumbrians, and Eoba, king of the Mercians."

[5] F.n. 6; read 3, with O'Conor. Placed 9 year-sections before 651.

[6] Similarly in C.S., 86, s.a. [637] (f.n. 3; Hennessy's year 639), and in A.U., i, 104, s.a. 640=641 (as above): "The death of Brude, son of Foith." A.U. place this six years after the death of Gartnait.

The Chronicle of the Picts gives Brude a reign of 5 years; perhaps from 637 to 642.

[7] F.n. 5; placed 8 year-sections before 651. The year-section begins thus: "Constantinus, the son of Heraclius, [reigned] for six months." (For *rex*, reading *sex*: A.U. also give this note, and more correctly. This is taken from Bede's Chronicle; M.G.H., Auctores, xiii, 312, s.a. 4594.) "The death of Donald, son of Aed, son of Ainmire, king of Ireland, in the end of January, in the fourteenth year of his reign, in Ard-Fothaid." In the margin is given the date 4620, which belongs to Constantine's death. C.S. records Donald's death similarly, but reads "in his thirteenth year." A.U. say

Strathcarron,[1] in the end of the year, in December, in the fifteenth year of his reign, by Owen, king of the Britons.[2]

simply, s.a. 641=642: "The death of Donald, Aed's son, king of Ireland, in the end of January." They place Donald's succession in 627 or 628 =628 (with f.n. and e. of 628); Tigernach (for f.n. 7 read 4) and C.S. place it in [626] (Hennessy's year 628). See above, year 639, note.

In one MS. of Paulus Diaconus, M.G.H., Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum, 13, note: "Six hundred and eighteen years from the Lord's baptism to the death of Donald, king of the [Irish] Scots."

Constantinus III was emperor for 103 days in 641 (Gibbon).

The same year-section, in T. and A.U., records a battle between Oswiu and the Britons. This was probably the battle of the Winwæd; see below, year 655.

[8] After the death of Donald, king of Ireland.

[1] *Sratha Cauin*, in T.; *Sratha Caruin*, C.S.; *sraith Cairuin*, A.U.

[2] Similarly in C.S., 86, s.a. [638], Hennessy's year 640 (between ferial numbers 3 and 6). A.U. give a similar account, but say: "he reigned for fifteen years" (i, 104, s.a. 641=642, with f.n. and e. of 642). These all repeat this event at a later date: Tigernach, u.s., 209, under the year of the battle of Dunnichen (see year 685): "Donald Brecc, son of Eochaid Buide, fell [slain] by Owen, king of the Britons, in the battle of Strathcarron." To the same effect also in C.S., 108, Hennessy's year 682. A.U., i, 136, s.a. 685=686: ". . . Donald Brecc, son of Eochaid, died." D.M.F., II, 88, in the corresponding year-section: "Donald Brecc, Eochaid Buide's son, died."

A.I., 13, O'Conor's year 635=643 (44 years after 599): "The death of Donald, Aed's son, and of Donald Brecc."

Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 110, s.a. 681: "Donald Brecc, son of Eochaid Buide, was slain by Henry [*Henery*], king of the Britons, in the battle of Strath-carron" (*Srait Cormhaich*).

The earlier date of Donald's death is given with variations by all four Irish annals, and is more or less supported by Fland; it must therefore be accepted provisionally. But we cannot reject the authority of Fland, who says that Ferchar reigned before [643], or wholly the authority of the Duan and all the lists of kings, which say that Ferchar reigned before Donald Brecc; we are therefore compelled to assume that Ferchar and Donald Brecc reigned for a time contemporaneously.

There is considerable divergence among the authorities in this period of the history of Argyle. Chronicles of Dalriata EFK, and the Duan, say that Donald reigned for 14 years [?630-?643]; the Irish annals say for 15 or over 14 years, although that does not agree with their implied dates of his reign (in Tigernach and C.S., 627-638; A.U., 629-642, or 673-686; A.I., 631-643). Fland, the Duan, and Chronicles of Dalriata EFIKN, place Ferchar's reign before Donald's; A.U. record Donald's death at 642 and 686, and Ferchar's at 694. Donald is there spoken of as being alive possibly in 673, certainly in 678.

ca. 644

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 187, s.a. [639][1]

The burning of Iarnbodb, Gartnait's son.

Donald was killed by a king whose brother (probably) died in 694, and whose son died in 695.

Ferchar's grandfather died ca. 575, Donald's ca. 607. It is possible that Donald should have lived till 686, but scarcely possible that Ferchar should have lived till 694. The Scottish events recorded in A.U. at 678, 686, 694, are almost certainly misplaced.

The misplaced entries in A.U. may give Donald a reign of 14 years (673-686); and between 678 and 694 they would allow Ferchar the 16 years' reign that he receives in the Chronicles of Dalriata and the Duan. Perhaps A.U.'s intervals (673-678-686-694) are correct, although the dates are not. Possibly a compiler wrongly imagined that Donald was spoken of as king in 673, and counted the years from that date as if it had been the first year of Donald's reign. In that case the true dates would be approximately 630, 635, 643, 651, 673.

See years ?635, ?651, notes.

Fordun, Chronica, III, 34 (i, 120): "When Ferchar" (the son of Eochaid Buide; a fictitious king, for whom see years 630, 693) "had been buried in the island of Columba, his brother Donald Brecc received the kingdom in the year of the Lord 632, and the twentieth year of the same Heraclius (i.e. in 629-630); "and he reigned for fourteen years." Here Fordun quotes from Adamnan, I, 10 (Reeves, 36-37; Skene, 121-122) a blessing and prophecy spoken by Columba with regard to Donald, son of Aed, son of Ainmire; "he shall survive after all his brothers, and shall be a very famous king; he shall never be betrayed into the hands of his enemies, but shall die upon his bed a placid death, in old age, and within his own house, in the presence of a crowd of intimate friends. And all these things were completely fulfilled with regard to him, according to the blessed man's prophecy." But Fordun alters the passage to make it apply to Donald Brecc, and continues as above, year 633, note.

Fordun, Chronica, III, 37 (i, 123): "Donald died after completing fourteen years in the kingdom; and his nephew Ferchar Fota, the son of Ferchar" (who was, according to Fordun, the son of Eochaid Buide; III, 34; but these relationships are fictitious) "was advanced to the rule of the kingdom and crowned. He began to reign in the year of the Lord 646, the third year of . . . Constans, who was also called Constantinus" (641-668.) "And he held the kingdom for eighteen years, and reigned the whole time in peace."

Donald Brecc did die in the third year of Constans II; but his successor appears to have been Conall Crandomna. Fordun's account is altogether confused. He makes Maelduin (†688) the successor of Ferchar Fota (†696).

[1] F.n. 3; read 6, with O'Conor and the corresponding year-section of C.S. Placed 7 year-sections before 651.

ca. 649

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 108, s.a. 648=649[1]

War [took place] between the descendants of Aidan and [the descendants] of Gartnait, son of Accidan.[2]

ca. 650

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 191, s.a. [646][3]

The death of Cathasach, son of Donald Brecc.[4]

651, August 31

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 191[5]

The repose of Aidan, bishop of the Saxons.[6]

Tigernach begins the year thus: "Constantinus, son of Constantinus, reigned for twenty-eight years." This appears also in A.U. It is derived from Bede's Chronicle; M.G.H., Auctores, xiii, 313, s.a. 4622. Constans II, son of Constantinus III, was emperor from 641 to 668. In Tigernach's margin is the date 4638, 18 years later than the date of the previous year-section (4620, Bede's 4594). These dates are derived from Bede, erroneously.

[1] With f.n. and e. of 649.

[2] For the sons of Gartnait see below, years 668 and 670. Iarnbodb († ca. 644) may have been a son of Gartnait, Accidan's son.

[3] F.n. 1; placed one year-section before 651. The year-section begins, in Tigernach, C.S., and A.U., with a notice of the battle of the Winwæd, fought in 655; see below. In the next year-section is placed the death of bishop Aidan, who died in 651. S.a. [644] (f.n. 5) in Tigernach, and in C.S. (Hennessy's year 644), is the note: "At this time pope Martin flourished." This is taken from Bede's mention of "pope Martin" in his Chronicle; M.G.H., Auctores, xiii, 313. Martin I was pope from 649 to 655.

[4] Similarly in C.S., 90, Hennessy's year 647; and in A.U., i, 108, s.a. 649=650 (with f.n. and e. of 650).

Annals of Clonmacnoise, 104, s.a. 647: "Cellach," (read "Cathasach") "son of Donald Brecc, died. Cronan of Moville died" († 650, August 7th).

Cathasach's death is placed after the battle of Dun-cremthainn, in T., C.S., and A.U. F.M., i, 262, s.a. 646, say that he was killed in that battle. For the death of Donald Brecc's grandson Cathasach, see year 688.

[5] With f.n. 6, perhaps for 650. Under the same year is entered "the slaying of Oswine, Osric's son"; i.e., the king of Deira, who was killed in 651. (E.C., 19, note.)

The date is fixed by Bede's authority.

[6] Similarly in C.S., 90, Hennessy's year 648; and in A.U., i, 108, s.a. 650=651 (with f.n. and e. of 651).

? ca. 651

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 142, s.a. 693 = 694

The death of Ferchar, son of Connad Cerr.[1]

Bede (III, 17) is followed by Fordun (III, 37).

The Martyrology of Oengus places Aidan's death on the 31st of August:—"Aidan, the bright sun of Inis-Medcoit" (Lindisfarne). There is this note in Lebar Brecc (1880 Oengus, cxxxv): "That is, of Inis-Cathaig; or Inis-Medcoit in the north-west of the [land of the] Little-Saxons, and Aidan [lies] there: Aidan, son of Lugar, son of Ernin, son of Cael, son of Aed, son of Artchorp, son of Niacorp." (Cf. the Martyrology of Donegal, 230.) Oengus indicates the death of Aidan's uncle "Enan of Druimm Ráthe" under August 19th (similarly in Martyrologies of Tallaght and Donegal: "Son of Ernin" etc. in MS. Laud 610; 1905 Oengus 188), and Enan's birth under September 18th. Tigernach, R.C., xvii, 182, s.a. [631] (f.n. 3, but 15 year-sections before 651): "Enan of Druimm-Raithe reposed." So also in C.S., 82, s.a. [631] (f.n. 3; Hennessy's year 633). This note should refer to the year 636. According to L.B., Enan rests "in the west of Meath" (1880 Oengus, cxlvi).

The death of the "blessed Aidan Scottigena" is recorded in 651, August 31st, by Herimannus Augiensis, Chronicon; M.G.H., Scriptores, v, 94. Annales Breves Fuldenses, M.G.H., Scriptores, ii, 237, s.a. 651:—"Bishop Aidan died."

[1] *Mors Fercair mic Conaeth cirr.*

This is placed (after a siege of Dunnottar) 8 years after the death of Donald Brecc († ca. 643) recorded in 686; it appears to be one of a series of Scottish events that are misplaced (at 678, 686, and 694) in A.U. See year 643, note.

Chronicles of Dalriata DFIK (above, p. cxxx) call Ferchar "Eogan's son," which is probably due to a false reading. Fland calls him "Conaing's son," which might also mean son of Conaing, Aidan's son; but the Duan and Chronicle of Dalriata E support the reading of A.U. The Chronicles of Dalriata and the Duan give Ferchar a reign of 16 years after Connad, thus suggesting that Ferchar died 645 × 647.

Connad Cerr died ca. 630; his father Conall died in ? 574; his grandfather Comgall, in ? 537. Connad's son Ferchar must have been a very old man if he lived until 694. The period of 120 years is a most unlikely one to have elapsed between the deaths of grandfather and grandson. It is fairly safe to assume that this entry is misplaced. If Ferchar died ca. 651, he should have become king ca. 635 (q.v.), about the time of the battle of Calathros.

A.U., i, 144, s.a. 694=695 (with f.n. and e. of 695) record: "Tomnat, Ferchar's wife, died." Perhaps this was the wife of Ferchar, Connad's son. In that case, allowing for a 43-years' displacement, her death would have occurred ? ca. 652.

652

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 192[1]

The death of Segine, abbot of Iona, the son of Fiachna.[2]

653

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 192[3]

The death of Fereth, son of Tothalan.[4]
The death of Talorc,[5] Foith's son, king of the Picts.[6]

[1] This event begins the year-section next after that containing Aidan's death. Under the same year is the note: "Pope Vitalianus flourished at this time." Vitalianus was pope from 657 to 672. The source drawn from is probably Bede's Chronicle, M.G.H., Auctores, xiii, 313, under the reign of Constantinus [IV] [668-685]: Bede draws from Liber Pontificalis, c. 78.

[2] Similarly in A.U., i, 110, s.a. 651=652 (with f.n. and e. of 652, and the marginal note "bissextile"). C.S., 92, Hennessy's year 649: "The death of Segine, abbot of Iona." A.I., 14, O'Conor's year 642=650×653: "The repose . . . of Segine, abbot of Iona."

Martyrology of Oengus, August 12th: "The festival of renowned Segine," with this note in L.B.:—"abbot of Iona of Columcille" (1880 Oengus, cxxx; cf. 1905 ed., 184).

Under August 12th, the Martyrology of Gorman, p. 154: "Segine, prince of the good stars" (*flait[h] na forend*), "the good, great fair abbot of Iona"; and the note: "Fachtna's son, abbot of Iona of Columcille."

"Segine, abbot of Iona" Brussels Martyrology of Tallaght, Kelly, p. xxxii, August 12th: and Book of Leinster, 361 d. His death is placed on 12th August, 651, in the Martyrology of Donegal, p. 216.

The abbot Segine, successor of Columba and of the other saints; and Cummine's brother, Beccan, a solitary, with his followers (*sapientes*), received a letter De Controversia Paschali from Cummine Fota (*Cummianus, supplex peccator, magnis minimus*); P.L. 87, 969-978.

[3] Placed 2 years after 651.

[4] *Ferich maic Totalain* in Tigernach; *Ferith* in A.U. "Tothalan" is the same name as "Tuathalan" below, years ca. 659, 663, 688. It appears to be associated with Scottish events.

[5] *Tolairg*, Tigernach and A.U.

[6] A.U., i, 110, s.a. 652 or 653=653 (with f.n. and e. of 653): "The death of Fereth, Tothalan's son, and of Talorc, Foith's son, king of the Picts." This is placed twelve years after the death of Brude.

Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 104, s.a. 649: "Segine, abbot of Iona, died [652]. . . .

"Fereth, Totholan's son [*fferith mcFoholan*], and Talorc Foith's son [*Octlarge mcFogith*], king of the Picts, died."

The Chronicle of the Picts says that king Talorc reigned for 12 years (perhaps from 642 to 653).

654

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 193[1]

The battle of Srath-Ethairt [was gained] by Talorcan,[2] Eanfrith's son, king of the Picts; and there fell Duncan, son of Conaing, and Congal, son of Ronan.[3]

[1] Placed 3 years after 651.

[2] In text, *Tolartach mac Anfrait.* In C.S., *Tolarcan mac Ainfith.* See below, year 657.

[3] Similarly in C.S., 94, Hennessy's year 651.

A.U., i, 112, s.a. 653=654 (with f.n. and e. of 654): "The battle of Srath-Ethairt, where Duncan, Conaing's son, fell."

Duncan's father may have been Conaing, Aidan's son, who died in early manhood in 622, but left children (see genealogy II after the Senchus; above, p. cliv); or possibly Connad Cerr, who died in ?630, and whose son Ferchar's death is entered above, ?ca. 651. (The names Conaing and Connad are frequently interchanged.)

PART VI

Zenith and Decline of Northumbria

655, November 15th

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 194[1]

The battle of Penda, king of the Saxons; and he fell in it, with thirty kings. Oswiu was the conqueror.[2]

[1] This is placed under f.n. 1, four years after 651. Tigernach ceases here to give ferial numbers.

[2] This was the battle of the Winwæd, fought on the 15th November, 655 (E.C., 24, note).

Tigernach has perhaps already noticed this battle, at the end of the year-section for [638] (f.n. 5; R.C., xvii, 186): "Oswiu's battle, [fought] between him and the Britons." (Stokes's conjecture: the text is corrupt.) And again under [646] (f.n. 1; R.C., xvii, 190): "The battle of Oswiu against Penda; and in it Penda fell, with thirty kings." The last notice appears similarly in C.S., 90, Hennessy's year 647. It is derived from A.S.C.

A.U. record the battle, i, 106, s.a. 641=642: "The battle of Oswiu against the Britons"; i, 108, s.a. 649=650: "The battle of Oswiu against Penda"; i, 112, s.a. 655=656: "The battle of Penda, king of the Saxons. Oswiu was the conqueror." In the last place it is followed by "the battle of Anna": Anna, king of the East Angles, was killed by Penda, king of the Mercians, in 654. Also i, 142, s.a. 692=693: "A battle against Penda"; but in the corresponding place C.S., 110, Hennessy's year 689, reads: "A battle against Penda's son."

Annals of Clonmacnoise, 104, s.a. 642: "The battle of Oswiu against Penda, in which Penda with 20 kings were slain (in the year 625)." The last words (*anno* 625) are evidently a gloss. Ibid., 105, s.a. 652: "The battle of Penda, king of the Saxons, was fought against Oswiu, where Penda himself, together with 30 kings, were slain, and Oswiu was victor." These Annals seem to show that the first entry in T. and A.U. also refers to the battle of the Winwæd, and that probably all the entries of Penda's battle are of the same event.

No doubt the Britons were still with Penda; otherwise he could hardly have had on his side a large number of chiefs or kings. Even the expression "legions trained in war," applied by Bede to Penda's forces, suggests the idea of forces trained in the Roman tradition. But British aid was no longer so effective as it had been under Catguollaun (see year 633).

It is improbable that Argyle should have supported a pagan king

against the Christian Oswiu, even to throw off his overlordship. Oswiu's kingdom had received Christianity from Argyle only 20 years before, and the success of the mission should have created good feeling between the two countries. The suzerainty over the Scots between 655 and 685 was probably peaceful, and was the natural result of Northumbria's overlordship over the Picts and over Strathclyde.

A.S.C. ABC, s.a. 655: "In this year Penda perished." A.S.C. E, s.a. 654 (the first sentence also in F): "In this year, king Oswiu slew king Penda on Winwidfelda, and with him 30 men of royal family [*xxx cynebearna*]. And some of them were kings. One of them was Æthelhere, brother of Anna, the king of the East Angles." This is derived from Bede.

Bede's account is as follows (H.E., III, 24): "In these times king Oswiu, after suffering cruel and unendurable invasions of the Mercians' often-mentioned king, who had killed [Oswiu's] brother [Oswald], at last driven by necessity promised that he would give him innumerable royal ornaments or gifts, and greater than can be believed, as the price of peace; provided that he would return home, and desist from wasting to extermination the provinces of [Oswiu's] kingdom. And when the faithless king [*rex perfidus*] altogether refused assent to [Oswiu's] prayers, having determined to destroy and to depopulate his whole nation, both small and great; [Oswiu] turned to the aid of divine pity, that he might thereby be rescued from barbarian cruelty. And he bound himself by a vow, saying, 'If a pagan cannot accept our gifts, let us offer them to the Lord our God, who can.' So he vowed that if he were the victor he would offer his daughter [St Ælfflæd] in dedication to the Lord in sacred virginity, and would also give twelve holdings of lands for the construction of monasteries. And so he entered the contest with a very small army. Indeed it is said that the pagans had an army thirty times greater; because they had thirty legions, trained in warfare, with very noble leaders, while king Oswiu and his son Ealhfrith went to meet them with only a very small army, as I have said, but with trust in Christ as their leader.

"For [Oswiu's] other son, Ecgfrith, was held as a hostage at that time in the province of the Mercians, by queen Cynewise [*Cynuise*]. And king Oswald's son, Æthelweald, who ought to have been assisting them, had been upon the side of their opponents, as their guide when they set out to fight against his native land and against his uncle; although at the moment of fighting he had withdrawn himself from the battle, and awaited the result of the hazard in a safe place.

"So the contest began, and the pagans were routed and slain; and thirty royal leaders who had come to their aid were almost all of them killed. Among these Æthelhere, the brother of king Anna of the East Angles (and after [Anna] their king), himself the instigator of the war, was killed, after losing his soldiers and auxiliaries. And because the battle was fought near the river Winwæd, and the river had at that time widely overflowed its bed, indeed all its banks, through the inundation of rains, it happened that the water destroyed many more in their flight than the sword had destroyed in the battle. . . ." (Oswiu fulfilled his vow.) "And

655-658

Chronicle of Holyrood, p. 11

The seventh [Bretwalda] was Oswiu, [Oswald's] brother, who controlled the kingdom for some time within almost the same boundaries; and for the most part subdued the nations also of the Picts and Scots, which hold the northern territories of Britain, and made them tributary.[1]

king Oswiu fought this battle in the district of Loidis, to the great benefit of both peoples. . . ." For the continuation, see above, p. 16, note.

F.W., i, 22-23, follows Bede and A.S.C.; but says that "the faithless king of the Mercians, Penda, slayer of the kings of the East Angles, Sigebeorht, Ecgric, Anna, moreover also of Edwin and Oswald, kings of the Northumbrians, . . . rose into Bernicia, to conquer in battle their king Oswiu. . . ."

Annales Cambriae, Y Cymmrodor, ix, 158, s.a. [656] (2 years after the 210th year from 444): "The slaughter of Gai plain"; and immediately afterwards, s.a. [657], "The slaying of Penda" (*Pantha occisio*). Immediately after this, s.a. [658], "Oswiu came and took plunder." Thus it is implied that Penda survived the battle of Gai plain, and was killed in the following year; but this account is probably derived from the confused narrative in the genealogies appended to the Historia Brittonum, and is not to be relied upon. See above, pp. 15-16.

Penda was king of Mercia from 626 to 655 (A.S.C. ABC; to 654, EF). But the genealogical additions to Historia Brittonum, followed by A.C., would imply that he succeeded his brother, Eova, as king of Mercia in 642.

Penda's pedigree (eleven generations from Woden) is given in A.S.C. BC, s.a. 626.

Penda's genealogy (nine generations from Woden) is given also in the genealogies after the Historia Brittonum, M.G.H., Auctores, xiii, 203-204. Thence: ". . . Eamer begot Pubba; this Pubba had twelve sons, of whom two are better known to me than the others, i.e. Penda and Eva.

"Eadlit son of Pantha, Penda son of Pubba.

"Eadlbald son of Eva, son of Penda, son of Pubba.

"Egfrid, son of Offa, son of Duminfert, son of Eandulf, son of Ossulf, son of Eva, son of Pubba."

In the additions to the Historia Brittonum (above, p. 16) the passages in which he is called Penda are placed, in wrong order, after the death of "Pantha." Perhaps they were taken in part from an English source.

The Irish Annals' form of the name is *Pante* or *Panta;* the form in A.C., *Pantha* (*Pantha occisio*). *Penda* is the form in A.S.C.

[1] From Bede, H.E., II, 5. C.H. reads "Oswin" for "Oswiu." Oswiu is called "king of the Scots and Picts," in B.S. in R.B.H., 385.

Sigebert of Gemblours, M.G.H., Scriptores, vi, 325, s.a. 656: "And [Oswiu] reduced the Picts also to the kingdom of the Angles." This is taken from Bede, but with characteristic slovenliness of rendering.

657

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, pp. 194, 195[1]

The repose of Suibne, Cuirthre's son, the abbot of Iona.[2] . . .

The death of Talorcan, Eanfrith's son, the king of the Picts.[3]

658

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 114, s.a. 657=658[4]

The death of Guret, king of Dumbarton.

ca. 659

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 195[5]

The death of Finan, Rimid's son, bishop [of Lindisfarne]. . . . And Daniel, bishop of Kingarth, [reposed].[6]

Conall Crandomna died.[7]

Eoganan, son of Tuathalan, died.[8]

[1] This is placed 5 years after 651.

[2] Similarly in C.S., 94, Hennessy's year 653; in A.U., i, 114, s.a. 656=657 (with f.n. and e. of 657); and in F.M., i, 266, s.a. 654; and the Annals of Clonmacnoise, 105, s.a. 653.

The Martyrology of Gorman (14) commemorates Suibne under January 11th, with the note, "abbot of Iona of Columcille, Suibne, Cuirtri's son." The Martyrology of Donegal (12) places his death on 11th January, 656.

[3] Similarly in C.S. and A.U., u.s. The Annals of Clonmacnoise, u.s.: "Talorcan, Eanfrith's son [*Tolorchan mcAnfrith*], king of the Picts, died."

The Chronicles of the Picts give Talorcan a reign of 4 years; probably 653 to 657.

[4] With f.n. and e. of 658.

[5] This is placed 8 years after 651.

[6] Similarly in C.S., 94, Hennessy's year 656, and in A.U., i, 116, s.a. 659=660 (with ferial and lunar numbers for 660, and the marginal note "bissextile"). In F.M., i, 268-270, s.a. 659 (and "the 3rd year of Diarmait and Blathmac," sovereigns of Ireland): "Daniel, bishop of Kingarth, died on the 18th of February. Bishop Finan, Rimid's son, died." The Martyrology of Gorman (38) places "Daniel Dond-gel" ("the princely-fair" Stokes) under February 18th, with the note: "bishop of Kingarth."

Cf. the Martyrology of Donegal, 52, February 18th.

Finan's death is noted (from Bede) by the Annales Breves Fuldenses; M.G.H., Scriptores, ii, 237, s.a. 658. But Bede's reckoning (III, 26; E.C., 32) makes Finan's bishopric last from 651 to 661.

One of the earliest bishops of Kingarth was Blaan, or Blane. An ancient chapel "dedicated to St Blane at Kingarth in Bute" is described by W. Galloway, in Tr. S.A.S., v, 317-333.

Martyrology of Oengus, August 10th: "With a host, sound, of noble

birth, well-coloured, [died] fair Bláán of Kingarth." In the Franciscan MS. is this note (1905 Oengus, 184): "i.e., a bishop of Kingarth, and his principal seat was Dunblane [*Dul Blaan*]; and he was from Kingarth, i.e., in Galloway." Similarly in L.B. (1880 Oengus, cxxx). In Rawlinson B 505 (1905 Oengus, 184): "Blaan, a bishop of Kingarth in Galloway" (*hi n-Gallgaidelaib*).

Martyrology of Tallaght, August 10th, Book of Leinster, 361 c: "[Festival of] Blaan, bishop of Kingarth in Galloway" (*i n-gall-gaedelaib;* in Kelly's text, p. xxxi, *in Gallghaedelaibh Udnochtan*).

Cf. the Breviary of Aberdeen, ii, 8, 77, August 10th: "Blaanus, having his origin from the island of Bute, through his mother, Ertha, sister of the blessed bishop [*praesul*] Cathanus" of noble Irish descent. This Breviary says that Blaan was taught in Ireland by bishops Congall and Kenneth for seven years before he returned to Bute. (Cf. also ibid., 173-174).

Another early bishop of Kingarth was Colum.

Martyrology of Gorman, 46, March 1st: "Colum the gently-modest" (*caemfial*); with the note "of Kingarth." So in the Brussels Martyrology of Tallaght, Kelly, p. xvii, March 1st: "[Festival] of Columba of Kingarth." "Colum of Kingarth" in Martyrology of Donegal, 60, March 1st.

For bishop Iolan see year 688. Abbots of Kingarth died in 737, 776, 790 (below); priest Temnen in 732.

[7] Similarly in C.S., 96, u.s.; A.U., u.s.; F.M., i, 268, s.a. 658.

The Duan Albanach, in Skene's P. & S., 60: "After Donald Brecc of the towns [*na m-bla*], Conall [and] Dungal [reigned] for ten years." Cf. year 696, note. Dungal is doubtless the same man as Fland's Duncan, Duban's son (see p. 190).

Conall Crandomna, son of Eochaid Buide (cf. Senchus, II; above, p. clv), was king of Dalriata; he was of the Cenel-Gabrain, of Knapdale. The Duan implies that during his whole reign he shared the kingdom with Duncan; but its evidence is not decisive. Probably Conall's hegemony over Argyle was disputed. (Cf. year 639, note.) About 655, part at least of Argyle became subject to Northumbria. Possibly some other part refused to submit to Northumbria, or to the king recognized by Northumbria; this might account for some of the claimants to the kingship at this time.

Duban is unknown. He may have been Duncan's foster-father. A Duncan, son of Conaing, and perhaps first-cousin of Conall, died in 654: he might have shared the kingdom with Conall (ca. 651-654). Duncan, son of the Eoganan who died in the same year as Conall, lived until 680, and appears to have been the ancestor of claimants, from Antrim, to the throne of Argyle: he might have reigned for a few years after Conall (possibly ca. 659-663); but in that case the 10-years' reign of Conall and Duncan would have begun a few years after 651 (possibly in 654), if we trust the number given by the Duan. No decision is justified by the evidence.

Conall Crandomna's sons fell in 688 and 696. Duncan's grandson fell in 700.

[8] Similarly in C.S., 96, u.s.; A.U., u.s. F.M., u.s., s.a. 658: "Eogan, Tuathalan's son, died."

661

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 196[1]

Abbot Cummine came to Ireland.[2]

663

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 198[3]

The death of Gartnait, Donald's son, king of the Picts; and of Donald, son of Tuathal[an],[4] and of Tuathal, son of Morcant.[5]

[1] Placed nine years after 651, but in a year-section corresponding to A.U.'s 660=661. Tigernach records in the next year-section the sixth universal council of the church at Constantinople; i.e., the council of 680 to 681.

[2] Similarly in C.S., 96, Hennessy's year 657.

Annals of Clonmacnoise, 105, s.a. 657: "Cummine [*Comyn*] came to Ireland this year."

This was Cummine the White, abbot of Iona, who died in 669.

[3] Placed 11 years after 651. In the next year-section Tigernach, C.S., and A.U., record: "Darkness on the Kalends of May, in the ninth hour" (2-3 p.m.). This was the eclipse of 664, May 1st, 3½ p.m., Paris time (L'Art); 36 minutes earlier at Armagh.

[4] In text, "of Tuathal."

This passage appears similarly in C.S., 96, Hennessy's year 659, but with the reading "Donald, son of Tuathalan"; and in A.U., i, 118, s.a. 662=663 (with f.n. and e. of 663), with the reading "Donald, son of Totholan."

The Chronicle of the Picts (ABC) says that Gartnait reigned six and a half years; perhaps from 657 to 663. See year 672. He may possibly have been a son of Donald Brecc (year 643), but hardly the father of Cano (years 668, 687).

[5] Similarly in A.U., u.s. ("the death of Tuathal, son of Morgand").

In the parallel year-section [663] of D.M.F., II, 64, "Tuathal, son of Morgann, died."

Cf. Annales Cambriae, Y Cymmrodor, ix, 158-159, s.a. [665] (1 year after the "220th year" after 444): "The first [true] Easter was celebrated among the Saxons. A battle of Badon, a second time. Morcant died." (Phillimore understands the battle to have been that of *B(i)edan-heafod* of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, s.a. 675.) In 665 the Roman and Celtic Easters coincided (MacCarthy's tables); therefore this part of the annal probably belongs to 664.

Misplacing Maelduin's reign, Fordun, Chronica, III, 40 (i, 125) says: "In this year [664] St Colman returned to Scotland, and Tuda succeeded him" (Bede III, 26). "And during the whole time of the preaching of the Scots in Anglia steadfast peace and communion was preserved, without discord of strife; but when at last, multiplied principally through the teaching of the Scots, the clergy of native Anglian race had increased, it

664

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 118, s.a. 663=664[1]

The battle of Lutho-feirnn, in Fortriu.[2]

668

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 200[3]

The voyage of bishop Colman, with relics of saints, to the island of the white heifer [Inishboffin], in which he founded a church.[4]

And the voyage of the sons of Gartnait to Ireland, with the populace of Skye.[5]

began ungratefully to despise altogether its holy teachers, and to seek many and various excuses whereby to compel them to return to Scotland, or else to endure an intolerable burden placed upon them. And so thenceforward, during the twenty years in which Maelduin reigned, there was never or seldom peace between the kingdoms, but almost continually raid succeeded raid, devastating first one side, then the other; yet no battle fought in these times great enough to be recorded is found in the chronicles of either people.

"But in [Maelduin's] fifth year" (668-669, in Fordun's reckoning) "a very severe mortality of men oppressed all Europe with dreadful slaughter." Here follows a quotation from Adamnan; see below, 686, 688.

For the true period of Maelduin's reign, see year 688.

The dispute over Easter is mentioned (after Bede) by Sigebert of Gemblours, M.G.H., Scriptores, vi, 325, s.a. 664.

The Annales Breves Fuldenses (M.G.H., ii, 237, s.a. 664) erroneously place Colman's death in 664.

[1] With f.n. and e. for 664, and the note "bissextile." In the same year-section is recorded the eclipse of 664.

[2] *Bellum Lutho feirnn i. i Fortrinn. Lutho* looks like a genitive formation. This place has not been identified.

[3] Placed 4 years after 664.

[4] Cf. D.M.F., II, 66, 70. Duald reads: "With relics of many saints." Colman's voyage is noted by F.M., i, 278, s.a. 667. Colman's foundation of Mayo is noted (from Bede) by Alberic of Trois Fontaines, M.G.H., Scriptores, xxiii, 698, s.a. 664. See E.C., 35.

[5] *cum plebe Scith.* Cf. Adamnan's *Scia insula.* The genitive is *Sceth, Sciad;* dative, *Scii,* ? *Sci,* in A.U.

This whole passage appears similarly in C.S., 100, Hennessy's year 664 (with two false readings: *cum reliqui[i]s Scotorum* for *sanctorum,* and *cum plebe Seth* for *Sceth*); and in A.U., i, 120, s.a. 667=668 (with marginal note "bissextile").

For the sons of Gartnait, Accidan's son, see ca. 649. One of his sons seems to have been Cano († 687); see years 673, 705. This Cano's flight

669

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 201 [1]

The death of Cummine the White, abbot of Iona.[2] . . . Itharnan and Corindu died among the Picts.[3]

670

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 201 [4]

The people [5] of Gartnait came from Ireland.[6]

seems to have been placed in legend in the reign of Aidan: see year ?601, note. Even if the voyage from Skye were one of the events that the annals have entered about 43 years too late (see year 643, note), it would still not have occurred within the reign of Aidan. But the date is probably approximately correct.

[1] Placed 5 years after 664.

[2] Similarly in C.S., 100, Hennessy's year 665; and in A.U., i, 122, s.a. 668=669.

D.M.F., II, 66 (Skene's P. & S., 402): "Cummine the White, abbot of Iona, reposed." This is placed before Colman's foundation of Inishboffin.

F.M., i, 278-280, s.a. 668 (and "the 4th year of Sechnasach," sovereign of Ireland): "St Cummine the White, abbot of Iona of Columcille, died on the 24th of February."

The Martyrology of Oengus commemorates him under February 24th: "An abbot of Iona of splendid intellect, Cummine the White, the excellent" (*find, febda;* perhaps "aged"); with this note in Lebar Brecc (1880 Oengus, liv): "Cummine, the son of Dinertach: he it was that took with him the relics of Paul and Peter, to Disert-Cummine in the precincts [*termand*] of Roscrea; and they escaped from him to Roscrea." Similarly in Rawlinson B 512 (1905 Oengus, 78).

Martyrology of Gorman (p. 42) commemorates Cummine under February 24th, with the note, "abbot of Iona"; the Brussels Martyrology of Tallaght, ed. Kelly, p. xvi, under February 24th, notes "Cummine the White, son of Fiachna, son of Feradach; abbot of Iona." The Martyrology of Donegal says that he died on 24th February, 668.

[3] *Apud Pictores;* so also in A.U. (C.S. reads *Pictones.*) In the Irish annals *Picti* and *Pictores* (most commonly in the genitive case, *Pictorum*) are the usual names for the Scottish Picts, *Cruithni* standing for the Irish Picts. (E.g. in A.U. *Pictos* occurs at 697=698 and 788=789; *Pictores* reappears at 727=728; *Pictones*, probably from a textual error, stands at 749=750.)

This sentence appears similarly in C.S., u.s. (with the spelling *Iturnan* and *Corinda* or *Cormda*); and in A.U., u.s. (with the spelling *Itarnan*).

This was probably not S. Ternan; for whom see above, p. 42.

[4] Placed 6 years after 664.

[5] *Gens*, Tigernach; *genus*, C.S. and A.U. (i.e. "descendants of

670, 671

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, pp. 201, 202[1]

The death of Oswiu, Æthelfrith's son, king of the Saxons.[2] . . .

Maelrubai sailed to Britain.[3]

672

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 202[4]

The expulsion of Drust from his kingdom.[5]

Gartnait"). Gartnait's sons and the *plebs* referred to above (year 668) appear to be meant.

[6] Similarly in C.S., 102, Hennessy's year 666; and A.U., i, 124, s.a. 669=670.

The words "came from" or "comes from Ireland" (*venit . . . de Hibernia*) suggest that this event was taken from a Scottish chronicle, written probably at Iona.

The Annals of Clonmacnoise, 108, s.a. 666, read erroneously: "The race of Gartnait of Pictland returned to Ireland."

[1] Placed 7 years after 664.

[2] Oswiu's death is dated by Bede on 15th February, 670 (cf. above, p. 15; and E.C., 37, note). A.I., 15, place it under O'Conor's year 659 (=667×670; misreading "Oswald" for "Oswiu"); A.C. places it s.a. [669] (but 6 years before 674). The Annals of Clonmacnoise, 108, place it in 667 (=671). See above, p. 15.

[3] Both sentences appear similarly in C.S., 102, Hennessy's year 667; and in A.U., i, 124, s.a. 670=671.

[4] Placed 8 years after 664.

[5] Similarly in A.U., i, 126, s.a. 671=672 (with f.n. and e. of 672, and the marginal note "bissextile").

The Chronicle of the Picts (ABC) makes Drust the successor of Gartnait for 7 years; perhaps from 663 to 670, when exiles returned from Ireland. The years 670-672 may have been deducted by the chronicle from Drust's reign; or he may not immediately have succeeded to Gartnait.

The dates 657-664, for Gartnait; 664-671, for Drust; 671-692, for Brude, would fit the reign-lengths given by the Chronicle of the Picts; but that chronicle cannot stand against the authority of the Irish annals at this time.

The expulsion of Drust in 672 very likely preceded the defeat inflicted by the Angles on the Picts, described by Eddius. After Oswiu's death, Brude seems to have expelled Drust, the Northumbrian vassal; and to have invaded Bernicia. See E.C., 36-37; and below, year 676.

ca. 673

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 126, s.a. 672=673[1]

The burning of Mag-Luinge.[2]

The killing of Domangart, son of Donald Brecc, the king of Dalriata.[3]

The capture of (?)Alpin, Corp's son, and of Conamail, Cano's son; and Cormac, son of Maelfothartaig, died.[4]

[1] The year-section concludes thus: "Constantinus, son of the previous Constantinus, reigned for 17 years." Constantinus IV, the son of Constans II, was emperor from 668 to 685 (Gibbon).

Tigernach begins the year thus: "Justinianus the younger, the son of Constantinus, reigned 10 years"; and gives the date 4658 in the margin. This is derived from Bede's Chronicle; M.G.H., Auctores, xiii, 315, s.a. 4649. Justinian II was emperor 685-695 (4639-4649, according to Bede).

The next year-section in T., C.S., and A.U., records in Latin these phenomena: "A thin and quivering cloud, like a rainbow, appeared over a clear sky from east to west, in the fourth watch of the night, on the fifth day of the week before Easter." ["Sixth day" A.U. Irish Easter was 26th March in 674 (MacCarthy).] "The moon turned to [the colour of] blood." If the latter phenomenon is to be taken with the former, it may not have been an eclipse; but if an eclipse is meant, it would seem to belong to the year 673 or 676 (L'Art).

[2] This was the name of a monastery in Tiree; see above, p. 66.

This note appears similarly in T., R.C., xvii, 202 (placed 9 years after 664), and in F.M., i, 282, s.a. 671 (and "the second year of Cendfaelad" as sovereign of Ireland).

[3] *iugulatio Domangairt mic Domnaill Bricc regis Dal Riatai.* This is ambiguous, but probably means that Domangart was king of Dalriata.

To the same effect in T., u.s.; and in C.S., 102, Hennessy's year 669.

The Chronicle of Dalriata omits both Conall Crandomna and his successor; but the Irish annals seem to imply that Domangart was king. His reign might have been from ca. 659 to 673.

This Domangart was the father of king Eochaid "the Crooked-nosed," according to the Chronicle of Dalriata.

The ambiguity in the text of A.U. seems to be responsible for a compiler's error in misplacing events, perhaps at correct intervals from Donald Brecc's accession, at 678, 686, and 694. See year 643, note (and years ?635 and ?651).

The affairs of Dalriata were very confused at this time. The rulers of different parts claimed the kingship, and the country had accepted the overlordship of Northumbria (655-685).

[4] For Conamail's death, see below, year 705; he may have been a minor in 673. His father was probably the Cano who died in 687.

Alpin (*Eliuin mic Cuirp*) was probably not the king who reigned 726-728. If he were, he would have been a child in 673. There is, however, a suspicious resemblance between this note and that placed below

The voyage of Failbe, abbot of Iona, to Ireland.[1]
Maelrubai founded the church of Applecross.[2]

675

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 203[3]

The death of Noah, Daniel's son.[4]
The death of Penda's son.[5]

676

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 128, s.a. 675=676[6]

The slaying of Maelduin, Rigullan's son,[7] and of Bodb, son of Ronan, grandson of Congal.
Many Picts were drowned in Land-Abae. . . .[8]
Failbe returned from Ireland.[9]

under year 742. Possibly one or the other has been misplaced in A.U. Stokes and Ó-Máille interpret this: "Capture of Corp's son's island" or crannog. But the context implies that *Eiliuin* was a man. See below, p. 237.

[1] Similarly in T. and C.S., u.s. To the same effect in F.M., u.s.
The whole passage, down to this, stands thus in the Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 108, s.a. 669: "Justinus the Younger reigned ten years.
"Domangart, son of Donald Brecc, king of Dalriata, was killed.
"The sailing of Failbe, abbot of Iona, into Ireland.
"Mag-luinge [*Moylelonge*] was burnt.
"Congal Cend-fota, king of Ulster, was killed by one Bec Boirche [*Beagbrwich*]."

[2] Similarly in T. and C.S.
F.M., u.s.: "Maelrubai, abbot of Bangor, went to Scotland, and founded the church of Applecross."
Cf. years 671 and 722.

[3] Placed 11 years after 664.

[4] Similarly in A.U., i, 126, s.a. 674=675. F.M., i, 282, s.a. 673: "Noah, Daniel's son, died."
The Daniel previously mentioned is the bishop of Kingarth, who died in 660.

[5] Similarly in A.U., u.s.; cf. the Annals of Clonmacnoise, 108, s.a. 671.
Penda's son Wulfhere, king of Mercia, died in 675 (A.S.C.).

[6] With f.n. and e. of 676, and the marginal note "bissextile."

[7] For Rigullan see year 630.

[8] According to Skene, "Lundaff, now Kinloch, in Perthshire" (P. & S., 471). This seems uncertain. Cf. the defeat by Beornhæth (E.C., 37).

[9] Similarly in T., R.C., xvii, 203, 12 years after 664. F.M., i, 284, s.a. 674 (and "the first year of Findachta Fledach," sovereign of Ireland): "Failbe, abbot of Iona, turned back again from Ireland."

ca. 677

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 204 [1]

Beccan of Rum [2] reposed in the island of Britain.[3]

ca. 677

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 128, s.a. 676=677

The slaughter of Cuanda, son of Eoganan.[4]

678

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, pp. 204-205 [5]

A slaughter of the tribe of Loarn in Tirinn, [in a battle] between Ferchar Fota and the Britons, who were the conquerors.[6] . . .[7]

The death of Drust, son of Donald.[8]

[1] Placed 13 years after 664. In all the annals this event closes the year-section, which begins thus: "A brilliant comet star was seen in the months of September and October."

This comet is recorded by Bede in 678, the 8th year of Ecgfrith's reign, August to October (H.E., IV 12, V 24). But Bede says (IV 5) that Ecgfrith succeeded on 15th February, 670; and (IV 5, V 24) that 24th September, 673, was in Ecgfrith's 3rd year; therefore Ecgfrith's 8th autumn was 677, and we must correct 678 here to 677. A.S.C. places the comet in 678 (ABCE; 677 F). A.C. places it in [676], which is the correct year; see Pingré, Cométographie, i, 331-333.

[2] In Tigernach, *Ruimean;* C.S., *Rúmind;* A.U., *Ruimm;* F.M., *Ruimind.*

[3] Similarly in C.S., 104, Hennessy's year 673.

A.U., i, 130, s.a. 676=677 (with f.n. and e. of 677): "Beccan of Rum reposed."

F.M., i, 284, s.a. 675 (and "the second year of Findachta" as sovereign of Ireland): "Beccan of Rum died in Britain on the 17th of March." Cf. the Martyrology of Donegal, March 17th, p. 80.

Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 109, s.a. 673: "There was a comet and a star of great brightness, seen in the months of September and October. . . .

"Beccan of Rum [*Beagan Reymynn*] died in the island of Wales."

Beccan was specially named among those to whom Cummine Fota (†669) directed his letter on the Easter question. See above, p. 171; James Ussher's Works, iv, 432.

[4] Cf. years 701, ca. 659.

[5] Placed 14 years after 664. Under the same year in T. and A.U. is placed the defeat of Donald Brecc at Calathros; see year ?635.

[6] A.U., i, 130, s.a. 677 or 678=678 (with f.n. and e. of 678): "Slaughter of the tribe of Loarn in Tirinn."

[7] The sentence omitted is: "Tuaim-snama, king of Ossory, died,

679

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 205 [1]

The repose of Failbe, abbot of Iona.[2] . . .
The slumber of Nechtan.[3]

[killed] by Faelan Senchostal." A.U. (u.s.) read: "Toimsnamo, king of Ossory, [died].

"The battle of Dun-locho, and the battle of Lia-Moelain, and the subjugation of Elend" (*doirad Eilind*).

Skene seems to have regarded these as Scottish battles, fought by the men of Dalriata in the attempt to throw off the yoke of Strathclyde (S.C.S., i, 264). This is mere conjecture.

[8] Similarly in C.S., 104, Hennessy's year 674; in A.U., u.s.; and in the Annals of Clonmacnoise, 109, s.a. 674.

See year 672. Drust may have been a factor in the Pictish defeat of 676.

[1] Placed 15 years after 664.

[2] Similarly in C.S., 104, Hennessy's year 675; and in A.U., i, 130, s.a. 678=679 (with f.n. and e. of 679).

Failbe's "death" (*mors*) is recorded in A.I., 16, O'Conor's year 667=678 (8 years after 670).

Annals of Clonmacnoise, 109, s.a. 674: "Failbe abbot of Iona died."

Duald's Fragment II (86) places Failbe's death after, and in the same year-section as, the battle of Calathros; it appears therefore that the year 678 is meant.

F.M., i, 284, s.a. 677 (and "the 4th year of Findachta," sovereign of Ireland): "St Failbe, abbot of Iona of Columcille, died on the 22nd of March."

Failbe's successor was Adamnan († 704).

The Martyrology of Oengus commemorates Failbe under March 22nd: "A strong light over the rampart of the sea, Failbe, the warrior of Iona"; with the note in Lebar Brecc (1880 Oengus, lxiv): "an abbot of Iona of Columba."

"Failbe . . . holy successor of Columba" is placed in the Martyrology of Gorman under March 22nd (60).

The Brussels Martyrology of Tallaght (Kelly, xix) under March 22nd notes, "Failbe of Iona."

The Martyrology of Donegal, 84, March 22nd: "Failbe, Pipan's son, abbot of Iona, successor of Columcille, [died] A.D. 677. He was of the kindred of Conall Gulban, Niall's son."

[3] Similarly C.S., u.s.

A.U., u.s.: "The slumber of Nechtan of Ner." F.M., u.s., 284-286: "Nechtan of Ner died."

The Martyrology of Oengus places Nechtan's death on the 8th of January: "Nechtan of Ner, from Scotland." Stokes would read *nár*, "noble Nechtan"; see 1905 Oengus, xxviii, 34. But perhaps Ner was the place of a monastery in Ireland. Cf. A.U., i, 92-94, s.a. 622=623:

679

Duald Mac-Firbis, Fragment II, p. 88[1]

Adamnan received the abbacy of Iona.

Before 679

Adamnan, Life of Columba, book II, c. 44[2]

Of rain poured upon thirsty land, the Lord granting it, after some months of drought, in honour of the blessed man [*Columba*].

About fourteen years ago[3] in spring-time in these arid lands a very great drought occurred, prolonged and hard. . . . We therefore . . . took counsel to adopt this plan, and cause some of our elders to go round the recently ploughed and sown field with St Columba's white tunic, and books written by his pen; to raise aloft, and shake three times the same tunic, which he had worn in the very hour of his departure from the flesh; and to open his books and read them on the Angels' Knoll, where sometimes the citizens of the heavenly land were seen to descend to confer with the blessed man.

And when all this had been carried out according to our design, marvellous to relate the same day the sky (which had been bare of clouds during the previous months of March and April) was straightway with marvellous rapidity covered with [clouds] rising from the sea, and there was great rain, falling by day and by night; and the land, thirsting formerly, now satisfied, produced its shoots in season, and very joyous crops in the same year. The commemoration therefore of the

"The repose . . . of Fine [*Vinei*], abbot of Ner." Cf. the Martyrology of Donegal, 10.

After Nechtan's death, in the same year, Tigernach enters a note of the battle of Calathros; A.U. enter it a year earlier. See above, ? ca. 635.

[1] In the year-section parallel to A.U.'s 682=683.

[2] Reeves's edition, 174-176; Skene's, 188-189.

[3] Cf. the statement (below, year ca. 691) that Adamnan went to Ireland "in the fourteenth year after the death of Failbe." He would naturally have taken the Life with him, and have read it there; if he did so, the annalist may have taken the word "fourteenth" from this passage. Adamnan seems to have gone to Ireland in reality in the twelfth year (the thirteenth summer) of his abbacy.

He may have written the book partly on purpose to strengthen his authority in Ireland, as Columba's successor.

blessed name of one man,[1] a commemoration conducted with his tunic and his books, assisted many districts and peoples at the same time, with salutary opportuneness.[2]

After 679

Adamnan, Life of Columba, book II, c. 45[3]

Of contrary winds changed, by virtue of the prayers of the venerable man, to favourable winds.

Our faith in such miracles in the past, which we did not see, is indubitably confirmed by present-day miracles which we have seen ourselves. For we ourselves have thrice seen contrary winds turned to favourable ones.

The first time, when long hewn-out ships of pine and oak were being drawn over-land, and timbers for the great monastery[4] (and for ships likewise) were being conveyed, we took counsel, and placed the holy man's vestments and books upon the altar, with psalms and fasting, and with invocation of

[1] *Unius itaque beati commemoratio nominis viri.*

[2] At the end of Cummine's Life stands a brief account of this affair (c. 26; Pinkerton, Vitae, 44-45). It is dated simply "after the death of the man of God," and lacks the details which make Adamnan's account read like the narrative of an eye-witness.

Below, year 686, it will be seen that Adamnan wrote after 688; therefore the present episode occurred after 674, i.e. after Cummine's death. If Cummine wrote the Life attributed to him, chapters 25-27 must have been later additions to it, derived from Adamnan.

Reeves thought it likely that Adamnan wrote the Life between 692 and 697 (p. xlix). If this episode had occurred within the period of Adamnan's abbacy, the time of writing must have been in or after 693. But in the opening words of the next chapter Adamnan seems to deny having been present on this occasion: therefore the word "we" used here must not be taken to mean Adamnan himself, and the date of writing must have been in or before 693.

We may therefore conclude (comparing the previous note) that the work (written 688 × 693) was very probably finished in 691. This episode would in that case fall under 677.

[3] Reeves's edition, 176-182; Skene's, 189-190.

The date of these episodes has been taken to be the period of Adamnan's subordinacy, while he was employed in monastic labour; but the narrative implies that he was abbot, and was on the first occasion in Iona, not with the ships.

[4] *et [cum] magnae navium pariter materiae eveherentur domus.* (Cf. the order of construction of *unius . . . viri* above.)

his name, that he should obtain for us from the Lord favourable prosperity of winds. And, God so granting it to that holy man, it happened thus; for on the day upon which our sailors had prepared everything, and intended to tow the logs of the above-mentioned timber over the sea with skiffs and curachs, the winds, on the previous days contrary, became suddenly favourable. Thereupon the whole day, God being propitious, prosperous breezes served them through long and devious ways; and with full sails, without any delay, the whole expedition of ships reached the island of Iona successfully.

The second time, when after the interval of several years other oak timbers were being towed by us[1] from the mouth of the river Shiel[2] for restoration of our monastery, twelve curachs being collected [for the purpose], on another quiet day when the sailors were sweeping the sea with their paddles, suddenly a wind adverse to us arose, Favonius, called also the wind Zephyrus[3]; and we then turned aside to the nearest island, which is called in Scottish Airthrago, seeking in it a harbour in which to wait. But meanwhile we grumbled at the inopportune adversity of the wind, and began in some fashion as if to accuse our Columba, saying, "Does it please thee, holy one, that we are thus inconveniently delayed? We have hitherto hoped, by God's favour, for some consolatory assistance in our labours from thee, esteeming that thou wert in somewhat high honour with God."

A short space, as of a moment, after this was said, strange to tell, behold the adverse wind Favonius ceased, and in less time than it takes to say it, Vulturnus[4] blew favourably. Then the sailors were ordered to put up yards in form of a cross, and they raised sails to their extended oars; and with prosperous and gentle breezes we reached our island the same day and landed without any exertion, with all the helpers who were in our ships, rejoicing in the conveyance of the logs. That grumbling accusation, mild as it was, of the holy man, helped us in no small degree. It is clear of what and how great merit

[1] *nobiscum.* Cf. year 734, note.

[2] *fluminis Sale.* "The river Shiel, rich in fish"; Adamnan, II, 18; ed. Skene, 164.

[3] I.e. the west wind.

[4] The south-east wind.

the saint is esteemed by the Lord, since he heard him in so swiftly turning the winds.

The third time, when in the summer season, after attending a synod in Ireland, we were detained for some days through contrariety of wind among the people of the tribe of Loarn, we came to the island of Shuna[1]; and there awaiting, the festive night[2] and solemn day of St Columba found us much dejected, because we wished to keep the same day joyfully in the island of Iona. And hence as before we grumbled a second time, saying, "Does it please thee, holy one, to pass the morrow of thy festival[3] among laymen, and not in thy church? In the beginning of such a day it is easy for thee to obtain from the Lord that contrary be changed to favourable winds, and that we celebrate the ceremony of the mass of thy nativity[4] in thy church."

After that night was past we rose in the early dawn; and seeing that the contrary breezes had ceased, we entered our ships and put out to sea, without a breath of wind. And behold, immediately the due south wind, which is also called Notus, blew behind us. Then the sailors rejoicing hoisted their sails; and thus our voyage on that day was so facile and so quick, and so prosperous, God granting it to the blessed man, that after the third hour of the day we reached the harbour of Iona, as we had previously desired; and afterwards, when we had finished washing hands and feet, we entered the church with the brethren in the sixth hour, and celebrated together the holy ceremony of mass on the festival to which belongs the nativity of saints Columba and Baithine; in the dawn of which, as has been said above, we had set out from the island of Shuna, a great distance away.

Of the above narrative witnesses still live, not two or three, according to the law, but a hundred and more.

[1] *Ad Saineam insulam.*

[2] The "festive night" was the night preceding Columba's festival, that is to say from 6 p.m. of 8th June to 6 a.m. of 9th June. The "solemn day" began at 6 p.m. of the evening before.

[3] *Crastinam tuæ festivitatis;* from the context this must mean the day after Columba's night, i.e. 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. of 9th June.

[4] Similarly Columba calls the day of Brendan of Birr's death his "natal day"; Adamnan, III, 11 (Cummine, VII; Pinkerton's Vitae, 31).

680

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 132, s.a. 679=680[1]

The battle of the Saxons, in which Ælfwine, Oswiu's son, fell.[2]

The siege of Dun-baitte.[3]

Duncan, son of Eoganan, was slaughtered.[4]

681

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 206[5]

The death of Conall Cael, son of Duncan, in Kintyre.[6]

681

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 132, s.a. 680=681

The siege of Dunnottar.[7]

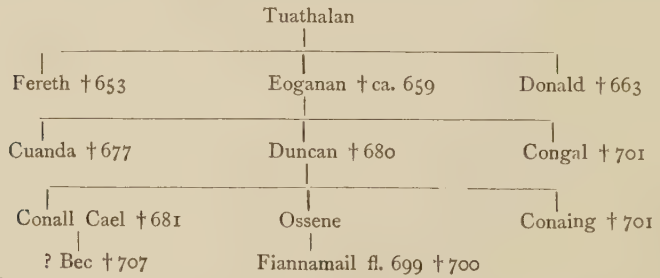
[1] With marginal note "bissextile."

[2] Similarly in T., R.C., xvii, 205 (16 years after 664); C.S., 104, Hennessy's year 676; and the Annals of Clonmacnoise, 109, s.a. 675.

A.S.C. ABCE place Ælfwine's death in 679.

[3] According to Skene, this was a battle fought by Brude at Dunbeath in Caithness. This is mere conjecture; neither the place nor the besieger is known. Cf. the Dun-mBaithe or Dunbuithe in the Tale of Cano (Anecdota from Irish MSS., i, 13, 12); and Dalbeattie in Kirkcudbrightshire.

[4] This may possibly have been the Duncan whom Fland calls "Duban's son," and places after Conall Crandomna († 659). Duncan's family appears to have been as in the table below.



[5] Placed 17 years after 664.

[6] Probably the son of Duncan, Eoganan's son, who was killed in 680.

The event appears similarly in C.S., 106, Hennessy's year 677, and in A.U., i, 132, s.a. 680=681, in both with the reading "slaying" instead of "death."

F.M., i, 286, s.a. 679 (and "the 6th year of Findachta," sovereign of Ireland): "Conall, Duncan's son, was killed in Kintyre." So also in the Annals of Clonmacnoise, 109, s.a. 675.

[7] *Obsessio duin Foither.*

According to Skene, Brude was the besieger.

Cf. year 694.

682

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, pp. 206-207 [1]

The Orkneys were destroyed by Brude.[2]

683

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 134, s.a. 682=683

The siege of Dunadd, and the siege of Dundurn.[3]

684

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 208 [4]

The Saxons wasted Mag-[Breg] and very many churches in the month of June.[5]

[1] Placed 18 years after 664. Immediately afterwards, at the end of the year-section, Tigernach notes the deposition of Justinian II, an event of 695. The next year begins thus: "Pope Leo reigned three years," with the marginal date 4661. Leo II was pope from 682 to 683; there was no pope from 683 to 684. This is followed by pope Sergius's discovery of a piece of the cross; Sergius I was pope from 687 to 701. Both these events were taken from Bede (M.G.H., Auctores, xiii, 316); Bede took them from the Liber Pontificalis (M.G.H., Gesta Pontificum, i, 86).

[2] Similarly in A.U., i, 132, s.a. 681=682.

For Brude see years 685 and 692.

[3] *Duin Aitt . . . duin Duirn.* Probably the places now so named are meant. Dunadd is to the north of the Crinan canal, near Kilmichael-Glassary; Dundurn is a hill at the east end of Loch Earn.

[4] Placed 21 years after 664. In the same year-section is noted the reign of Tiberius, who was emperor from 698 to 705. With this is connected the marginal date 4668 (4659 in Bede). Here also are noted affairs of Lombardy from 701. These foreign events are derived from Bede's Chronicle, M.G.H., Auctores, xiii, 317.

[5] To this effect in C.S., 106, Hennessy's year 681; and in A.U., i, 134 s.a. 684=685.

D.M.F., II, p. 88: "The Saxons devastated the plain of Brega, and very many churches." This is placed under [685] the year after the children's mortality of 683-684 (A.U.).

F.M., i, 288, s.a. 683 (and "the 10th year of Findachta," sovereign of Ireland): "The wasting of Mag-Breg, both church and people, by the Saxons, in the month of June; and they took with them many hostages from every place which they left, throughout Mag-Breg, along with many other spoils; and thereafter they went to their ships."

685

Simeon of Durham, Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae: Rolls Series, no. 75, vol. i, pp. 31-32

And the aforesaid king [Ecgfrith] and Theodore gave to [Cuthbert] the whole land in the city of York, from the wall of the church of St Peter to the great gate on the west; and from the wall of that church to the wall of the city on the south. They gave him also the village of Craike, and three miles in circumference round about that village, that he might have upon his way [from Lindisfarne] to York, or returning from [York], a dwelling where he might rest. And there he established a habitation of monks. And because that land seemed insufficient, he received in addition Carlisle,[1] which is called *Luel*, and has fifteen miles in circumference. And there also he established a congregation of nuns, and consecrated the queen, giving to her the garb of religion; and appointed schools, for the advancement of the service of God. Also other possessions of lands were granted to him. . . .[2]

685

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 209[3]

The battle of Dunnichen took place on the twentieth day of the month of May, on Saturday[4]; and there Ecgfrith, Oswiu's

[1] *Lugubaliam.*

[2] To the same effect (with no mention of queen Æthelthryth, who was in reality consecrated at Ely) in the Historia de Sancto Cuthberto; R.S. **75**, i, 199.

Skene (S.C.S., i, 271) understood this grant of Carlisle to have included ecclesiastic rule in Galloway (through Whithorn). Robertson held that this extension of the Northumbrian dominion occurred in the reign of Ecgfrith's successor, Ealdfrith; but that in Ecgfrith's reign a considerable tract of Northumbrian territory separated Cumbria and Strathclyde from North Wales (E.K., i, 17-18).

That Carlisle pertained to Lindisfarne in 854 is stated by S.D.; R.S. **75**, i, 53; ii, 101 (cf. 114, in 883). Carlisle lay waste from ca. 892 to 1092, when it was restored by king William II (F.W., ii, 30; S.D., ii, 220. E.C., 108-109).

[3] Placed 21 years after 664.

[4] May 20th was a Saturday in 685, which is the year given by Bede (E.C., 42). Ecgfrith is commemorated under May 27th in the Franciscan MS. of Oengus (1905 ed., 136).

son, king of the Saxons, was killed (after completing the fifteenth year of his reign), with a great company of his soldiers, by Brude, son of Bile, the king of Fortriu.[1]

[1] This passage appears similarly in A.U., i, 134-136, s.a. 685=686; but instead of "by Brude . . . Fortriu" they read: "And he burned Tula-Aman of Dunolly" (*combusit tula aman duin Ollaigh*). The meaning is obscure. Hennessy translates it: "Tula-aman burned Dunollaigh." Skene says that Brude "burnt the place called Tula Aman at the mouth of the river Almond where it falls into the Tay" (S.C.S., i, 266): but that is not what the Ulster Annals say, and must be rejected.

A.I., Scriptores, ii, **2**, 16, O'Conor's year 674=685 (15 years after 670): "A great battle between the Picts" [and the Angles?].

D.M.F. II, p. 88 (in the year-section parallel to the Ulster Annals' 686=687; but Duald's next year-section is numbered A.D. 686): "In this year Adamnan freed the captives whom the Saxons had taken from Ireland.

"The battle of Dunnichen, between Oswiu's son and Brude, Bile's son, [who] was the victor."

The battle of 685 broke the English power in Scotland to the north of the Forth, and allowed also part at least of Strathclyde to recover independence. Bede says that the Scots of Dalriata renounced allegiance to Northumbria (E.C., 43-44). Linlithgow and the Picts of Galloway seem to have remained still subject to the Angles (S.C.S., i, 268, 271).

Brude is called the "son of the king of Dumbarton" in the Life of Adamnan. Cf. below, year ca. 692. His father "Bile, king of Fortriu" was probably the "Beli, Neithon's son" of the pedigree of the kings of Strathclyde (above, p. clviii), and the great-grandfather of the "Beli, Elfin's son" who died in 722. Brude died in 693, only 30 years before his grand-nephew, and 40 years before the last of his grandsons. Brude's brother Owen was in his prime in 643; Owen's son died in 694. Brude must have been old when he died.

Tigernach gives Brude the title of "king of Fortriu" (see year 693). Brude seems therefore to have inherited Pictland south of the Tay from his father, Pictland north of the Tay through his mother.

If the genealogies after the Historia Brittonum are right in calling Brude Ecgfrith's *fratruelis*, Brude's mother's father must have been one of the sons of Æthelfrith. But since we may assume that Brude claimed part of the kingdom through his mother, her father must have been a descendant of Eanfrith, who married a Pictish princess (617×633), and whose son Talorcan held the Pictish throne from 653 to 657. The dates seem to decide that Brude must have been Eanfrith's grandson, not Talorcan's. Talorcan was probably not born before 617, and Brude had a grandson who was old enough for warfare in 685.

From the verses of Riaguil (below) Skene deduced that Brude's mother was the daughter of Talorcan, Eanfrith's son (S.C.S., i, 263). This deduction is incorrect. What Riaguil says is that Brude was the grandfather of Brude, Derile's son (†706). See below.

Talorc, [son of] Aithican, died.[1] . . .

The slaying of Rothechtach, and of Dargairt, son of Finguine.[2]

685

Duald Mac-Firbis, Three Fragments of Irish Annals, II, p. 110

Death of Fland Fína, Oswiu's son, king of the Saxons, the renowned scholar,[3] Adamnan's pupil; of whom Riaguil of Bangor sang:

"To-day Brude[4] fights a battle for the heritage of his grandfather[5]; unless it please God's son, they have perished in it; where Oswiu's son has been killed, in battle against green swords. Although [Ecgfrith] does penance, it is in Iona . . .[6]

[1] This is followed in T. by a notice of Donald Brecc's death. See above, year 643.

A.U., u.s., 136, say: "Talorc, son of Acithaen, and Donald Brecc, Eochaid's son, died." Cf. the Gartnait, Accidan's son, mentioned above, year 649. (Perhaps Talorc's death also should be placed in 643.)

[2] Similarly in C.S., 108, Hennessy's year 682; and in A.U., u.s.

A.U., i, 172, s.a. 720 = 721, note: "The slaughter of Cu-dinaisc, Rothechtach's son"; this may have been the Rothechtach whose death is entered here.

Dargairt's death appears to be repeated in A.U., i, 142, s.a. 692=693 (but here more probably 692 is right): "The death of Dargairt, son of Finguine." Cf. below, year 710.

Finguine may have been the great-great-grandson of Conall, Comgall's son.

[3] *in t-egnaidh amhra.* This was Ealdfrith, Oswiu's son, Ecgfrith's successor; under whose death in 704 this passage stands. But the poem speaks of Ecgfrith, not of Ealdfrith.

[4] In the margin: "Derile's son." He became king of the Picts eleven years afterwards. (Marginal notes like this have equal value with the text.)

[5] *im forba a senathar.* "His grandfather's heritage" was therefore the land of the Picts, at this time ruled by Brude, Bile's son. It follows from this that Brude, Bile's son, was the grandfather of Brude, Derile's son. It is implied by the plural verb ("they have perished") that both Brudes were present in the battle.

[6] *cia do rada aitrige | is hi ind Hí iar nassa*, rhyming with *glasa;* therefore *iarnassa* should be one word ("of iron shoes"?).

There seems to be a pun here upon *aithrige* "repentance" (feminine) and *ath-rige* "dethronement" (neuter).

"To-day Oswiu's son has been killed, who had black draughts.[1] Christ has heard our prayers, that they should save Brude . . .".[2]

685

Chronicle of Holyrood, p. 19

In the year 685 king Ecgfrith rashly led an army to waste the province of the Picts, although many of his friends opposed it, and especially Cuthbert of blessed memory, who had recently been ordained a bishop; and through the enemy's feigning flight he was led on into the defiles of inaccessible mountains, and annihilated, with great part of the forces he had brought with him, in the fortieth year of his age, the fifteenth of his kingdom, on the thirteenth day[3] before the Kalends of June.

And Ecgfrith was succeeded on the throne by Ealdfrith, a man very learned in scriptures, who was said to be [Ecgfrith's] brother and Oswiu's[4] son. And he nobly restored the ruined state of the kingdom, although within narrower bounds.[5]

685

Annals of the Four Masters, vol. i, p. 290, s.a. 684[6]

Slaughter [fell] upon all animals in common, throughout the world, to the end of three years, so that scarce one survived in the thousand of every kind of beasts.

[1] I.e., "died of wounds"?

[2] *roisaorbut Bruide bregha*, rhyming with *deocha*. "Brude the brave" O'Donovan. Possibly: "that [the saints of] Brega should save Brude"?

O'Donovan's translation of this poem (ibid., 111) is the basis of Skene's (S.C.S., i, 266-267). The text also is given by Skene in P. & S., 402.

[3] I.e., May 20th.

[4] In text "Oswin's."

[5] This passage is derived from Bede's H.E., IV, 26 (E.C., 42-44).

Sigebert of Gemblours, M.G.H., Scriptores, vi, 327, s.a. 685, renders Bede's account thus: "Ecgfrith, king of the Northumbrians, was slain by the Picts. The Picts, Scots, and Britons, pressed the English exceedingly; and, recovering the liberty which they had formerly lost through the English, they invaded great part of England. . . . Ecgfrith was succeeded by his brother Ealdfrith, who reigned for 20 years."

Sigebert is followed by Alberic of Trois Fontaines, M.G.H., Scriptores, xxiii, 700, s.a. 685.

[6] Also "the 11th year of Findachta," sovereign of Ireland. Under this year is noted a hard frost, for which see year 700.

PART VII

Domination of the Picts over Dalriata

686

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 210[1]

Adamnan led back sixty captives to Ireland.[2]

686

Annals of the Four Masters, vol. i, pp. 290-292, s.a. 684

Adamnan went to England, to beg for the captives that the North Saxons had taken with them from Mag-Breg, in the previous year. He got their restitution from them after doing miracles and wonders before the hosts ; and afterwards they gave him great honour and reverence, with complete restoration of everything he asked of them.[3]

[1] Placed 22 years after 664.

[2] Similarly in A.U., i, 136, s.a. 686=687 : and (with omission of "sixty") in C.S., 108, Hennessy's year 683. Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 110, s.a. 682 : "Adamnan brought 60 captives to Ireland."

[3] D.M.F. says that the concession of the captives was one of the honours done to Adamnan, when he accepted Roman tonsure. Fragment II, 112 (also in Skene's P. & S., 402): "Great booty was taken by the Saxons from Ireland. Adamnan went to ask for [the return of] the booty." Ibid., 114, after an incorrect account of the Easter controversy : "So Adamnan was crown-tonsured there ; and never was greater honour shown to man than was shown then to Adamnan. And that great booty was given to him, and he proceeded to his own monastery at Iona.

"There was great astonishment in his congregation when they saw him with this crown-tonsure. He urged the congregation to receive the crown-tonsure ; and he could not prevail upon them : but God permitted the convent to sin, and to expel Adamnan. And [Adamnan] took pity upon Ireland. Thus Bede has said. For Bede was with Adamnan as long as [Adamnan] was in England."

If Bede is the only authority for this account, the account is worthless. See E.C., 45-46.

Duald continues thus : "Thereupon Adamnan came to Ireland, and he

686, 688

Adamnan, Life of Columba, book II, c. 46 [1]

Of the plague.

And this also, as I think, seems not to be reckoned among smaller miracles of virtue, with regard to the plague which twice in our time had ravaged the greater part of the world. For not to speak of the other wider districts of Europe (that is of Italy and the city of Rome itself, and the cisalpine provinces of Gaul, and also Spain, though separated by the interposition of the Pyrenaean mountain), the islands of the ocean, that is to say Ireland [2] and Britain, were twice entirely ravaged by dreadful pestilence, with the exception of two peoples: the people of the Picts and that of the Scots of Britain, between whom is the boundary of the mountains of the Ridge of Britain.[3] And although both peoples are not without great sins, by which the eternal judge is frequently provoked to anger; yet he has spared them both hitherto, bearing with them patiently. To whom else then can this favour conferred by God be ascribed, than to St Columba, whose monasteries, founded within the borders of both peoples, are greatly honoured by both to the present time?

But this that we shall now say is not to be heard, as we think, without lamentation: that there are many very stupid men in both peoples who, not knowing that they have been protected from diseases by the prayers of the saints, with ingratitude basely abuse God's patience.

But we render to God frequent thanks that he has protected us, at the prayers of our venerable patron on our behalf, from the invasion of plagues, both in these our islands and in England,[4] when we visited our friend king Ealdfrith; although the pestilence had not yet ceased, but was ravaging many

flourished in Ireland" (*ro iordharcaigh sain for Eirinn;* "excelled all Erin," O'Donovan); "but that single control of Easter and the tonsure were not accepted from him until this year" [704]. "And Adamnan died in this year, in the eighty-third year of his age." Here this Fragment ends. See year 704.

[1] Reeves's edition, 183-187; Skene's, 191.

[2] *Scotia.*

[3] *Dorsi montes Britannici* (i.e. Druimm-nAlban).

[4] *Saxonia.*

villages from place to place; yet both in our first visit, after Ecgfrith's battle, and in the second, after an interval of two years,[1] while we walked in the midst of such danger of plague, the Lord so delivered us that not even one of our companions died, nor was any of them troubled with any disease.

687

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 210[2]

The killing of Cano, Gartnait's[3] son.[4]

688

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 138, s.a. 688=689

Iolan, bishop of Kingarth, died.[5]

The death of Cathasach, grandson of Donald Brecc. . . . The death of Feradach, son of Tuathalan. The death of Maelduin, son of Conall Crandomna.[6]

[1] I.e., in 686 and in 688. Adamnan therefore wrote after 688. See also year 679.

[2] Placed 23 years after 664.

[3] In Tigernach, *Gartnain* (similarly in Duald, and the Tale of Cano); C.S., *Carnait;* A.U., *Gartnaidh.*

[4] This sentence appears similarly in C.S., 108, Hennessy's year 684; and A.U., i, 136, s.a. 687=688.

Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 110, s.a. 683: "Canon son of Gartnait entered into religion."

D.M.F., II., 90, s.a. 686: "Bishop Cuthbert reposed [687].

"Cano Gartnait's son died.

"The emperor Constantine [IV] died" [685].

This Cano became a figure in Irish romance, and was imagined to have been a contemporary of king Aidan. See years ? 574, ?601, notes; and year 668.

Two years after Cano's death Tigernach, u.s., 211, C.S., 110, and A.U., i, 140, record that "Coblaith, Cano's daughter, died." Cf. also years 673 and 705. In the same year-section are noted the writing of works by Bede, and the reign of Justinian II [685-695]; the reign is taken from Bede's Chronicle (M.G.H., Auctores, xiii, 315).

[5] Similarly in C.S., 108, Hennessy's year 685 (with the reading *Garad* for Kingarth), and in F.M., i, 294, s.a. 688.

Tigernach, R.C., xvii, 210 (24 years after 664), reads "John" for "Iolan," and mis-spells Kingarth (*Iohannes espoc Cind Galaráth*).

[6] This paragraph appears similarly in C.S., u.s.; but Tigernach, u.s., 211, reads falsely: "The death of Cathasach, grandson of Donald

688

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 211 [1]

Adamnan led back captives to Ireland.[2]

691

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 140, s.a. 690=691 [3]

The [men of] Dalriata ravaged the [Irish] Picts and the Ulaid.[4] . . .

A great gale drowned certain six men of the community of Iona on the sixteenth day [5] before the Kalends of October.

Brecc, son of Feradach, son of Tuathal, son of Maelduin, son of Conall Crandomna."

The next sentence in T., C.S., and A.U., is: "Part of the sun was obscured." There was an annular eclipse in 688 on July 3rd at 10½ a.m. (Paris time); this is the only eclipse that can be intended, between 680 and 692 (L'Art).

Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 110, s.a. 684: "Cathasach, Donald Brecc's son, died. Feradach, Tuathalan's son, died."

According to the Chronicle of Dalriata, Maelduin was king of Argyle for 16 years.

The Duan Albanach, in P. & S., 61: "Maelduin, son of Conall of [many] plunderings, had seventeen [years] by right" on the throne of Dalriata. Maelduin is placed after Donald Dond († ca. 695), and before Ferchar Fota († ca. 696). See above, p. cxxxi.

Fordun places the reign of Maelduin ("Maldewinus, king Donald's son") after that which he gives to Ferchar Fota (see above, year 643, note; and see 664, note). According to Fordun, Maelduin reigned from 664 to 684 (III, 40, i, 125; whereby is to be corrected III, 43, i, 128). Fordun's dates of the empire are inaccurate here.

[1] Placed immediately after the eclipse of 688.

[2] This may be a repetition of the statement made under year 686; but see Adamnan's own account, above.

[3] Under the same year is entered: "Theodore, bishop of Britain, reposed." Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, died in 690, according to Bede's History, V, 8, and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles (ABCEF).

[4] In the previous year the king of the Irish Picts had fallen; A.U., i, 140, s.a. 689=690: ". . . Ailill, son of Dungal of Eilne, son of Scandal" was slain. (The Annals of Clonmacnoise erroneously make Eilne the name of a man; p. 110, s.a. 685.) Eilne is in the north-west of Antrim county (O'Donovan, F.M., i, 199). C.S., 108, Hennessy's year 686=690: ". . . Ailill, Dungal's son, king of the [Irish] Picts," was slaughtered. Ailill stands in the list of kings of Dalaraide, in the Book of Leinster, p. 41 e.

[5] 16th September.

691 or 692

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 212[1]

In the fourteenth year after the death of Failbe of Iona, Adamnan went to Ireland.[2]

ca. 692

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 140, s.a. 691=692

The siege of Dun-deauae-dibsi.[3]

693

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 212[4]

Brude, Bile's son, king of Fortriu, died; also Alpin, Nechtan's son.[5]

[1] Placed 3 years after 688, but 37 years before 729. Under the same year appears the following, in Tigernach, C.S., and A.U.: "The moon turned to the colour of blood on the natal day of St. Martin." L'Art de Vérifier les Dates calculates that there was a partial lunar eclipse in 691 on November 11th at 6 p.m. (Paris time); i.e., 32 to 50 minutes earlier in Ireland, and therefore on November 11th according to the Irish reckoning.

The 14th summer after Failbe's death would have been that of 692.

The Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 110, s.a. 687=691, record nothing else within the year: "The moon was of sanguine colour, the eve of the nativity of St Martin."

[2] Similarly in C.S., 110, Hennessy's year 688; and in A.U., i, 140, s.a. 691=692 (with f.n. and e. of 692).

D.M.F., II, 92: "Adamnan came to Ireland in the fourteenth year after the death of Failbe, abbot of Iona" ("thirteenth" in O'Donovan's translation).

The Annals of Boyle, 7, O'Conor's year 657, read: "Adamnan came to Ireland, and brought the evangel with him."

It seems probable that Adamnan took with him, if he did not actually go on purpose to take, his Life of Columba. See before 679, notes.

[3] Reeves (Adamnan, 378) thought that Dundaff south of Stirling may have been meant.

[4] Placed 4 years after 688, but 36 before 729. Under the same year has been entered the restoration of Justinian II [in 705]: an event which, with the passage following it, is taken from Bede's Chronicle (M.G.H., Auctores, xiii, 317-318).

[5] This passage appears similarly in A.U., i, 140, s.a. 692=693.

The Chronicles of the Picts (ABFI) give Brude Bile's son a reign of 21 years. He seems to have reigned from 682 to 693, and may have succeeded in 672.

D.M.F., II, p. 93: "Brude, Bile's son, king of Fortriu, died" (*ri*

693

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 142, s.a. 692=693

The slaying of Ainftech,[1] and of the nephews of Niall,[2] and of the sons of Boanta.[3]

?694

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 142, s.a. 693=694

A siege of Dunnottar.[4]

Foirtrean). This is placed in the year after Adamnan's voyage to Ireland.

Chronicles of the Picts DF, in Skene's P. & S., 150, 173: "In his time flourished St Adamnan." Similarly in K, ibid., 201.

Extract from an Irish Life of Adamnan, Reeves's transcript, from Brussels MS. 5101-4, in Skene's P. & S., 408-409:—"Once the body of Brude, Bile's son, king of the Picts, was brought to Iona; and his death caused Adamnan grief and sorrow, and he said that Brude's body should be taken to him into the house that night. Adamnan watched by the body in that house till morning. In the morning of the day after, when the body had taken to moving and opening its eyes, a certain religious man came then to the door of the house and said: 'If Adamnan would like to raise the dead, I say that he should not do it. It will be a disgrace to every priest who shall come in his place, unless he [too] raise the dead.' 'There is some justice in that' said Adamnan. 'If, then, it is juster, let us bless this body, and the soul of Brude.' Brude sent his spirit again to heaven, with the blessing of Adamnan and of the community of Iona.

"Then Adamnan said: 'Many wonders performs the king who was born of Mary; . . . [*betha scuab an nim muili,*] [giving] death to Brude, Bile's son. It is strange that, after he has been king of the north, a hollow stump of withered oak [should be] about the son of the king of Dumbarton'" [*im mac rig Ala Cluaithi*].

For Brude's father, Bile or Beli, see year 685, note; for Beli's son, Owen, see year 643. Alpin or Elfin was perhaps Neithon's son, and Beli's brother.

[1] Ainftech was perhaps the father of Tarain, Brude's successor. Cf. the Chronicle of the Picts, above, p. cxxv; and years 697, 699.

[2] *Nieth-Neill.*

[3] *filiorum Boendo.*

[4] *Obsesio duin fother.* This may possibly be a repetition of the *Obsessio duin Foither* already entered by these annals under 680=681.

Immediately after this is placed "the death of Ferchar, son of Connad Cerr"; see above, year ?651.

694

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 213[1]

Donald, Owen's son, king of Dumbarton,[2] died.[3]

696

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 144, s.a. 695=696[4]

The slaying of Donald, son of Conall Crandomna.[5]

697

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 215[6]

Tarachin was expelled from his princedom.[7]

Ferchar Fota died.[8]

Adamnan brought in a law[9] in Ireland this year.

[1] Placed 5 years after 688, 35 before 729.

[2] *Rex Alo Chluaithe;* i.e., king of Strathclyde.

[3] Similarly in A.U., i, 142, s.a. 693=694.

For Owen, see year 643. Donald appears to have been succeeded by his nephew Bile or Beli, who died in 722.

[4] With the marginal note "bissextile."

[5] Similarly in C.S., 112, Hennessy's year 692. Tigernach, R.C., xvii, 214, (7 years after 688, 33 before 729) omits "Donald, son of."

The Duan Albanach, in P. & S., 60:—"Thirteen years of Donald Dond, after Dungal" (Fland's Duncan) "and Conall" (Conall Crandomna, who died ca. 659. See year 660, note).

Donald Dond's reign over Argyle seems to have been from 693 to 696.

[6] Placed 8 years after 688, but 32 before 729.

[7] Similarly in A.U., 144, s.a. 696=697; but they read "from his kingdom"; i.e., the kingdom of the Scottish Picts. This king's name is spelt Tarain, below, year 699; and Taran in the Pictish Chronicle. See also year 692. Cf. Adamnan's "Tarain."

Tarain is allowed four years' reign in the Chronicle of the Picts; perhaps 692 to 696. His successor was Brude, Derile's son; see below, and year 706.

[8] Similarly in A.U., u.s.

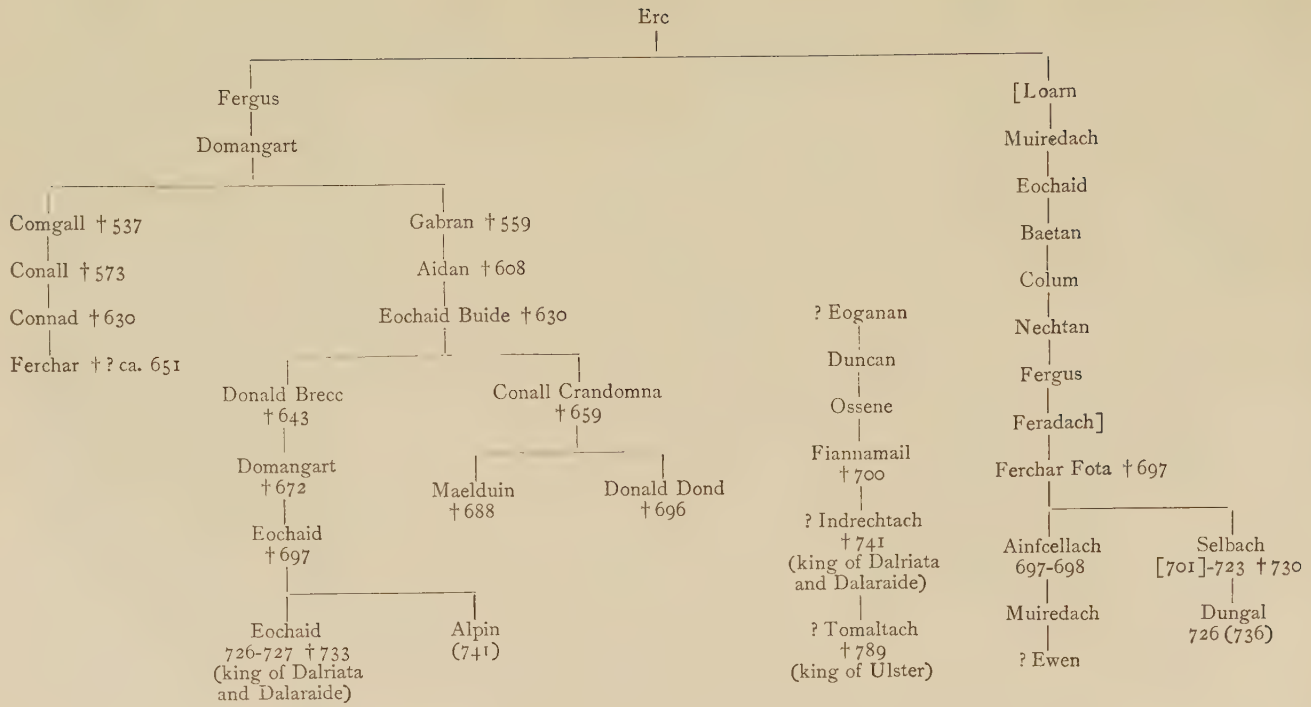
The Duan Albanach, in Skene's P. & S., 61:—"Ferchar Fota (consider it) passed twenty-one years [in the kingdom]." Ferchar is there placed after Maelduin († 688) and before Eochaid († 697).

Ferchar Fota appears to have been king of Argyle from 696 to 697. The Chronicles of Dalriata also allow him a reign of 21 years, which must include his previous reign in Lorn. His pedigree is given in genealogy V after the Senchus; above, p. clvi.

The claims of the last kings of Dalriata will be shown in the table on the opposite page.

[9] *Recht lecsa.* Stokes regards *recht* as a gloss upon *lecsa* = *lexa*, from Latin *lex.*

A.U., u.s.: "Adamnan went to Ireland and gave the Law of the


Erc
Fergus
Domangart
Comgall † 537
Conall † 573
Connad † 630
Ferchar † ? ca. 651
Gabran † 559
Aidan † 608
Eochaid Buide † 630
Donald Brecc † 643
Domangart † 672
Eochaid † 697
Eochaid 726-727 † 733 (king of Dalriata and Dalaraide)
Alpin (741)
Conall Crandomna † 659
Maelduin † 688
Donald Dond † 696
? Eoganan
Duncan
Ossene
Fiannamail † 700
? Indrechtach † 741 (king of Dalriata and Dalaraide)
? Tomaltach † 789 (king of Ulster)
[Loarn
Muiredach
Eochaid
Baetan
Colum
Nechtan
Fergus
Feradach]
Ferchar Fota † 697
Ainfcellach 697-698
Muiredach
? Ewen
Selbach [701]-723 † 730
Dungal 726 (736)

Innocents to the peoples." Similarly in C.S., 112, Hennessy's year 693. A.I., 17, O'Conor's year 685=696 (26 years after 670): "Adamnan set a law over Ireland."

D.M.F., II, 96 (and Skene's P. & S., 402): "Adamnan came to Ireland and indicted the Law of the Innocents to the peoples of Ireland: that boys and women were not to be killed."

The Law was the subject of an early Middle-Irish tract, Cáin Adamnáin; it is edited by K. Meyer in the Anecdota Oxoniensia, Medieval and Modern Series, part **12** (Oxford, 1905).

In the list of those that were present at the council are the names:— "Eochaid, Donald's grandson, king of . . . ," and "Brude, Derile's son, king of Pictland" (*Cruithintuathi*); Cáin Adamnáin, 20. Brude's predecessor Tarain was deposed in 697 (above); and Eochaid, king of Dalriata, died in the same year (below).

Sigebert of Gemblours, M.G.H., Scriptores, vi, 328, s.a 694: "Abbot Adamnan . . . was famed in England."

The Martyrology of Oengus, under September 23rd (Stokes's translation): "To Adamnán of Iona, whose troop is radiant, noble Jesus has granted the lasting liberation of the women of the Gael"; with Lebar Brecc's notes (1880 Oengus, cxlvi-cxlvii): "abbot of Iona of Columcille"; and in the lower margin (of p. 96): "Of Adamnan of Iona, etc. On a certain day Adamnan chanced to be passing through Mag Breg, with his mother on his back; and they saw two battalions attacking each other. Now Ronait, Adamnan's mother, happened to see a woman with an iron hook in her hand dragging another woman from the opposite side, with the hook fastened in her breast. For men and women used to fight in battle alike at that time. Thereupon Ronait sat down, and said: 'Thou shalt not take me from this place until women are freed forever from this condition, and from battles and campaigns.' So Adamnan promised this thing.

"Then there happened to be a great council in Ireland, and Adamnan went to that council with men chosen from the priests of Ireland, and he freed women there.

"These are four laws of Ireland: Patrick's law, not to kill priests; the law of Darí the nun, not to kill cattle [not to steal oxen, ibid. lxiv]; Adamnan's law, not to kill women; the law of Sunday, not to transgress upon it." Similarly also in MS. Laud 610 (1905 Oengus, 210). The last paragraph appears with little difference under March 17th in Lebar Brecc (84; 1880 Oengus, lxiv; R.S. **89**, ii, 504).

An addition to Colman's Hymn (by Mugroin, abbot of Iona [964-980], according to the Franciscan MS.), in Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus, ii, 306: "A blessing upon Columcille, with the saints of Scotland on the other side" (*Alban alla;* glossed in the Dublin version *fri muir anair* "to the east of the sea"); "upon the soul of the glorious Adamnan" (*Adamnan áin*, the attribute being chosen for alliteration), "who laid a law upon the tribes" (*forsna clanna;* i.e. the tribes of the Gaels).

Note on Fiacc's Hymn, in Franciscan Liber Hymnorum, ii, 306: "The

697

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 146, s.a. 696 = 697 [1]

Eochaid, Donald's grandson, was killed.[2]

698

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 146, s.a. 697 = 698 [3]

The burning of Dunolly.

four chief laws of Ireland: the laws of Patrick, of Dare, of Adamnan, of Sunday. Patrick's law [was] not to kill priests; Dare's law [was] not to steal cows; Adamnan's [was] not to kill [women]; [the law] of Sunday, not to transgress it" (*cen* [*a th*]*ar-imthecht*).

For the "Law of Sunday," cf. the Yellow Book of Lecan, facs., 215; J. G. O'Keeffe, Anecdota from Irish MSS., iii, 21 ff.; Ériu, i, 189-214.

The English bishop Ecgbeorht, who was at this time endeavouring to reform the Columbite monasteries (see E.C., 50-51), was present at the council of 697 (Cáin, 16).

Another person present was bishop Cuirítán or Curetan (Cáin, 12, 16). This may have been the Curitanus who is commemorated under March 16th (the day of Boniface of Rosemarkie), in Gorman, 56, with the note: "bishop, and abbot of Ross-meinn"; and in Tallaght, ed. Kelly, p. xviii.:— "Curitanus, bishop, and abbot of Ros-mic-Bairend" (identified with Rosemarkie, by Reeves and Hogan; but this seems doubtful). See Reeves, Culdees, 44-46. Late writers identify Curitanus with Boniface. Cf. below, year 706.

[1] This notice is placed immediately after the promulgation of Adamnan's law.

[2] *Echu, nepos Domnaill.* This seems to have been the same person as the "Eochaid Crookednosed, son of Domangart, son of Donald Brecc," to whom three years' reign is given by the Chronicle of Dalriata (above, p. cxxxii).

For his successor see year 698. His son (probably) reigned 726-733.

The Duan Albanach, in Skene's P. & S., 61 (after Ferchar Fota, and before Ainfcellach): "Two years of Eochaid of the horses; the king of palaces was brave." See above, p. cxxxi. Eochaid seems to have been king of Knapdale.

Fordun (III, 43) inserts, after the reign of "Eugenius," Donald's grandson, the reign of another Eugenius, who is probably fictitious. This seems to be a duplication of the Ewen, variously called by the Chronicles of Dalriata Ferchar Fota's son (E) and Findan's son (DFIK). These two seem to have been the same man, about whose parentage the chroniclers are in conflict; but Fordun makes Ferchar Fota's son reign before, and Findan's son reign after, Ainfcellach. See year 736.

[3] These events are entered after the battle of 698.

The expulsion of Ainfcellach, Ferchar's son, from the kingship; and he was taken, bound, to Ireland.[1]

698

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 216[2]

A battle [was fought] between the Saxons and the Picts; and there fell Beornhæth's son, who was called Beorhtred.[3]

ca. 699

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 146, s.a. 698=699

The battle of Fiannamail, Ossene's son.[4]

Tarain went to Ireland.[5]

[1] Ainfcellach, son of Ferchar Fota, has one year's reign allowed him by the Chronicle of Dalriata, apparently 697-698. See also year 719.

The Duan Albanach, in Skene's P. & S., 61 (after Eochaid's reign): "After that the good Ainfcellach, Ferchar's son, was king for one year." The next king named there is Dungal (below, p. 235).

The words of A.U. imply that Ainfcellach's conqueror was Irish. The deposition of Ainfcellach is synchronous with the appearance of Fiannamail as king of Dalriata (see year 700).

Fordun (Chronica, III, 44, i, 129) records Ainfcellach's reign thus: "Eugenius, yielding up the kingdom," (see year 696, note) "left it to his successor Ainfcellach" (*Amrikelleth*, etc.), "son of Findan, son of Eugenius IV, after having established peace with the Picts and the Angles. When he had been crowned, in the same year of the Lord 697, he inadvisedly prepared war against the Picts, breaking off the state of peace. And the same year was not yet quite complete when upon his first expedition, made secretly by traversing dense woods, in the land of [the Picts], many of his followers were shot with arrows; and the king himself was wounded by being hit with an arrow, and suddenly turned back. And on the tenth day after receiving this wound he died, and left the throne of the kingdom to his brother Eugenius [VI]."

[2] Placed 9 years after 688, but 31 years before 729. In the next year-section has been entered the reign of Philippicus [emperor from 711 to 713]. (So in C.S., 112, Hennessy's year 695.) This is derived from Bede's Chronicle (M.G.H., Auctores, xiii, 318).

The year of the battle is given as 698 by Bede (E.C., 47).

[3] *filius Berníth, qui dicebatur Brechtraigh.* (*Brectrid* in A.U.; *Berctred* in Bede.)

A.U., i, 146, s.a. 697=698, read: "A battle between the Saxons and the Picts; and there fell [the son of] Beornhæth, who was called Beorhtred."

Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 111, s.a. 693=698: "The battle between the Saxons and Picts, where the son of Beornhæth, who was called Beorhtred [*Bregghtra*], was slain."

[4] Similarly in D.M.F., II, 98. See year 700.

[5] See year 697.

700

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 148, s.a. 699=700[1]

Fiannamail, Duncan's grandson, king of Dalriata, . . . was slaughtered.[2]

ca. 700

Chronicon Scotorum, p. 112, Hennessy's year 696

[There was] great frost in this year, so that the lakes and rivers of Ireland froze; and the sea froze between Ireland and Scotland, so that there was communication between them on sheet ice.[3]

701

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, pp, 148-150, s.a. 700=701

. . . Congal, Eoganan's son, died.

A conflict [occurred] in Skye, and there fell Conaing, Duncan's son, and the son of Cuanda.[4]

The destruction of Dunolly by Selbach.[5]

Slaughter of the tribe of Cathba.[6]

[1] With the marginal note "bissextile."

[2] Cf. Tigernach, R.C., xvii, 216 (29 years before 729): "Fian[n]amail, Duncan's great-grandson, king of Dalaraide, . . . was slain." (The foreign events in this year-section of Tigernach are derived from Bede's Chronicle; M.G.H., Auctores, xiii, 318-319.)

F.M., i, 300, s.a. 698: "Fian[n]amail, Duncan's grandson, lord [*toisech*] of Dalriata, . . . was killed."

D.M.F., II, 100 (in the first part of the year-section corresponding with the Ulster Annals' 699=700 and 700=701) "Fiannamail, Duncan's grandson, king of Dalriata, died."

For Duncan see above, year 680. Cf. years 701, 707.

Hennessy understood that Fiannamail was king of Irish, not Scottish, Dalriata; if so, he is the first king of Irish Dalriata named in the annals. After 639, the kings of Argyle had perhaps lost Irish Dalriata. It lay within the kingdom of Ulster (*Ulaid*); for whose kings v. L.L., 41; B.B., 51-52, 276; A.U., iv, 427. Fiannamail is not named in the Book of Leinster's list of kings of Dalaraide. Whether he belonged to Irish or Scottish Dalriata, he probably claimed the title to both. See year 741.

[3] This is a late entry in the year-section corresponding to the Ulster Annals' 699=700. It is placed by F.M. (i, 290) under year 684 (for 685).

[4] See above, year 677. For Duncan, see year 680.

[5] Dunolly was the principal stronghold of the tribe of Loarn. It seems to have been occupied in 698 by the supporters of an Irish chieftain,

ca. 704

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 152, s.a. 702=703[1]

Ailen-Daingen was built.[2] . . .
Fergussan, Maelcon's son, died.
The siege of Ritha.[3]

ca. 704

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 219[4]

A slaughter of the [men of] Dalriata, in the valley of the Leven.[5]

Adamnan, abbot of Iona, reposed, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, on the ninth day before the Kalends of October.[6]

perhaps the Fiannamail who died in 700; and by taking it (cf. year 714) Selbach probably made good his claim not only to the chieftainship of the tribe of Loarn (cf. year 719) but also to the kingship of Argyle (cf. year 723). Selbach's son Dungal seems to have had his seat at Dunadd (year 736).

[6] *generis Cathboth.* Cathba was grandson of Loarn Mor, the son of Erc and brother of Fergus (see year ca. 501). The tribe of Cathba was, according to Skene, "a rival branch of the tribe of Loarn" (S.C.S., i, 272). See the Senchus, above, pp. clii-cliii.

[1] Previously in the same year-section, and in the parallel section of Tigernach and of the Annals of Clonmacnoise (699=704), it is stated that the battle of Corann was fought on 12th July, a Saturday: 12th July was Saturday in 704. (C.S. reads the 15th July, incorrectly.)

[2] I.e., "strong island"; presumably an island fortress, or a crannog. See year 714, and cf. year 725.

[3] *Obsessio Rithe.* The editors of A.U. conjecture that Rithe was a place in Scotland. Cf. ca. 642.

[4] Placed 25 years before 729. The year-section begins with the note: "Theodosius reigned one year" [716-717], with the marginal date 4600. Next year-section begins "Leo reigned nine years" [717-741], with the marginal date 4688. These and the other foreign events on pp. 218, 219, are derived from Bede's Chronicle (M.G.H., Auctores, xiii, 319-321), which concludes in Leo's 9th year (A.D. 725-726). Tigernach's notice s.a. [712]: "In this year Bede made a great book, i.e. *Berba Beid*," [? = *verba Bedae*] must therefore refer to Bede's Chronica Majora, finished in 725 or 726.

[5] Similarly in A.U., i, 152, s.a. 703=704. But C.S., 114, Hennessy's year 700=704, reads: "Slaughter of the [men of] Dalriata at Loch Lomond" (or Leven, *ic linn limniae*). If this is not a corrupt reading, it would show that the valley of the Dumbartonshire Leven is meant in the other Irish Annals.

[6] I.e., on the 23rd September.

Similarly in C.S., u.s., but with the reading: "in the seventy-eighth year of his age."

A.U., u.s.: "Adamnan, abbot of Iona, rested in the seventy-seventh year of his age."

A.I., 17, O'Conor's year 693=704 (34 years after 670): "Adamnan, abbot of Iona and wise man, reposed in Christ."

Annals of Clonmacnoise, 111-112, s.a. 700=705: "Adamnan, abbot of Iona, in the 78th year of his age died; of whom Syonan in Kinelea [*Kinleagh*] is named (in Irish *Sidhi Adamhnán*, which is as much in English as the seat of Adamnan, but no church land as I take it). Ealdfrith, son of Oswiu, the prudent king of the Saxons, died." The part in brackets is a gloss by the translator. Murphy says of the place mentioned that it is "a townland in the barony of Moycashel, co. West Meath."

Annales Cambriae, Y Cymmrodor, ix, 160, s.a. [704] (the "260th year" after 444): "Ealdfrith [*Alch-frit*], king of the Saxons, died. The slumber of Adamnan."

C.S., 78, places "the birth of Adamnan, abbot of Iona," in [622] (Hennessy's year 624). Tigernach erroneously reads: "The death of Adamnan, abbot of Iona"; R.C., xvii, 177, s.a. [622], f.n. 6. 628 is the next year after 622 whose f.n. is 6; and 628 is probably the year intended, because Adamnan's 77th year would then be 704 to 705.

A.I., 10, under O'Conor's year 617=625 (26 years after 599), also note: "The birth of Adamnan." So also A.U., i, 94, s.a. 623=624 (with f.n. and e. of 624).

Martyrology of Gorman (182, September 23rd): "Adamnan, high abbot of Iona, what form of religion did he not cherish, in Scotland, in Ireland?"

Adamnan is commemorated at 23rd September in the calendars: e.g. "Adamnan, abbot of Iona" in the Martyrology of Tallaght, in Book of Leinster, 363, and in the Brussels version, ed. Kelly, p. xxxiv; "Adamnan the wise" (in the second hand) in the Karlsruhe Bede; Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus, ii, 283. Cf. the Martyrologies of Oengus, above, year 697, note; and of Tallaght, ed. Kelly, xli-xlii (Todd's Hymns, i, 69-70), where, in a list of Irish saints paralleled (as *unus moris et vitae*) with saints of the Roman church, Patrick is ranked with Peter, Bridget with Mary, Columba with the apostle Andrew, and Adamnan with pope Silvester. See the Martyrology of Donegal, 254-256. Cf. also the Breviary of Aberdeen, ii, 3, cxiv-cxv.

F.M., i, 304-306, s.a. 703, and "The 2nd year of Congal" of Kinnaweer, sovereign of Ireland: "Adamnan, Ronan's son, the abbot of Iona of Columcille, died on the 23rd of September, after being twenty-six years in the abbacy, and after seventy-seven years of life. Adamnan was a good holy man, according to the testimony of the holy Bede, for he was tearful, repentant, prayerful, devoted, fasting, temperate; inasmuch as he never ate but on Sundays and Thursdays only. He made himself a slave to these virtues. And moreover he was wise and learned in the exposition of the divine holy scriptures."

A note in Lebar Brecc (1880 Oengus, cxiii) says that Adamnan appointed the 15th July as festival of the twelve apostles, among the [Irish] Scots.

Ealdfrith, Oswiu's son, [called] Fland Fína by the Gaels, a wise man, king of the Saxons, died.[1]

There is a metrical pedigree of Adamnan in the top margin of p. 369 of the Book of Leinster: "Adamnan was nourished in Iona; the son of clear Ronan, the son of Tinne, the son of Aed, the son of Lugaid, the son of Setna, the son of Fergus (i.e., of the kindred of Lugaid).

"His mother (if it be a fault in the body) [was] Ronnat, daughter of Segine. Segine, of brilliant rank, [was] the good son of Duach, the son of Barr-finnan (i.e., of the kindred of Enda)."

Note on Fiacc's Hymn in Franciscan Liber Hymnorum, L.H., ii, 306: "Adamnan, son of Ronan, son of [T]inne. His mother's name was Ronat."

See years 692, 696, above. According to Reeves (Adamnan, 378-379), Adamnan was succeeded by Conamail, who died in 710.

Book of Leinster, facsimile, 370 e: "Adamnan was an admirable man; great was his love for his God and for his neighbour. By him the great relics of saints were collected into one shrine; and this is the shrine that Cilline Droich[tech], son of Dichloch, gave to Ireland in order to make peace; and it belongs to the tribe of Conall and the tribe of Eogan. Here follows the enumeration of the relics (i.e. in the shrine), as Adamnan sang:

"A maccucain isruith
In tiag nodgaibi fortmuin . . ." etc.

Cf. year 726, note. There is an Irish Life of Adamnan (see above, p. lxxiii). An anecdote of him is told in the Tallaght Discourse, 162.

[1] *Fuit*, with the gloss *do bí* ("was").

Ealdfrith died in 705; Bede, V, 18. A.I., 17, O'Conor's year 694=705 (35 years after 670): "Fland Fina, Oswiu's son, king of the Saxons, reposed." A.U., i, 152, s.a. 703=704 (with marginal note, "bissextile"): "Ealdfrith, Oswiu's son, a wise man, the king of the Saxons, died."

Ealdfrith has been confused with Ecgfrith by D.M.F.; see above, year 685. The name *Fland Fína* is a descriptive one, meaning "wine-red." In the notes upon the Martyrology of Oengus at Oswald's death on August 5th, the Franciscan MS. and the Lebar Brecc confuse Oswald with Ealdfrith (1905 Oengus, 182; 1880 ed., cxxix): "that is, Fland Fína, Oswiu's son."

D.M.F., II, 110 (and P. & S., 402):—"The death of Fland Fina, Oswiu's son, king of the Saxons, the renowned scholar [*egnaidh*] and pupil of Adamnan." Here follow the verses quoted at year 685.

Verses written in Irish have been attributed to Ealdfrith. Cf. the text edited by K. Meyer; Anecdota from Irish MSS., iii, 10 ff.

D.M.F., II, 110: "In this year [704] the men of Ireland consented to receive single authority and a single rule from Adamnan, regarding the celebration of Easter. . . ." There follows an erroneous account of the Easter and tonsure controversy (110-114). For its conclusion, see year 686, note.

The Metrical Dindsenchas (from the Book of Leinster), Gwynn, Todd Lecture Series, viii, 20: "Afterwards the synod of Adamnan [was assembled] to excommunicate Irgalach," in Raith-Senaid, north of Tara.

ca. 705

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 154, s.a. 704=705

The slaying of Conamail, Cano's son.[1]

ca. 706

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 220[2]

Brude, [son of] Derile, died.[3]

ca. 707

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 220[4]

Duncan held the principate of Iona.[5]

707

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 154, s.a. 706=707

Bec, Duncan's grandson, was slaughtered.[6]

[1] See above, year 673.

[2] Placed 23 years before 729.

[3] A.U., i, 154, s.a. 705 (glossed "or 706")=706: "Brude, Derile's son, died."

The Chronicle of the Picts (ABC) gives Brude 11 years' reign; he appears from the annals to have reigned from 697 to 706. He was succeeded by his brother Nechtan.

According to A.S., March, ii, 444-445, the Life of Kiritinus in the Codex Ultrajectinus says that "Nectavius, the king of the Picts, . . was baptized [∴ 706×710?]; and gave the place of his baptism, with its whole parish, to St Kiritinus, for the service of Christ's pilgrim servants, without any subjection, in eternity. . . . And St Kiritinus took with him many relics of saints, and founded a church at the mouth of the river Gobriat in Pictland, and consecrated it. He preached the gospel to Picts and Scots for 60 years, and built a notable temple at Rosemarkie. . . . Kiritinus performed apostolic miracles. . . . He built 150 temples; he converted 36,000 persons to the faith of Christ. At last, after completing 80 years of his age, 3 months, and 17 days," he died on 16th March; "and was buried in the same city, in the church of St Peter, before the altar. . . ." Cf. Breviary of Aberdeen, i, 8, 69-70. See year 697, note.

[4] Placed 22 years before 729.

[5] Similarly in A.U., i, 156, s.a. 706=707.

Duncan's appointment seems to have preceded the death of abbot Conamail; Reeves reckoned Conamail's abbacy from 704 to 710. See year 710. Duncan seems to have been appointed in connection with the Easter dispute; see years 716, note; 717.

[6] According to S.C.S., i, 273, "he was the head of a branch of the Cinel Gabhran, who possessed the south half of Kintyre, and were descended

709

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 156, s.a. 708=709

A battle [was fought] in the Orkneys, and in it fell the son of Artabláir.

710

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 221 [1]

Conamail,[2] Failbe's son, abbot of Iona, rested.[3]

710

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 158, s.a. 709=710

A conflict [was fought] by the tribe of Comgall [4]; and there two sons of Nechtan Dargairt's [5] son were slaughtered.

Angus, Maelanfaid's son, was slaughtered in Skye.[6]

from Conaing, one of the sons of Aidan, to whom it was given as his patrimony." Skene (S.C.S., i, 285) understood Bec to have been the son of Conall Cael (see year 681), the son of Duncan, son of Conaing (see year 622).

For Duncan see years 680, 681, 700. He was perhaps a son of Eoganan.

[1] Placed 19 years before 729. Under the same year-section Tigernach enters a second notice of the restoration of Justinian II; this is derived from Bede's Chronicle (M.G.H., Auctores, xiii, 317). Cf. year 693.

[2] *Conmael* in Tigernach, *Conmaol* in C.S.

[3] The text is corrected by that of C.S., 116, Hennessy's year 706=710.

A.U., i, 158, s.a. 709=710: "Conamail, Failbe's son, abbot of Iona, rested." Similarly in F.M., i, 308, s.a. 708.

Conamail's death is placed in the Martyrology of Gorman, p. 174, under September 11th. So also in Martyrology of Donegal, p. 244: "Conamail, Failbe's son. He was of the race of Colla Uais, sovereign of Ireland."

About this time Ceolfrith's letter was written (Bede, V, 21; E.C., 47-49).

Fordun inserts in his version of the Chronicle of the Picts, after the reign of Nechtan, Derile's son (Chronica, IV, 12; i, 154): "[Nechtan], according to Bede, received letters from England concerning the observance of the Paschal cycle."

[4] *Immbairecc apud genus Comghaill* (*apud* in sense of Irish *la*).

[5] *Doirgarto.* Cf. A.U.'s genitive *Dargarto* above, year 685 (*Dargartó* in Tigernach); in probability the same man is referred to there as here. Cf. year 712.

[6] *insci jugulatus est.* Cf. the Maelanfaid at year 725.

710×711

Chronicle of Holyrood, p. 23.

In the year 711, the prefect Beorhtfrith fought with the Picts.[1]

711

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 222[2]

A slaughter of the Picts in the plain of Mano [was made] by the Saxons[3]; and there Finguine, son of Deleroith,[4] fell by premature death. . . .

A conflict of the Britons with the [men of] Dalriata occurred on Lorg-eclet, and there the Britons were conquered.[5]

712

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 222[6]

Coeti, bishop of Iona, rested.[7]

712

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 160, s.a. 711=712

The burning of Tairpert-boitter.[8]
Congal, Dargairt's[9] son, died.
The siege of Aberte[10] by Selbach.

[1] This is derived from Bede's Recapitulatio (E.C., 49. Bede reads *Berctfrid*; *Berctred* (see above, year 698) is probably a different name).

[2] Placed 18 years before 729.

[3] In text *ab Saxones*, for which Stokes would read, with A.U., *apud Saxones* (cf. year 710). Mano was probably the district called by Welsh writers *Manau;* i.e., Clackmannanshire, with an extension to the south of the Forth, as far as Slamannan.

[4] Cf. year 716.

[5] Both these passages appear similarly in A.U., i, 158, 160, s.a. 710=711.

[6] Placed 17 years before 729.

[7] Similarly in A.U., i, 160, s.a. 711 = 712 (with marginal note "bissextile"); cf. F.M., i, 310, s.a. 710. The bishop's name is spelt *Ceode* by Tigernach; *Coeddi* in A.U. and F.M.

See the Martyrology of Donegal, October 24th.

[8] *Combustio Tairpirt Boitter.* Reeves would identify this with the Tarbert north of Kintyre: Adamnan, 380.

[9] *Doirgarto*, as at year 710, above.

[10] Reeves (Adamnan, 380) would identify this with Dunaverty, in S.E.

713

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 223[1]

Kenneth, son of Derile, and the son of Mathgernan, were slaughtered.

Dorbene obtained the chair of Iona; and after five months in the primacy he died, on Saturday, the fifth day before the Kalends of November.[2] . . .

Talorc, Drostan's son, was bound by his brother, king Nechtan.[3]

Kintyre. This identification is uncertain, but probably right. Skene adopted it: "Dunaverty, the main stronghold of the south half of Kintyre, the patrimony of the branch of the Cinel Gabhran of which the descendants of Conaing, son of Aidan, were the head" (S.C.S., i, 273). See Berchan, below, year 997.

[1] Placed 16 years before 729.

[2] I.e. on the 28th October, a Saturday in 713. So also in A.U. But Tigernach repeats Dorbene's death under [715] (R.C., xvii, 225: 14 years before 729): "Dorbene, abbot of Iona, [died]." Probably this Dorbene was the copyist of the earliest existing manuscript of Adamnan's Life of Columba; see above, p. 117.

F.M., i, 312, s.a. 713: "St Dorbene Fota, the abbot of Iona, died on the 28th of October."

Martyrology of Gorman, p. 204, places "slender Dorbene" (*Dorbene seng*) under October 28th; with the note: "abbot of Iona of Columcille; he was of the kindred of Conall Gulban." To this the Martyrology of Donegal (286) adds that Dorbene was "Altaine's son."

"Dorbene, abbot of Iona" is named under October 27th in the Martyrology of Tallaght, Book of Leinster, 364; but October 28th in the Brussels version, ed. Kelly, xxxviii.

[3] *ligatur apud fratrem suum, Nechtan regem* (*apud* in sense of Irish *la*). This whole passage is in A.U., i, 162, s.a. 712=713.

Annals of Clonmacnoise, 112, s.a. 710: "Talorc [*Folorg*], the son of Drost, was fast bound by his own brother king Nechtan."

Nechtan, the king of the Picts at this time, was Derile's son, and brother of the Kenneth previously mentioned. Skene would read "Kenneth's brother" here; but possibly "brother" may mean "cousin" (as Irish *brathir* sometimes means), or else "brother-in-law" or "foster brother" may be meant. The kings of Pictland seem to have preferred to give Athole (the doorway of Moray) to a near relative.

Angus put Talorcan, Drostan's son, king of Athole, to death in 739, and may have made his own brother Talorcan the king of Athole (see year 750).

714

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 224[1]

Dunolly was built by Selbach.[2]

Ailen Daingen was destroyed.[3]

716

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 166, s.a. 715=716

Gartnait, son of Deleroith, died.

716

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 217

Ecgbeorht, a holy man of the nation of the Angles, and one that for the sake of the heavenly fatherland adorned the priesthood with monastic life, by pious preaching brought over many provinces of the [Irish] Scottish nation to the canonical observance of the time of Easter, from which observance they had too long strayed, in the year from the Lord's Incarnation 715.[4]

[1] Placed 15 years before 729. In the same year-section in Tigernach and A.U. is the note: "Fogartach, Cernach's grandson, was driven from his kingdom [of Ireland], and came to Britain."

See year 716, note.

[2] Cf. year 701.

[3] Cf. year 704.

Both events stand similarly in A.U., i, 162-164, s.a. 713=714.

[4] This passage is wrongly placed by Tigernach under [701] (28 years before 729). It is derived from Bede's Chronicle (M.G.H., Auctores, xiii, 319; E.C., 50, note), where the date given is 716, though some MSS. read 715 and 717. The other foreign events in the same section are also derived from Bede (u.s., 318-319). Tigernach's year-section begins with the note: "Anastasius reigned three years," with the marginal date 4676; but Bede gives the date 4670. Anastasius was emperor 713-716.

According to MacCarthy's tables (N and O in A.U., iv) Celtic Easter was April 21st in 715, 3 weeks after Roman Easter; in 716 (the last year of the cycle of 84 years, according to MacCarthy) it would have been April 12th, one week before Roman Easter: because the thirteenth day after the Paschal new moon was a Sunday—an occurrence that did not happen again until 729, the year of Ecgbeorht's death. (See year 729, and E.C., 51-52.)

Rival abbots seem to have been set up by the different factions before the innovation was accepted. The change is said to have been made by Duncan (see year 707, and note); but abbot Conamail (†710) lived for 3 years after Duncan's appointment, and abbot Dorbene ruled for a short

716

Chronicle of Holyrood, p. 23

In the year 716 . . . the man of the Lord, Ecgbeorht, converted the monks of Iona to the catholic [time] of Easter, and to the ecclesiastical tonsure.[1]

716

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 225[2]

Easter was changed in the community[3] of Iona.

Faelchu, Dorbene's son, received the chair of Columba in the eighty-seventh[4] year of his age, on the fourth before the Kalends of September, a Saturday.[5]

time (†713 or 715); and Dorbene's successor Faelchu was enthroned one year before Duncan's death (†717).

Irish customs and tonsure survived in the church of Brittany, and were abolished by Louis in 818. See B.R., vi, 513-514. Some Irish customs survived in Scotland till the time of queen Margaret.

[1] This is derived from Bede, H.E., Recapitulatio.

Herimannus Augiensis notes Ecgbeorht's reform from Bede's Chronicle; M.G.H., Scriptores, v, 97, s.a. 716 (also the year of Theodosius' empire). Cf. Bernoldus, Chronicon, ibid., v, 417. So also in Ekkehard, s.a. 716, or 3 Anastasius II; ibid., vi, 26, 157; and in Marianus Scottus, ibid., v, 546, s.a. 737=715 (also the 2nd of Anastasius), and A.D. 716. Incorrectly in Sigebert of Gemblours, M.G.H., Scriptores, vi, 329, s.a. 708: "The Picts and Scots received the catholic rite of the observance of Easter." Ibid., s.a. 716: "Ecgbeorht, coming from Ireland, was renowned for sanctity and doctrine in England." Ibid., 330, s.a. 730: "St Ecgbeorht, the priest of the English, died."

Ecgbeorht's reform of the Scottish Easter is noted (from Bede) by the Chronicon Universale, ibid., xiii, 18; and (from Sigebert) by Alberic of Trois Fontaines, ibid., xxiii, 703, s.a. 716. Hugo's Chronicon (ibid., viii, 325) abstracts from Bede's Chronicle, but gives the date 717.

[2] Placed 13 years before 729. In the same year-section in T., A.U., and the Annals of Clonmacnoise, is noted the death of Osred, king of Northumbria; and the restoration of Fogartach, Cernach's grandson, to the kingdom of Ireland. (Fogartach was killed in the battle of Cenn-delgthen in 724; A.U., i, 174.) Osred's death is placed in 716 by Bede and A.S.C.; in [717] by A.C.

Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 112, s.a. 713: "Faelchu [*Foyliow*] sate in the seat of Columcille, in the 74th year of his age."

[3] *civitate*, i.e. the monastery. Under years 717 and 718 the word used is *familia*.

[4] "Seventy-fourth," in A U. and Annals of Clonmacnoise. Read 74th in T. (lxxiiii for lxxxuii).

[5] August 29th. This was a Saturday in 716.

717

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, pp. 225, 226[1]

Duncan, Cendfaelad's son, abbot of Iona, died.[2] . . .

Expulsion of the community of Iona across the ridge of Britain by king Nechtan.[3]

The whole passage is also in A.U., i, 164-166, s.a. 715=716 (with the marginal note "bissextile").

F.M., i, 312, s.a. 714 and "the sixth year of Fergal" as sovereign of Ireland: "Faelchu, son of Dorbene, was ordained in the abbacy of Iona on the fourth before the Kalends of September, a Saturday, in the seventy-fourth year of his life."

His predecessor's death is recorded in the year 717.

[1] Placed 12 years before 729.

[2] Similarly in C.S., 118, Hennessy's year 713=717; and in A.U., i, 166, s.a. 716=717.

The Martyrology of Oengus, May 25th: "Duncan of chill Iona."

Notes on the Martyrology of Oengus (1905 Oengus, p. 136), in Rawlinson B 505: "Duncan, i.e. abbot of Iona of Columcille.—I.e. abbot of Iona. Under him the community of Iona accepted the lawful Easter." In Laud 610 (ibid.; and Lebar Brecc, u.i.): "Duncan, son of Cendfaelad, son of Maelcoba, son of Aed, son of Ainmire"; Lebar Brecc completes the pedigree (1880 Oengus, xc): "son of Setna, son of Fergus Cend-fota, son of Conall Gulban, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages."

Martyrology of Gorman, p. 104, May 25th: "Noble Duncan of Iona here" (*Duncad Iae soer sunna*), with the note "abbot of Iona of Columcille, of Cenel-Conaill." Martyrology of Oengus, p. 126, May 25th: "Duncan of cold Iona." Brussels Martyrology of Tallaght, Kelly, p. xxv, May 25th: "Duncan, abbot of Iona; the son of Cendfaelad." Cf. the Martyrology of Donegal, p. 138, May 25th.

See above, years 707, 716 note.

Reeves in his edition of Adamnan says (p. 379): "He was of the most noble branch of the house of Conall Gulban, for his grandfather Maelcobha, who died in 615, was the third of the family who were successively monarchs of Ireland, and his grand-uncle Domhnall, who won the battle of Magh Rath . . . in 637 succeeded Maelcobha on the throne. During his presidency there seems to have been a schism in the community, for in 713 and 716 two other members of the order were elected to the *cathedra Iae* or *Columbae:* or it may be that a different office, such as *prior*, or even *bishop*, is denoted by the expression. . . ." A rival abbot appointed to rule during the life-time of his predecessor would have had a doubtful position, which might have been described by saying that he had been appointed to sit in the abbot's chair.

[3] Similarly in C.S. and A.U., u.s.

This expulsion must have been the result of the Columbites' refusal to accept some of Nechtan's reforms. See year 710, and Bede (H.E., V,

A conflict between [the people] of Dalriata and the Britons at the stone that is called Minuirc; and the Britons were defeated.[1]

718

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 226[2]

The tonsure-crown[3] was put upon the community of Iona.[4]

719

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 227[5]

The battle of Findglend [took place] between two sons of Ferchar Fota; and there Ainfcellach was slaughtered on the fifth day of the week, the Ides of September.[6]

21; in E.C., 47-49). With the king's authority over the Scottish church at this time compare the "servitude" from which the church was freed, 878 × 889; year 889, note.

[1] Similarly in A.U., u.s. C.S. omits "and the Britons . . . Minuirc."

Skene (S.C.S., i, 273) suggested that Minuirc was Clach na Breatan in Glenfalloch, on the boundary between the counties of Dumbarton and Perth. But no doubt there were many boundary marks. This should have been on the border of Argyle.

[2] Placed 11 years before 729. In the same year is noted the death of a king of Northumbria, i.e., Coenred, who died in 718 (Bede, V, 22, 23; A.S.C., s.a. 716).

[3] *Tonsura corona.* In C.S., *Tonsurae corona.*

[4] Similarly in C.S., 118, Hennessy's year 714=718.

[5] Placed 10 years before 729. In the next year is noted: "Theodosius reigned one year" (he was emperor 716-717). So also in A.U., s.a. 719=720. This is derived from Bede's Chronicle (M.G.H., Auctores, xiii, 319), and has already been entered by Tigernach under [704] (see that year, note).

[6] I.e., on Thursday, the 13th September; but this was a Wednesday in 719. It was Thursday in 714 and 725. The battle is similarly entered and dated in A.U., i, 170, s.a. 718=719; but in MS. A the date has been altered by another hand to "the sixth before the Ides," September 8th, which was Thursday in 718. Perhaps the true correction would have been from "fifth" to "fourth day of the week," i.e. Wednesday, September 13th, 719.

This is the Ainfcellach who was deposed in 697 or 698. His adversary must have been Selbach, who reigned till 723. Another brother may have been Ewen, for whom see year 736.

"Findglend" was understood by Skene to have been "Finglen on the Braes of Loarn, near Lochavich" (S.C.S., i, 284). This is likely, and is supported by tradition.

The battle of Ardde-anesbi,[1] on the sea, [took place] between Duncan Bec, with the tribe of Gabran, and Selbach with the tribe of Loarn; and Selbach was defeated, on the second before the Nones of October, the seventh day of the week.[2] And certain earls[3] fell in it.

721

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 227[4]

Duncan Bec, king of Kintyre, died.[5]

722

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 228[6]

Maelrubai rested in Applecross, after completing the eightieth year of his life, three months, and nineteen days; on the eleventh day before the Kalends of May, the third day of the week.[7] . . .

[1] In A.U., *Ardae nesbi.*

[2] I.e., on Saturday, the 6th October: but this was Friday in 719. It was Saturday in 714 and 725.

A.U. (u.s.) note the battle similarly, but read: "on the day before the Nones of September (or October), on the sixth day of the week": i.e., Friday, September 4th or October 6th. (September 4th was Monday in 719, Friday in 716 and 722.)

The true date seems therefore to have been Friday, 6th October, 719.

[3] *comites.* Possibly = "mormaers"? Cf. the *nobiles* who fell in 736.

[4] Placed 8 years before 729.

[5] So also in A.U., i, 170, s.a. 720=721.

[6] Placed 7 years before 729.

[7] April 21st, a Tuesday in 722. Lower in the same year-section the 11th of December is stated to be Friday; this also was true of 722.

A.U., i, 172, s.a. 721=722: "Maelrubai [died] in Applecross, in the eightieth year of his age."

F.M., i, 320, s.a. 721 (and "the 2nd year of Kenneth," Irgalach's son, as sovereign of Ireland); "St Maelrubai, abbot of Bangor, died, after going to Scotland, in his own church at Applecross, on the 21st of April. 80 years, 3 months, and 9 days, was the length of his life."

The Martyrology of Oengus, April 21st: "In Scotland in purity, after forsaking every pleasure, our brother Maelrubai went from us, with his mother." Notes in Lebar Brecc (1880 Oengus, lxxv; 1905 ed., 118): "The festival of the death of Maelrubai. And he was of the Cenel-Eogain [Tyrone], but his church is in Scotland, and this is the festival of his death. His mother was Subthan, daughter of Comgall, or daughter of Setna; and his church is in Applecross" (*i n-Apur-crosen a chell*).

A note upon "holy Maelrubai" in the Martyrology of Gorman, p. 80,

Beli, Elfin's son, king of Dumbarton, died.[1] . . .
Fedlimid held the principate of Iona.[2]

723

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 231[3]

The entrance into monastic life[4] of Selbach, king of Dalriata.[5]

April 21st, calls him "abbot of Bangor; he was of the Cenel-Eogain, and he blessed [a church] in Applecross [*Apur Crossan*] in Scotland."

He is called "Maelrubai, abbot of Bangor" in the Calendar of Tallaght, April 21st; Book of Leinster, p. 359, b.

Cf. Martyrology of Donegal, p. 106.

According to the Breviary of Aberdeen, ii, 8, lxxxix-xc, August 27th, Maelrubai was killed in Urquhart in Ross by Norwegian invaders, and buried in Applecross.

Genealogies of Saints, in the Book of Leinster, facsimile, 347, c: "Maelrubae, son of Elgonach, son of Garb, son of Ferballach, son of Cu-bairend, son of Cremthand, son of Binnech, son of Eogan, son of Niall Nine-hostager." Similarly in L.B., 13, e-f: "Moelrubai, son of Elgonach, son of Garb, son of Ferballach, son of Cu-boirend, son of Crimthan, son of Eochaid Bindech, son of Eogan, son of Niall Nine-hostager."

[1] *Bili mac Elphine, rex Alo Cluaithe.*

This event stands also in A.U., u.s.; and in A.C., Y Cymmrodor, ix, 160, s.a. [722] (8 years after the "270th year" after 444: *Beli filius Elfin moritur*). Cf. B.T. in M.A., 686, s.a. 720; B.S. in M.A., 653, s.a. 721. His death is placed by D.M.F., I, 40, in this year [722], on December 11th or 12th:—" . . . The battle [of Almain] was won by Murchaid, Bran's son [king of Leinster], and by Aed, king of South Leinster, the son of Duncan, son of Colgu. Fergal [king of Ireland] was killed there; Aed Mend and Duncan, Murchaid's son, slew Fergal himself, and Bile, Buan's son, king of Scotland; from him is named Corrbile ['Bile's nook'] in Almain. . . ." This account of the battle is full of miraculous and legendary stories, and is not to be relied upon for any detail.

[2] Reeves, Adamnan, 382: "Fedhlimid, who was coadjutor abbot in 722, did not succeed to the abbacy on the death of Faelcu, in 724."

[3] Placed 6 years before 729.

[4] *Cleiricatus.* (*Clericatus*, A.U.; *i cclercecht*, F.M.)

[5] A.U., i, 174, s.a. 722=723: "Selbach's entrance into monastic life." In F.M., i, 318, s.a. 719: "Selbach, lord of Dalriata, entered monastic life."

Selbach appears to have relinquished the kingdom to his son Dungal. See year 726.

See year 730 for Selbach's death. The Chronicle of Dalriata allows him 24 years' reign; perhaps 700-723.

724

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 231[1]

Faelchu, Dorbene's son, abbot of Iona, slept. Cilline Fota succeeded him in the principate of Iona.[2]

The entrance into monastic life[3] of Nechtan, king of the Picts. Drust reigned afterwards.[4]

725

Tigernach, Annals: Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 232[5]

Ailen of Macc-Craich was built.[6]

Simal, son of Drust, was bound.[7]

ca. 725

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 176, s.a. 724=725[8]

Congal, son of Maelanfaith[9]; Brecc of Fortriu; Eogan,[10] abbot of Eigg, died.

[1] Placed 5 years before 729. In the same year-section the 7th of October is stated to have been a Saturday: this was true of 724.

[2] So also in A.U., i, 174, s.a. 723=724 (with marginal note "bissextile"). F.M., i, 318, s.a. 720 (and "the 1st year of Kenneth, son of Irgalach, son of Conaing Cuirri, in the sovereignty over Ireland"): "St Faelchu, Dorbe[ne]'s son, abbot of Iona, . . . died."

D.M.F., I, 52 (P. & S., 401): "Faelchu, abbot of Iona, died."

For Cilline see year 726.

[3] *Clericatum.*

[4] Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 113, s.a. 722=724 and 725: "Nechtan, king of the Picts, entered into religion, and Drust succeeded him in the kingdom."

The annals support Chronicles of the Picts DFIK, which give Nechtan 18 years' reign (probably 706-724).

Nechtan may have adopted the religious life from choice; cf. Bede's account of his character (E.C., s.a. ?710), and his zeal in religious matters (above, years ?710, 717). He seems to have endeavoured in 726 to recover civil power, but unsuccessfully. He did become king again in 728, but in 729 Angus was king. Nechtan died in 732.

[5] Placed 4 years before 729.

[6] Similarly in A.U., i, 176, s.a. 724=725. I.e., "isle of the Rough's son"?

For a similar use of the word *Ailen* (perhaps meaning "island fortress" or "crannog") cf. Ailen-daingen, under years 704, 714.

[7] A.U., u.s., read *Simul* for *Simal*, possibly intending: "At the same time, the son of Drust was bound."

[8] The sentence preceding the passage quoted is: "The moon [appeared] dark and sanguine on the eighteenth day before the Kalends of January,"

726

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 232[1]

Nechtan, Derile's son, was bound by[2] king Drust.[3]

Cilline, abbot of Iona, rested.[4]

Dungal was cast from his kingdom; and Drust was cast from the kingdom of the Picts, and Alpin[5] reigned in his stead. . . .

Eochaid, Eochaid's son, began to reign.[6]

726

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 176, s.a. 725=726

Talorcan Map-han died.[7]

727

Duald Mac-Firbis, Fragment I, p. 54[8]

In this year Angus, king of Fortriu, gained three battles against Drust, king of Scotland.

i.e. the 15th December. According to L'Art de Vérifier les Dates there was a total lunar eclipse on 13th December, 726. Perhaps these events are to be assigned to the year 726.

[9] With this Maelanfaith cf. Maelanfaid of year 710.

[10] *Oan princeps Ego.*

[1] Placed 3 years before 729.

[2] *abp;* in A.U., *apud.*

[3] This sentence appears similarly in A.U., i, 176, s.a. 725=726.

[4] D.M.F., I, 52 (P. & S., 401) (under the year after the battle of Cend-delgthen, fought in 724): "Cilline Fota, abbot of Iona, [died]."

F.M., i, 322, s.a. 725=731 (and "the 3rd year of Flaithbertach," son of Loingsech, as sovereign of Ireland): "St Cilline Fota, abbot of Iona, died."

A *Cillén* is placed under April 19th in the Martyrology of Gorman, p. 80. Similarly in the Martyrology of Donegal, p. 106.

[5] *Elphin*, i.e. Ælfwine. See year 728. According to S.C.S., i, 286, Alpin was the brother of the Eochaid, Eochaid's son, who acquired Dalriata, also in 726. The only evidence of this relationship is the fact that Fland names "Alpin, Eochaid's son," as the king who reigned after Dungal and before Muiredach; but perhaps Fland's evidence is sufficient. See above, p. cxlvii.

[6] See year 733.

Eochaid's predecessor was Dungal, Selbach's son, who had ruled in Argyle apparently from 723 to 726; he endeavoured to recover the kingdom afterwards (cf. years 727, 731, 733, 734, 736).

[7] Perhaps for *map-hoen* "Owen's son."

[8] Also in Skene's P. & S., 401.

The previous year-section ends thus: "The beginning of the reign of

727

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 178, s.a. 726=727

A battle [took place] in Rosfoichne,[1] and there some men of the two Airgialla[2] fell; [it was fought] between Selbach and the family of Eochaid, Donald's grandson.[3]

727

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 233[4]

Adamnan's relics were carried over to Ireland; and [his] law was renewed.[5]

728

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 234[6]

The battle of Moin-craibe[7] among the Picts themselves; Angus and Alpin were they that fought the battle. And the

Flaithbertach" [728]. The present year-section begins as above, and continues: "The death of Murchaid, Bran's son, king of Leinster" [727].

Duald's Fragment is not very good evidence for the occurrence of these battles, or for their date. Cf. year 729.

[1] *Congressio Irrois Foichnae*, "the encounter of Irros-Foichne" Hennessy. Of the two editors, Hennessy inclined to think that the battle took place in Ireland; MacCarthy, in Scotland.

[2] *dendibh Airgiallaib.* The Airgialla of Ireland appear to be meant (i.e. Oriel). See above, p. clii.

[3] "Eochaid, Donald's grandson," was the king whose death is noticed above under 697. The king who reigned at this time in Dalriata was Eochaid, Eochaid's son; and probably therefore Donald Brecc's great-grandson.

This battle would seem to have taken place between supporters of Eochaid, Eochaid's son, and Selbach, whose son—Dungal—Eochaid had deposed (year 726).

[4] Placed 2 years before 729.

[5] Similarly in A.U., i, 178, s.a. 726=727 (after, but in the same year with, the battle of Rosfoichne); and in D.M.F., u.s., immediately after the passage quoted above.

Among the provisions of the law was one of the payment of tax to Iona by the Irish Columbite houses: see above, year 696.

[6] Placed 1 year before 729.

[7] *Monaigh-craebi.* Reeves would identify this place with Moncrieff Hill, some 3 miles S.E. of Perth, in the barony of Dunbarney (Adamnan 383).

rout was before Angus, and the son of Alpin was slain there; and Angus took authority.

A pitiful battle between Picts at Caïslen-Credi[1]; and the rout was upon the same Alpin, and his territories and his men were all taken from him. And Nechtan, Derile's son, took the kingship of the Picts.[2]

[1] I.e., "fortress of Crede"? According to Reeves, u.s., this was Moothill, now Boothill, near Scone; and the same place as the Hill of Credulity, in the Chronicle of the Picts (below, p. 445). Cf. S.C.S., i, 280. This identification would involve the assumptions that *credi* is a genitive of *cred* "the *credo*" (or else, as Stokes suggested, that it is a by-form from the root *cred* of *cretid* "believes"), and that *credulitas* in the Chronicle of the Picts means "faith." These assumptions are somewhat strained, and I doubt whether the verbal resemblance justifies them. It seems more probable that Crede was a man's name, or even a woman's name (*Créd*, gen. *Créde*. Cf. Cred, Guaire's daughter, in the Tale of Cano; Anecdota from Irish MSS., i, 6, ff. Cf. D'Arbois de Jubainville, Littérature Épique de l'Irlande, 206).

Skene deduced from the word "pitiful" that the Irish annalist's sympathy was on Alpin's side, Alpin being of Dalriatan origin. The name Alpin is not originally Gaelic; it appears to be derived from Anglo-Saxon Ælfwine, and suggests descent from Neithon and Oswiu.

[2] These events stand thus in A.U., i, 180, s.a. 727=728 (with the marginal note "bissextile"): "The battle of Moin-croib [*Mónid chroibh*] between the Picts themselves; and there Angus was the conqueror, and many were slain on the side of king Alpin.

"A lamentable battle was fought among the same, near the castle of Crede [*juxta castellum Credi*]; and there Alpin fled away."

Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 114, s.a. 725 = 728: "The battle of Moin-craibe [*Moynid Krewe*] was fought between the Picts themselves, where Angus [*Enos*] was victor and many of Alpin's [*Elphines*] side slain.

"There was another battle between them near the castle of Crede [*Credy*], where it was a pitiful spectacle to behold king Alpin take his flight, and the most part of his army yield themselves to the mercy of their enemies: Eolbeck the son of Moydan and the rest of the nobles and people of the Picts turned their backs to Alpin, and did receive Nechtan the son of Derile [*Derills*] as king into the kingdom again."

Angus held part of the country, and in the next year made himself king. In 731 he repelled Talorc's attempt to take the kingdom from him, and three years later began to annex Argyle. He was in conflict with Northumbria in 740; completed the annexation of Argyle in 741; and fought against Strathclyde in 744.

The Chronicle of the Picts (ABC) says that Drust and Alpin reigned together for 5 years. According to the Irish annals, Drust reigned 724-726; Alpin, 726-728. One or the other may have entered his third year upon the throne.

729

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 234

Christ's knight died on the day of Easter.[1]

729

Chronicle of Holyrood, p. 24

And in this year [729] the man of the Lord, Ecgbeorht, departed to the Lord on the very day of Easter, the eighth[2] before the Kalends of May.[3]

729

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, pp. 180-182, s.a. 728=729

The battle of Monith-Carno, near lake Loogdae, [took place] between the army[4] of Nechtan and the army of Angus; and Nechtan's tax-gatherers[5] fell, namely Biceot, son of Moneit, and his son; Finguine, son of Drostan; Feroth, son of

[1] 24th April, 729.

A.U., i, 180, s.a. 728=729: "Ecgbeorht, Christ's soldier, rested on Easter day."

D.M.F., I, p. 56: "Saint Ecgbeorht, Christ's soldier, rested in Iona of Columcille."

Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 114, s.a. 726=729: "Ecgbeorht [*Egbricht*] the champion of Christ died on the feast day of Easter."

[2] April 24th. This was Easter in 729. Celtic Easter was April 17th, according to MacCarthy's tables (N and O, A.U., iv). See above, year 716, note.

[3] This passage is derived from Bede's H.E., V, 22 (E.C., 51).

Ecgbeorht's death, and the appearance of a comet, are placed under 729 in A.S.C., ABCDEF; and in the Annals of St Neots (Stevenson's Asser, 126).

His death is noticed also by Bernoldus, Chronicon, M.G.H., Scriptores, v, 417 (in his 90th year, 729, April 24th); and s.a. 727, by the Annales Quedlinburgenses, Weissemburgenses, Lamberti, and Hersfeldenses (M.G.H., Scriptores, iii, 34, and v, 1); s.a. 730, by Sigebert (ibid., vi, 330), confusedly. See above, year 716.

Historia Brittonum, Genealogies; M.G.H., Auctores, xiii, 205: "Ida begot Eadric, who begot Ecgulf, who begot Liodguald, who begot Aetan; he is Eata Glinmaur; he begot Eadbyrth, who begot Ecgbirth the bishop, the first [bishop] of their race."

[4] *hostem.*

[5] *exactatores* (*exactores* in MS. B).

Finguine, and many others: and the family of Angus triumphed.[1]

729

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 235

A hundred and fifty Pictish ships were wrecked upon Ros-Cuissine in the same year.[2] . . .

The battle of Druimm-Derg-Blathuug[3] [took place] between Picts, namely Drust and Angus, the king of the Picts; and Drust was killed there, on the twelfth day of the month of August.[4]

[1] Annales Cambriae, ed. Ab Ithel, 9, s.a. [728] (4 years after the "280th year" after 444): "The battle of mount Carno" (MS. A reads *mortis* instead of *montis*. Cf. *Mons Carno*, A.C., 18; *Mons Carn*, A.C., 27).

B.T. in M.A., 686, s.a. 728: "There was the battle of Mynydd Carno, in Gwent"; confusing this place with the scene of later battles. This battle is also entered in B.S. in M.A., 653, s.a. 728. B.T. in R.B.H., 258, places it in 730.

Monith-carno is probably a genitive case of *moin-Carno*; but *monith* or *monid* may have been a Pictish nominative. Carno is not the genitive of *cárn*, as Reeves (Adamnan, 383) would imply. Skene at one time suggested that the place might have been Cairn O' Mount, beside a pass between the Howe of Mearns and Strathdee; but there is no lake there, unless the Bog of Luchray may be meant. Reeves (Adamnan, 64) would have identified A.U.'s *stagnum loogdae* with Adamnan's *Loch Diae*, in the "ridge of Britain"; above, p. 59; that is probably Loch Lochy. But the identity of the two names is doubtful. Other conjectures are in Skene's Adamnan, 328; and S.C.S., i, 288. Phillimore says that the lake "is apparently Loch Tay" (Y Cymmrodor, ix, 160): this is possible, but uncertain. The spelling is probably corrupt, and the place is unidentifiable. No doubt the succeeding battle was fought near the same district.

The battle of Moin-Carno ended the second reign of Nechtan, Derile's son. This reign lasted for 9 months, according to the Chronicles of the Picts (FIK and Fordun).

[2] The year of Ecgbeorht's death, 729. Possibly the place is Troup Head.

[3] *Cath Droma Deirg Blathuug*, Tigernach; in A.U., *Bellum Dromo Dergg Blathuug*.

[4] A.U., i, 182, s.a. 728=729: "The battle of Druimm-Derg-Blathuug [was fought] in the districts of the Picts, between Angus and Drust, king of the Picts; and Drust fell."

Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 114, s.a. 726=729: "The battle of Druimm-derg was fought in the kingdom of the Picts between Drust and Angus, king of the Picts; where Drust was slain, the 12th of the Kalends of August.

"*Here end the Chronicles of Bede.*" (I.e., Bede's H.E.)

730

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 235[1]

Return of Adamnan's relics from Ireland in the month of October.[2]

730

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 182, s.a. 729=730

. . . Selbach, Ferchar's son, died.[3]

731

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 184, s.a. 730=731

The burning of Tairpert-boittir by Dungal.[4]

731

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 235[5]

A battle [took place] between the Picts[6] and Dalriata in Muirbolg, and there the Picts were conquered. This was a

For the stone cross inscribed to Drust "son of Voret," at St Vigeans, see Allen, Early Christian Monuments of Scotland (1903), iii, 235-239. Cf. H. & S., ii, 126; Stuart, Sculptured Stones, i (1856), plate 69. This stone may perhaps be responsible for the tradition that Drust "son of Wrad" was killed by Kenneth Alpin's son. See above, p. cxxviii.

[1] Placed 1 year after 729.

[2] Similarly A.U., i, 182, s.a. 729=730; it is there stated that February 8th of this year was Wednesday, which was true of 730.

Annals of Clonmacnoise (erroneously), p. 114, s.a. 727=730: "The return of the relics of Adamnan to Ireland in the month of October."

[3] See year 723.

[4] *Combustio Tairpirt boittir apud Dunghal.*

This would seem to have been an act of aggression by the deposed Dungal, Selbach's son, at Tarbert on Loch Fyne, against the king then reigning in Kintyre. The king at this time was Eochaid, Eochaid's son.

[5] Placed 2 years after 729.

Under the same year Tigernach notes: "The entrance into monastic life [*clericatus*] of Eachada, Cuthwine's son. The king of the Saxons was bound." These events are connected, probably wrongly, in A.U., i, 184, s.a. 730=731: "The entrance into monastic life [u.s.] of Eochaid, Cuthwine's son, the king of the Saxons; and he was bound."

Stokes conjectured *maic Chuta* for Tigernach's *Eachada*, because Ceolwulf, Cutha's son, king of Northumbria, became a monk in 737. This conjecture is perhaps not necessary.

[6] *Cruithniu;* below (in the nominative) *Cruithne.*

battle between the son of Angus and the son of Congus. Brude conquered Talorc, who fled.[1]

ca. 732

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 236[2]

Temnen of [Kingarth[3]], a religious priest, rested.[4]
Nechtan, Derile's son, died.[5]

[1] In A.U., u.s.: "A battle [took place] between the son of Angus and the son of Congus, but Brude conquered Talorc, who fled." In F.M., i, 322, s.a. 725: "A battle [took place] between the Picts [*Cruithniu*] and Dalriata, in Muirbolg; and there a great number of the Picts were killed."

Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 114, s.a. 728=731: "The battle between the Picts and Dalriata, where the Picts were overcome, was fought.

"There was a battle between the son of Angus and the son of Congus, where Brude vanquished Talorc flying."

Hennessy thought that the Irish Picts are meant, and Irish Dalriata, and the Irish Muirbolg. The context appears to contradict this view, although the word used (*Cruithne*) usually in the Irish annals means "Irish Picts." Perhaps there were two battles, and Tigernach by conflation combines them.

Talorc or Talorcan was the "son of Congus" (see below, year 734); Brude, the "son of Angus" (year 736). One year later, Dungal, ruling part of Dalriata, captured (probably) this Brude from sanctuary. Angus, a strong ruler, retaliated vigorously, taking advantage of the disunion of Dalriata.

Talorc's father Congus is probably he whose descent is recorded in Genealogy IV after the Senchus (above, p. clvi).

[2] Placed 3 years after 729.

[3] *Cille Garadh.* So also in A.U. and F.M. The priest's name is spelt *Teimnen*, in A.U.; *Timnen*, in F.M.

Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 114, s.a. 729=732: "Tymnen of Kilgarad, a religious and virtuous man, died."

[4] Similarly in A.U., i, 186, s.a. 731=732. In F.M., i, 322, s.a. 726 (and "the 4th year of Flaithbertach" as sovereign of Ireland): "Temnen of Kingarth [died]."

[5] Similarly in F.M., i, 324, s.a. 726, Annals of Clonmacnoise, u.s., 114-115.

Nechtan's reign-length is given variously as 15, 10, or 18 years, by the Chronicles of the Picts (see p. cxxv). His reign was interrupted by the reigns of Drust and Alpin, 724 to 728 ("5 years," according to Chronicles ABC). He had ceased to reign in 729.

733

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 186, s.a. 732=733

Dungal, Selbach's son, profaned [the sanctuary of] Tory Island, when he dragged Brude out of it. And on the same occasion he invaded the island of Cuiren-rigi.[1]

Muiredach, Ainfcellach's son, assumed the kingship of the tribe of Loarn.[2]

733

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 237, s.a. [733]

Flaithbertach led the fleet of Dalriata to Ireland, and great slaughter was made of them in the island of Oine.[3] And these men were slain there: Conchobar, son of Lochene, and Branchu, son of Bran; and many were drowned in the river that is called the Bann.[4]

[1] The island's name has been altered in MS. A by another hand to Culren-rigi, and so appears in MS. B; and it is spelt Culen-rigi in the same annals, i, 286, s.a. 802=803. Reeves accepted the identification with Inch, off Inishowen, in Donegal (Adamnan, 384).

This passage appears thus in Tigernach (R.C., xvii, 236; 4 years after 729):

"Dungal, Selbach's son, made a raid into Tory Island, and another raid into Inis Cuirenn-rige, and destroyed — — [it?]."

This Brude was probably Brude († 736), the son of Angus Fergus' son king of the Picts: Angus retaliated upon Dungal next year (734), and Dungal fled to Ireland; two years later (736) Angus attacked him in Dalriata again, and imprisoned Dungal and his brother. Brude had doubtless been rescued in 734; he died soon after the imprisonment of Dungal.

[2] This sentence appears similarly in Tigernach, u.s., 237.

[3] O'Donovan follows the Annals of Clonmacnoise in thinking this "island of Oine" to be Inishowen. Reeves suggested Island Heaghey, Coleraine. There seems to be little ground for either conjecture.

[4] F.M., i, 326, s.a. 728 (and "the 6th year of Flaithbertach" as sovereign of Ireland): "Flaithbertach brought a fleet from Dalriata to Ireland; and on their arrival they delayed not in reaching the island of Oine. And battle was engaged in between Flaithbertach with his mercenaries [*amhsaibh*] and the Ciannachta, with others of the Ulstermen and of the tribe of Eogan; and a countless host of the Ulstermen and of the tribe of Eogan and of the Ciannachta were destroyed there, including Conchobar, son of Lochene, and Branchu, son of Bran; and a countless number of them were drowned in the Bann, after their defeat."

Flaithbertach entered a monastery, and died in 734: F.M., i, 326, s.a. 729.

Eochaid, Eochaid's son, king of Dalriata, and Conall, son of Conchobar, died.[1]

734

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 188, s.a. 733=734[2]

Caintigern, the daughter of Cellach Cualann, died.[3]

Annals of Clonmacnoise, incorrectly, p. 115, s.a. 730=733: "Fergus [read Flaithbertach] brought an army out of Dalriata into Inis Owen in Ulster, upon whom there was great slaughter made, amongst whom Connor, son of Lochene, and Branchu, son of Bran, were slain, and many others drowned in the river of Bann."

D.M.F., I, 56 (Skene's P. & S., 401): "A battle was won by Aed Alddain, Fergal's son, over Flaithbertach, Loingsech's son, king of Ireland; and Flaithbertach took to himself a fleet from the Fortrenna" (i.e., the people of Fortriu) "against the tribe of Eogan; but the greater part of that fleet was drowned. The death of Flaithbertach himself in that year. . . ."

This affair shows the intimate connection at this time between the affairs of Ireland and Dalriata.

[1] Similarly in F.M., i, 324, s a. 727 (and "the 5th year of Flaithbertach"), but with the reading "*toisech* of Dalriata."

For Eochaid's accession see year 726.

"Eochaid, Eochaid's son" stands in the list of kings of Dalaraide: Book of Leinster, facsimile, 41, e; he is succeeded there by Indrechtach, for whom see year 741.

Eochaid seems to have held together the three districts of Argyle (the districts containing respectively Dunnolly, Dunadd, and Dunaverty), and also the district of Dalaraide in the north-east of Ireland. Upon his death the territory was divided. The Chronicle of Dalriata and the Prose Chronicle in the Chronicle of Melrose say that the king of Dalriata was Ewen, Ferchar Fota's son (to 741; see below, pp. 235-236). But this Ewen's nephew, Dungal, Selbach's son, is named as king by Fland and the Duan. (Dungal appears to have reigned in Dunadd; see year 736.) Dungal was driven out by Angus in 734, and captured in 736. At the same time Dungal's cousin, Muiredach, Ainfcellach's son, reigned in Lorn (year 733); he also was driven out, by Angus's brother, in 736.

Indrechtach became king of Dalaraide; and he too was conquered by Angus (see year 741).

Fland and the Duan make Dungal Eochaid's successor; this he can only have been till 736: and they name Dungal's successor Alpin. Fland calls Alpin "Eochaid's son": and in the Duan, Alpin is given a reign of 4 years [?737-741]. See below, years 741, 742.

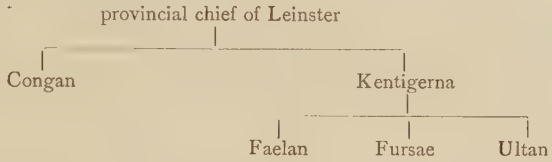
[2] The preceding sentence, in the same year-section, is: "An eclipse of the moon occurred on the eleventh before the Kalends of February" (i.e. 22nd January). So also in the same year of Tigernach, R.C. xvii, 237. According to L'Art de Vérifier les Dates, there was a lunar

eclipse in 734 on January 24th at 3 a.m. This is the eclipse connected by the A.S.C. (ABCDEF, s.a. 734) with the deaths of Tatwine and Bede.

[3] Cf. A.U., i, 164, s.a. 714=715: "Cellach Cualann, king of Leinster, . . . died."

Caintigern's name becomes Kentigerna in Latin. She had come to Scotland with her brother, Congan, and her son, Faelan.

According to J. Stuart in his edition of the Book of Deer, p. cxxxv, Kentigerna's relatives were these:



These five saints with seven other priests, according to tradition, settled at Lochalsh; and Faelan built a church in honour of Congan.

Cf. the Breviary of Aberdeen, i, 8, xxiv, January 7th: "St Kentigerna, the mother of abbot Faelan." Her father was Tyrennus, king of Leinster; her husband Feriacus, kinglet of Monchestree; her brother, St Congan (ibid., xxv): ". . . Forsaking her country, friends, and nation, she fled from the society of worldly men, with her son Faelan and her brother Congan; . . . and she came to a desert place at Strathfillan, and lived with them there for some time in deep contemplation.

"At last, deprived of the intercourse and presence of her dearest son and brother, Congan, she betook herself for contemplation to the island of Inchcailloch in Loch Lomond, in Lennox, and adopted the solitary life of an anchorite, satisfying herself with herbs and water only, in all patience and sanctity and integrity of life. . . ."

Breviary of Aberdeen, ii, 8, cxxvi, October 13th: "The abbot St Congan, who is revered at Turriff of the diocese of Aberdeen." "According to tradition [*ferunt*], Congan was the brother of the matron Kentigerna, and the dearest uncle of the blessed abbot Faelan."

The Breviary of Aberdeen (i, 8, xxvi, January 9th) says that Faelan was the son of Feriach and Kentigerna. Ibid., xxvii: "But by angelic exhortation he left his holy mother, Kentigerna, and the most holy man, his uncle Congan, and came to the place that is called Siracht, in the upper parts of Glenduckie" (*Glendeochquhy*), and built a church there.

Martyrology of Oengus, June 20th: "Faelan with that victory, that splendid mute" (Stokes), with the note in Lebar Brecc (1905 Oengus, p. 156): "From Raith-hErenn; he is in Scotland, near Glenn-Drochta in the west"; and in Rawlinson B 505, ibid.: "Faelan the dumb, from Srath-hErenn in Scotland."

Martyrology of Gorman, p. 120, June 20th: "Faelan, the high (?) flame" (Stokes) (*in brco balla*), with the note: "[the] dumb, in Raith-Erenn in Scotland." Brussels Martyrology of Tallaght, Kelly, p. xxvii, June 20th: "[Festival] of Faelan, the dumb, in Srath-Eret in Scotland."

734

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 237[1]

Talorc, son of Congus, took his own brother and gave him into the hands of the Picts; and he was drowned by them.[2]

734

Annals of Ulster, u.s.

Talorcan, Drostan's son, was taken and bound near Dunolly.[3]

Dun-leithfind was destroyed, after the wounding of Dungal; and [Dungal] fled into Ireland, to be out of the power of Angus.

735

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 239[4]

Bede, the wise man of the Saxons, reposed.[5]

735

Annales Cambriae; Y Cymmrodor, vol. ix, s.a. [735][6]

Bede the priest died.

736

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 239[7]

Angus, Fergus' son, king of the Picts, wasted the districts

[1] Placed 5 years after 729.

[2] Similarly in A.U., u.s.; but they translate into Latin (*cum illis*) the Irish of their original (in Tigernach, *leo-siden*, "by them").

The death of one brother (apparently) of Talorc is recorded at year 740.

Annals of Clonmacnoise (incorrectly), 115, s.a. 731=734: "Talorc, Congus' son [*Talorg mcCougusa*], was bound by his own brother and presented and sent to the Picts, who cast him into the water and drowned him."

[3] See year 739.

[4] Placed 6 years after 729.

[5] Similarly in A.U., i, 190, s.a. 734=735. In both, the previous record is: "An immense dragon was seen in the end of autumn, with great thunder after it." This may have been understood as a portent preceding Bede's death. A.I., 20, O'Conor's year 723: "Bede, the Wise, rested in Christ."

[6] The year after the "290th year" after 444. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (ABCDEF) places Bede's death under 734, after a lunar eclipse which occurred on January 24th at 3 a.m. (L'Art). Bede's death may have been retracted to the year of the eclipse. 735 is probably the true year.

[7] Placed 7 years after 729.

of Dalriata, and gained Dunadd, and burned Creic[1]; and he bound with chains two sons of Selbach, namely Dungal[2] and Feradach.

And a little later Brude, son of Angus Fergus' son, died.[3]

736

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 192, s.a. 735=736

The battle of Cnocc-Coirpri in Calathros, at Etarlindu, between Dalriata and Fortriu[4]; and Talorcan, Fergus' son,

[1] Skene would first have identified this with Creich, Mull (P. & S., cxxxi); later, with "a fort, the remains of which are still to be seen on the promontory of Craignish" (S.C.S., i, 290). ?Cf. Ailen of Macc-Craich, under year 725.

[2] Here spelt *Dondgal;* A.U., *Donngal.*

[3] The whole passage is similarly in A.U., i, 190, s.a. 735=736 (with marginal note "bissextile").

Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 116, s.a. 733=736: "Angus, Fergus' son, king of the Picts, wasted the region of Dalriata or Redshanks, took Dunadd and burned Cregg, and bound the two sons of Selbach with cords, Dungal and Feradach.

"A little while after, Brude the son of Angus who was son of Fergus died." (The text is dislocated, but undoubtedly to be read thus.)

[4] *Bellum Cnuicc Coirpri i Calathros uc Etarlinddu itir Dalriatai 7 Foirtrind.* This may either mean that Calathros was between Argyleshire and Perthshire, or it may mean that the battle was fought between men of Argyle and men of Fortriu.

Cnocc-Coirpri means "Coirpre's Knoll." Possibly this was the Coirpre of the Senchus; above, p. cliii. Etar-lindu means "between pools."

This battle may reasonably be understood to have been fought in an extension of the campaign in which the battles had occurred at Creich and Dunadd, and therefore Calathros would seem to have been within Dalriata.

The campaign against Dunadd resulted in the capture of Selbach's sons; it would seem therefore that Dunadd had been within Dungal's territory. Ainfcellach was king of Lorn; he was deposed by the battle of Etarlindu, which was probably therefore within his dominions.

We should look for Calathros within Argyle, in some part of it where a rally could have been made after Knapdale had fallen. Not one of the three names has been identified. The name Etarlindu suggests Benderloch; but Calathros suggests the Cladrois in Islay of the Senchus (above, p. clii). Skene, following up the identifications (almost certainly erroneous) noted above under year 635, would identify Cnocc-Coirpri with "Carriber, where the Avon separates Lothian from Calatria" (i.e., Carribber, Linlithgow parish); apparently conjecturing that the chiefs of Dalriata had been able to take refuge in Lothian. But we find their enemy

Angus next embroiled not with Lothian or Strathclyde, but with Dalaraide (in 741).

The Britons certainly were hostile to Angus soon afterwards. Angus evidently wished to extend his rule over the other kingdoms of Scotland; after subjugating Argyle, he would naturally have proceeded to master Strathclyde. A battle was fought between Picts and Britons in 744. It appears to have been indecisive; and in 750 the Britons under Teudubr inflicted so severe a defeat upon Angus that he was temporarily driven from his throne. After Teudubr's death, however, Angus recovered the throne, and the English annexed some land on the western borders of Strathclyde. In 756, Angus and Eadbert (who had been enemies in 740) united forces against the Britons. The Britons were forced to submit, but they inflicted another severe defeat upon Angus as he was returning home. (E.C., 57.)

Skene's identification of the 12th-century Calatria (or Calateria; Lawrie, Charters, 86) with Callendar near Falkirk (Callendar House, Callendar Wood, Callendar Riggs) has been generally accepted, but it is based upon insufficient evidence. The old name of Callendar was *Kalentyr* (*Kalentar* in 1362; Great Seal, no. 108), which might possibly have been a form taken from Welsh speech, while *Kaledure* (the 12th century form of Calder; L.C., 184) might conceivably have been a form of the same name, taken from Gaelic speech (cf. *Kaledor*, the 13th century form of Cawdor; later *Caldor*). They could not however have been the same, if (as seems probable) the *Kaled* of Kaledure were the Welsh *caled*, Irish *calad* "hard," the *calath* of Calathros. Calder seems elsewhere to have been originally a river name; but the spellings *Kaledure*, *Kaledor*, suggest that the second part of the name was not the Welsh *dwfyr*, Irish *dobur* "water," the *dour* of Aberdour.

The native form of the name Calateria would presumably have become Calter or Clater, according as the accent was upon the first or the second syllable. It would not have become Callendar. Calateria could not have been an artificial Latin form of Kalentyr. It might less inconceivably have been an artificial Latin form of Kaledure; but more evidence is needed to decide the question.

Ailred of Rievaulx implies that Calatria was between Laodonia and Scotia, that is to say between Lothian and Fife (E.C., 197). The district of Calder (East Calder, Mid Calder, West Calder) is geographically the valley of the Almond; it is in the extreme west of Midlothian. To the west of it lies the Carse of Falkirk, in the middle of which are Callendar and Camelon. The Carse of Falkirk was the southern part of the ancient Manau. A traveller from the south, intending to enter Fife by the ferry, would have had to cross the Almond, but Callendar would have been off his road.

Mid Calder belonged in the 12th century to the earl of Fife.

In Calder and the Carse of Falkirk there is now no place that could be named "between pools," and there seems to be no reason to look for Calathros in Calatria. For Calathros cf. year 640.

pursued Ainfcellach's son [Muiredach], who fled with his army. And in this encounter many nobles perished.[1]

736

Annales Cambriae; Y Cymmrodor, vol. ix, p. 161, s.a. [736][2]

Owen, king of the Picts, died.[3]

[1] This seems to have been the end of Muiredach's reign in Dalriata. The Duan Albanach, in Skene's P. & S., 61, gives Muiredach a reign of three years; above, p. cxxxiii, note. For the beginning of his reign in Lorn see year 733.

For Talorcan, son of Fergus and brother of Angus, see year 750.

The Duan Albanach, u.s.: "Seven years of Dungal Dian" (i.e. "the impetuous"), "and Alpin [*Ailpen*] had four." These are placed between Ainfcellach (ca. 697-698) and Muiredach (ca. 733-736).

Fordun's account (III, 45) of Muiredach's reign is apocryphal: "To [Eugenius Findan's son] succeeded Muiredach [*Murdacus*], his nephew by his brother Ainfcellach; and he ruled the kingdom in the same peace as did his uncle and predecessor," (see year 741) "but by no means with the same or so great favour from his neighbours. . . ." Fordun says that Muiredach reigned 715-730, and was king when Bede wrote the conclusion of his History (in 731; Bede, V, 23; E.C., 52-54).

[2] 2 years after the "290th year" after 444.

[3] Similarly in B.S. in M.A., 653, s.a. 736. Cf. B.T. in R.B.H., 258 (the only entry between 740 and 750): "And then died Owen, king of the Picts." (Under 740 this Brut places Bede's death, which is shown by Bede's continuator, by T., and by A.U., to have occurred in 735.) "Owen" is the Welsh equivalent of Irish Eogan (or "Ewen").

This Owen is perhaps the Ewen who heads the spurious series of kings (from 741 onwards) in the Chronicles of Dalriata, and in the Prose Chronicle inserted in C.M.

The Prose Chronicle in C.M. (4, 223; P. & S., 177); s.a. 741:—"Ewen, the king of the Scots, died; and his son Muiredach [*Murezaut*] succeeded him." S.a. 744:—"Muiredach, the king of the Scots, died; and his son Ewen succeeded him." S.a. 747:—"Ewen, the king of the Scots, died; and his son Aed Find succeeded him" [*Hedabbus;* read *Hed albus*, with *Edalbus* of Chronicle of Dalriata, E].

See below, year 781, note.

If there was a king Ewen in Dalriata at this time, he could only have reigned under protection of the Picts. They might have regarded him as the true heir, because he was the brother of the former kings Ainfcellach and Selbach (sons of Ferchar Fota). The Chronicles of Dalriata give Ewen I a reign of 16 years (DFIK; 13, E); they place his reign after that of Ainfcellach (−698, †719). (But Ewen could not have reigned before 733, and only nominally before 736.) Fland names two "Eoganans," the second unidentified, in his list (above, p. cxlvii). (Chronicles DFIK and

737

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 240[1]

The death of Ronan, abbot of Kingarth.[2]

Failbe, Guaire's son, the successor of Maelrubai of Applecross, was drowned in the deep sea with his sailors, twenty-two in number.[3]

739

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 243[4]

Talorcan, Drostan's son, king of Athole, was drowned by Angus.[5]

740

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 198, s.a. 739=740[6]

An earthquake [occurred] in Islay on the second day[7] before the Ides of April.

Cubretan, son of Congus, died.[8]

Fordun make Ewen and Ainfcellach sons of Findan.) According to Fordun, this Ewen was the father of Aed Find ; but see below, year 778, note.

Muiredach's father was probably not Ewen, but Ainfcellach (see year 733).

Ewen II is given a reign of 3 years in Chronicle of Dalriata E.

Aed Find's father was probably not Ewen, but Eochaid, Eochaid's son. See year 778.

[1] Placed 8 years after 729.

[2] Similarly in A.U., i, 192, s.a. 736=737. F.M., i, 328, place Ronan's death in 732 (and "the 3rd year of Aed Alddain" as sovereign of Ireland).

[3] This passage is corrupt in the text of Tigernach ; it appears, also somewhat corruptly, in A.U., u.s.

F.M., u.s. : "Failbe, Guaire's son, successor of Maelrubai, was drowned, and with him the crew of his ship. Their number was twenty-two."

Annals of Clonmacnoise, erroneously, p. 116, s.a. 734=737 : "The work done in Applecross [*Upercroossann*] was sunk in the depth of the sea, and certain sea-faring men to the number of 22."

[4] Placed 10 years after 729.

[5] Similarly in A.U., i, 198, s.a. 738-739.

Cf. year 713. Talorcan's successor in Athole may possibly have been Talorcan, Fergus' son (year 750).

[6] With marginal note "bissextile."

[7] April 12th.

[8] Probably this is the Congus of years 731 and 734.

In this year the indomitable Angus seems to have invaded Northumbrian territory (Bede's continuator ; E.C., 55).

741

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 200, s.a. 740=741

The battle of Druimm-cathmail,[1] between the Picts[2] and Dalriata, [was fought] against Indrechtach.[3] The overthrow[4] of Dalriata by Angus, Fergus'[5] son.

741

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 198, s.a. 740=741

The battle of Forboros,[6] in which fell two sons of Fiannamail, namely Indrechtach[7] and Conall, and others.

742

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 202, s.a. 741=742

Alpin (?), Crop's son, was besieged.[8]

[1] This place has not been identified. Skene placed the battle at Dungyle, Kelton parish, Kirkcudbrightshire; but confused it with a battle that probably occurred a hundred years later (S.C.S., i, 292). See year 841, note. Dungavel and Dungivel in Lanarkshire have a superficial resemblance to the name. The ejected chiefs of Dalriata may have persuaded Indrechtach, who was king of the Irish Picts of Dalaraide, to invade Pictish territory. It is equally possible that the battle occurred in Ireland.

Skene is probably wrong in arguing that Alpin, king of the Picts (726-728), died in this campaign. See year 742.

[2] *Cruithniu.* Hennessy thought that the Irish Picts, and Irish Dalriata, are meant.

[3] Indrechtach's death has already been noticed in the Ulster Annals; see the next passage.

[4] *Percutio Dalriatai.* By conquering Indrechtach, Angus had overthrown all the chieftains among whom Eochaid's kingdom had been divided (see year 733, note).

[5] *Forgusso.* This Angus was the king of the Scottish Picts.

[6] "This place has not been identified" Hennessy, ibid., 199; "in Scotland" MacCarthy, in index, A.U., iv.

[7] Indrechtach's name stands in the list of kings of Dalaraide, in the Book of Leinster, facsimile, 41 e.

[8] *Obsesio Auiliuin, filii Cruip.* This event is not entered in the other Irish annals; it probably therefore did not occur in Ireland. If it refers to the Alpin (Ælfwine) who was king of the Picts from 726 to 728, and perhaps, from the Duan's account, also from 737 to 741, A.U. differ from Fland in the name of Alpin's father: Fland calls Alpin "Eochaid's son." Stokes and Ó-Máille render *Auiliuin* "Lén's grandson"; but it seems to be the same name as *Eiliuin* above, pp. 182-183. Two years later, A.U. have

744

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 4

In the year 744, a battle was fought between the Picts and the Britons.[1]

747

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 249[2]

The death of Tuathalan, abbot of Cendrigmonaid.[3]

749

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 251[4]

Drowning of the [monastic] household of Iona.[5]

Ailiuin as genitive of *ailén* "crannog"; perhaps by attraction to *Auiliuin*. With the name Crop, ? cf. the "ridge of Crup" in Chronicle of the Kings, version A; below, p. 473.

This siege may have been a continuation of, or sequel to, the warfare of 741. But the notice of it is too brief to permit any certain conclusion to be drawn. Cf. above, ca. 673.

[1] This is taken from S.D. See E.C., 56.

[2] Placed 18 years after 729.

[3] *Ab Cind-righ-monaigh* (read *monaidh*, with F.M.; i.e. Kilrimuned and Kilrimund of the charters); *Cinrighmonai* in A.U. This place was near St Andrews. It contained the parish church of Holy Trinity.

This passage appears similarly in A.U., i, 208, s.a. 746=747. F.M., i, 344, s.a. 742 (and "the 4th year of Donald," son of Murchaid, son of Diarmait, as sovereign of Ireland): "Tuathalan, abbot of Cendrigmonaid, died."

The name Totholan appears under June 17th in the Martyrologies of Gorman, Tallaght (Brussels version), and Donegal. There is no reason, however, to identify this Totholan with Tuathalan, although these are two forms of the same name.

See below, year 834, note, for the foundation of the monastery of St Andrews.

[4] Placed 20 years after 729.

[5] *Demersi[o] famili[ae] íae.*

Similarly in A.U., i, 212, s.a. 748=749, with correct spelling.

F.M., i, 346, s.a. 744 (and "the 6th year of Donald"): "A great storm came in this year, and a great number of the community of Iona of Columcille were drowned."

750

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 251 [1]

A battle [occurred] between Picts and Britons, and in it perished Talorcan, Fergus' son, and his brother; and there slaughter was [made] of the Picts along with him.[2]

750

Annales Cambriae, Y Cymmrodor, vol. ix, p. 161, s.a. [750] [3]

A battle [was fought] between the Picts and the Britons, that is, the battle of Moce-tauc; and their king Talorcan was slain by the Britons.[4]

[1] Placed 21 years after 729, 3 years before 753, which is indicated by a "dark sun."

[2] In A.U., i, 212, s.a. 749=750: "The battle of Catoic [*bellum Catohic*] between Picts and Britons; and in it fell Talorcan, Fergus' son, the brother of Angus."

Annals of Clonmacnoise, 119, s.a. 746=750: "The battle of Ocha between the Picts and Britons was fought; where Talorcan, Fergus' son, brother of king Angus, was slain."

[3] Placed 6 years after the "300th year" after 444.

[4] The name of the battle is not in MS. B; MS. C merely notes Talorcan's death, without mentioning the battle. Ab Ithel's ed., 9. Cf. B.T. in M.A., 686, s.a. 750 (after the death of Teudubr, Beli's son): "In the same year was the battle of Mygedawc, where the Britons were victorious over the Pictish Gaels [*Gwyddyl Ffichti*] after a bloody battle." B.T. in Red Book of Hergest, 258: "750 years was the age of Christ when there was a battle between the Britons and the Picts, in the fight of Maes-ydawc. And the Britons slew Talorcan, the king of the Picts. . . . And Rotri, the king of the Britons, died" ("four years after that" adds the 16th century MS. C; i.e., in 754. Ab Ithel's ed., 7). Cf. A.C., s.a. [754] (the "310th year" after 444): "Rotri, king of the Britons, died."

B.S. in M.A., 653: "In the year of the Lord 750, Cynewulf was made king of the Saxons [755-†784, a reign over West-Saxons of 31 winters; read Sigebriht, 754-755? A.S.C.], and through treachery he died. In that year there occurred between the Britons and the Picts a battle, which is called the battle of Metgadawc. And there was killed Talorcan, king of the Picts. And in this year died Teudubr, Beli's son" (see year 752).

Skene wished to identify Mocetauc with "Mugdoch, in Dumbartonshire" (S.C.S., i, 295), and thought that Talorcan had lordship over the Picts of Linlithgow. The latter assumption is based upon others, which are probably false (see year 736). It is possible that Talorcan's kingdom was Athole; cf. years 713, note, and 739. He seems to have been commander of Angus's army, and an able general (year 736).

That the Britons of Strathclyde should have been strong enough at this time to crush so vigorous a king as Angus is a very significant fact.

750

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 212, s.a. 749=750

Ebbing of the sovereignty of Angus.[1]

ca. 752

Annales Cambriae, Y Cymmrodor, vol. ix, p. 161, s.a. [750][2]

Teudubr, son of Beli, died.[3]

752

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 253[4]

The death of Cilline Droichtech, anchorite of Iona.[5]

[1] *Aithbe flatho Oengussa.*

This stands later in the year-section than the battle of Catoic.

After his defeat by the Britons, and the loss of his two brothers, Angus seems to have been driven temporarily from the throne; but he recovered his power after the death of the king of Strathclyde in 752, and the defeat and death (as it would seem) of the claimant in the same year.

For Angus's death see year 761.

[2] 6 years after the "300th year" after 444.

[3] Teudubr was king of Strathclyde. His death is placed in 750 also by Bede's continuator (E.C., 56); by B.T. in M.A., B.T. in R.B.H., and B.S. in M.A., which has later events in the same annal; see above, year 750, note.

[4] Placed 23 years after 729, 1 year before 753.

[5] *Iae.* This event, here recorded in Latin, is repeated by T. in Irish, in the same year-section, probably from another source:—"The death of Cilline, son of Congal, in Iona" (*i n-Hi*). Both versions appear (in Latin) also in A.U., i, 214, s.a. 751=752 (with marginal note "bissextile").

F.M., i, 350, s.a. 747 (and "the 9th year of Donald"): "St Cilline Droichtech, abbot of Iona, and anchorite, died on the 3rd of July."

Droichtech ("bridge-maker"), apparently a nickname, may be a translation of the Latin *pontifex* (usually "bishop," but possibly also "abbot" in Irish writings). Cf. Stokes, in Academy, 1889, p. 240. See also year 697, note.

Martyrology of Gorman, p. 128, July 3rd: "Cillein, of constant virginity, a white champion" (*Cillein bithog bangreit*), with the note "this our Cilline Droichtech [was] abbot of Iona of Columcille."

Brussels Martyrology of Tallaght, Kelly, p. xxviii, July 3rd: "Cilline abbot of Iona."

Martyrology of Tallaght in the Book of Leinster, p. 370e (1905 Oengus, 210): "This Adamnan was admirable: he had great love of God and of his neighbour. It was he who brought together the great collection of holy relics into one shrine, the shrine that Cilline Droichtech, Dichloch's son, brought to Ireland, to make peace and a covenant between the

Teudubr, Beli's son, king of Dumbarton,[1] . . . [and] Cummine, Bec's grandson, the religious of Eigg, died.[2]

The battle of Asreth in the land of Circen, between Picts on both sides; and in it Brude, Maelchon's son, fell.[3]

753

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 254[4]

Columcille's law [was enforced] by Donald of Meath.[5]

kindreds of Conall and of Eogan. . . . " Verses ascribed to Adamnan follow, enumerating the relics.

Martyrology of Donegal, June 3rd, p. 184: "Cillen Droichtech, abbot of Iona of Columcille, [died] A.D. 751. [He was] of the descendants of Conall Crimthann, son of Niall Nine-hostager; and he gave to Ireland the shrine, or the many relics [*taisi iomdha*] that Adamnan had collected, to make peace and friendship between Cenel-Conaill and [Cenel]-Eogain" (Tirconnell and Tyrone). "Here is the beginning of the poem that Adamnan made, when he put the bag containing the relics on Cillen's back:

"'A macáin as sruith
An tiagh nod gaibhe fort muin, etc.'"

See year 704, note.

Reeves quotes Cilline's pedigree from the Naemsenchus in the Book of Lecan (Adamnan, p. 382): "Cilline Droichtech, son of Dicuill, son of Cilline, son of Amalgaid, son of Feradach, son of Fiacc, son of Cerball, son of Conall Cremthann, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages"; and adds: "His ancestor Fiac was brother of Diarmait, king of Ireland" for 21 years from 544; cf. ibid., p. 68.

[1] I.e. king of Strathclyde. In MS. *alochlandaid*, corrected by Stokes to *Alo cluaide*.

For Beli (in Irish, Bile) see year 722.

Teudubr was no doubt the conqueror of Angus in 750.

[2] Cummine's death is similarly recorded by A.U., u.s.

[3] By the "land of Circen" we may understand the Mearns; see year 598. This battle does not appear in A.U. If it is correctly entered here, it would seem that Brude, Maelchon's son, was the claimant who succeeded in driving Angus from the throne (750-752).

[4] Placed 24 years after 729. Tigernach records eclipses of sun and moon in this year; both occurred in 753.

[5] Similarly in A.U., i, 216, s.a. 752=753.

Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 119, s.a. 749=753: "The Rules of St Columcille were established in Meath by king Donald."

Cf. years 757, 778.

754

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 255[1]

Slebine, abbot of Iona, came to Ireland.[2]

756

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 6, s.a. 756

In the same year, Baldred the anchorite departed to the Lord, having emulated the life of saints.[3]

757

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 257[4]

Columcille's law [was enforced] by Slebine.[5]

[1] Placed 1 year after 753.

[2] Similarly in A.U., i, 218, s.a. 753=754.

[3] This is derived from S.D. (E.C., 56).

There is an interesting but fabulous account of "the contemplative life of the blessed Baldred, bishop and confessor" in the Breviary of Aberdeen (i, 8, 63-64). Ibid., 63 (after the death of Kentigern, for which see year 612, note): "The blessed Baldred, this blessed Kentigern's suffragan while Kentigern lived in the world, flourished in Lothian in virtues and evident miracles; a man truly most devout, who left all the pomp of the world and its futile cares, and followed after the divine John, to the best of his power. He dwelt in places unfrequented and remote, and betook himself to islands of the sea.

"Among these islands of the sea he landed upon one, called Bass, and there he led unquestionably a life of contemplation and austerity. And upon it for a long period of time he contemplated with constant meditation upon the most blessed Kentigern, his instructor, and the sanctity of his life; and he commended them to memory." (This seems to imply that Baldred had written a life of Kentigern. The tradition that he had done so would account for the false idea that Baldred had been Kentigern's pupil.) According to this Breviary, Baldred had received from Kentigern the churches of Oldham, Cunningham, and Preston. Baldred caused a rock to sail out of the way of navigation, to the nearest shore; "and it abides there to this day, in memory of this miracle, and is still to-day called the tomb or boat [*tumba seu scapha*] of the blessed Baldred." St Baldred's Boat is the name of a rock near the shore of Haddington, between North Berwick and Tynningham. When Baldred died, his body was triplicated, to satisfy the demands of his three churches.

[4] Placed 4 years after 753. Under the same year-heading is the note "Edabard, king of the Saxons, died." Stokes would read, with A.U., "Æthelbeald," i.e. the king of Mercia who was killed in 755, according to

758

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 258[1]

Return of Slebine to Ireland.

759

Annals of the Four Masters, vol. i, p. 356, s.a. 754=759[2]

Fedlimid, or Failbe, abbot of Iona, died, after eighty-seven years of his life.

ca. 760

Annales Cambriae, Y Cymmrodor, vol. ix, p. 161, s.a. [760][3]

A battle between the Britons and the Saxons, that is, the battle of Hereford.[4] And Dumnagual, Teudubr's son, died.[5]

A.S.C. (ABCDEF). Similarly in A.C., s.a. [757]: "Ethwalth, king of the Saxons, died."

The Annals of Clonmacnoise, 120, s.a. 752=756: "Æthelbeald, king of England, died."

[5] Similarly in A.U., i, 220, s.a. 756=757. Cf. years 753 and 778.

[1] Placed 5 years after 753.

[2] Also "the 16th year of Donald" as sovereign of Ireland.

[3] Placed 6 years after the "310th year" after 444.

[4] *Gueith Hirford.*

[5] The death of Dumnagual, Teudubr's son, is placed under 757 in B.T. in M.A., 686; under 760 in B.S. in M.A., 653, and in B.T. in R.B.H., 258.

Probably Dumnagual had been king of Strathclyde. See year 752. But Strathclyde had become subject, apparently, to Northumbria in 756 (S.D.; E.C., 57).

Skene thought that for this reason A.C. intentionally does not call Dumnagual king of Strathclyde (S.C.S., i, 296); but his argument is baseless, because the kings of Strathclyde are not called king in A.C. Cf. above, years 722, 752.

The next king of Strathclyde whose name is recorded died in 872. The heirs to the kingdom in the interval may be found in Genealogy V after A.C. (P. & S., 15; Y Cymmrodor, ix, 172-173): "Run, son of Arthgal, son of Dumnagual, son of Riderch, son of Eugein, son of Dumnagual, son of Teudubr, son of Beli, son of Elfin. . . ." (For the remainder of this pedigree see above, p. clviii.)

ca. 761

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 259[1]

Angus, king of Scotland, died.[2]

[1] Placed 6 years after 753.

[2] This event is repeated by Tigernach (from another source) two years later; ibid., 260, thus: "Angus, the son of Fergus, king of the Picts, died." It appears more correctly in A.U., i, 226, s.a. 760=761: "The death of Angus, Fergus' son, the king of the Picts."

A.U. record under the next year (761=762) "a dark moon," which seems, from the table given in L'Art de Vérifier les Dates, to have occurred in 763.

Annals of Clonmacnoise, 120, s.a. 755=759: "Angus [*Enos*], king of Scotland, died." Ibid., s.a. 757=761: "Angus, Fergus' son, king of Pictland, died."

The Chronicle of Melrose, 6 (from English sources): "In this year [760] died Angus, king of the Picts."

Bede's continuator and S.D. date Angus's death in 761.

The Chronicle of the Picts (ABC) gives Angus a reign of 30 years; possibly 729-750 and 752-761.

PART VIII

Recovery of Dalriata. Norwegian Invasions. Union of the Kingdoms of the Scots and the Picts

ca. 763

Dublin Annals of Innisfallen, Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores, vol. ii, part 3, p. 26, s.a. 743

Donald, Murchaid's son, was king in Tara for twenty years, and died in pilgrimage in Iona of Columcille.[1]

ca. 763

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 261 [2]

Brude, king of Fortriu, died.[3]

[1] The day of his death is given as the 20th November, by Tigernach and A.U.; the year as 762=763, by A.U., i, 226. F.M. record his death after twenty years' reign (i, 360), s.a. 758, and state that he was buried at Durrow. But none of these mentions the place of his death.

A.U. say that he began to reign in 742=743.

The Annals of Clonmacnoise, 121, s.a. 759=763: "King Donald was the first king of Ireland of Cland Colman, or Maelsechlaind; and died quietly in his death-bed the 12th of the Kalends of December, in the year of our Lord God 759."

[2] Placed 10 years after 753. In the same year-section Tigernach and A.U. record a "dark sun in the third hour of the day": possibly the eclipse that occurred in 764, June 4th, 11 a.m., Paris time; but that would have been in the 5th hour in Ireland. (Cf. Einhardt, Annales; M.G.H., Scriptores, i, 145, s.a. 764.) In both T. and A.U. the previous year-section begins thus: "Great snow and dark moon." There were eclipses of the moon on the 4th January, 30th June, and 25th December, in 763, but there was no notable eclipse of the moon in 762 or 761.

[3] Similarly in A.U., s.a. 762=763.

This was the Brude, Fergus' son, who reigned for 2 years after Angus, Fergus' son, according to the Chronicle of the Picts (ABC).

763

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 7, s.a. 764

In this year died also . . . bishop Frithweald of Whithorn, and Peohtwine succeeded him.[1]

ca. 766

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 232, s.a. 765 = 766[2]

Suibne,[3] abbot of Iona, came to Ireland.

767

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 232, s.a. 766 = 767

The repose of Slebine, abbot of Iona.[4]

768

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 234, s.a. 767 = 768[5]

A battle [was fought] in Fortriu, between Aed and Kenneth.

[1] This is borrowed from an English source (cf. S.D., s.a. 764).

The Chronicle of Melrose (7) also inserts, s.a. 766, "Frithweald, bishop of Chester, died"; copying this from Henry of Huntingdon. See E.C., 58.

Frithweald's predecessor was Peohthelm († 735; E.C., 53, 55). Peohthelm received a letter from Boniface, archbishop of Mainz (Giles, Patres Ecclesiae, Letters of Boniface, i, 89) asking for his prayers, and for references to ecclesiastical writings bearing on the subject of marriage between a widow and her son's godfather.

For Peohtwine's death, see year 776.

[2] 766 is indicated by the sequence; but cf. the notes above, under years 761 and 763.

[3] Suibne († 772) had succeeded (759 × 766) abbots Slebine († 767) and Fedlimid († 759).

[4] F.M., i, 364, s.a. 762 (and "the 4th year of Niall" Frossach as sovereign of Ireland): "Slebine, Congal's son, of the tribe of Conall Gulban, and abbot of Iona, died." To the same effect in the Martyrology of Donegal, 60, under March 2nd.

A.I., 22, O'Conor's year 754 (but 11 years before 779 "the beginning of the cycle"): "[Death] of Slebine, abbot of Iona." (*Mors* "death" in O'Conor's text; the MS. is discoloured and illegible, but I think it has *quies* "repose.")

Slebine abbot of Iona is supposed by Mr Anscombe to be mentioned by Map-Urbagen (Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie, i, 274-276). M.G.H., Auctores, xiii, 119; and Duchesne, Revue Celtique, xv, 177.

[5] 768 is indicated by the sequence and by the marginal note "bissextile."

F.M., i, 366, s.a. 763 (and "the 5th year of Niall" Frossach as sovereign of Ireland): "A battle [was fought] between the Leinstermen themselves,

ca. 770

Dublin Annals of Innisfallen, Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores, vol. ii, part 3, p. 26, s.a. 763

Niall Frossach, Fergal's son, reigned for fifteen years in Tara, according to some of the genealogists; but his reign extended only for seven years, before he took upon him religious orders[1] in Iona of Columcille, where he was a monk for eight years; and he died and was buried there.[2]

772

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 240, s.a. 771=772

The death[3] of Suibne, abbot of Iona.[4]

775

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 242, s.a. 774=775

The death of Kenneth,[5] the king of the Picts.[6]
. . . And Conall of Mag-luinge . . . perished.[7]

namely Kenneth, Fland's son, and Aed, in Fortriu, and Aed was killed there."

The king of Dalriata at this time was called Aed; but he lived for about ten years after this date. Kenneth, Feradach's son, was king of the Picts (see year 775).

[1] *ord chrabhadh.* I.e., in 770. He became sovereign of Ireland, according to A.U., in 762=763; i, 228.

[2] His death is mentioned by A.U.; see below, year 778.

F.M., i, 368, s.a. 765=770 (and "the 7th year of Niall"): "Niall Frossach, Fergal's son, for seven years king over Ireland, died in Iona of Columcille in pilgrimage, eight years afterwards."

[3] *Mors.* His death is placed between a very violent thunderstorm on September 29th, and two three-days' fasts kept by the Irish in consequence of that storm. (This occurrence appears to have been entered a second time in A.U., i, 280, under the year 798=799.) The year after Suibne's death is fixed as 773, by the lunar eclipse recorded in these annals on the 4th December.

[4] F.M., i, 370, s.a. 767=772 (and "the 2nd year of Duncan," Donald's son, as king of Ireland): "St Suibne, abbot of Iona of Columcille, died."

A Suibne is commemorated on September 27th in the Martyrology of Donegal, 260; "Suibne, abbot of Iona of Columcille" on June 22nd, ibid. 174.

[5] *Cinadhon.*

[6] Annales Cambriae, Y Cymmrodor, ix, 162, s.a. [776] (2 years after the "330th year" after 444): "Kenneth" (*Cenioyd*, altered from *Cenioid*)

775

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 8

In the same year [775], Kenneth, king of the Picts, died; and earl Eadulf, taken by guile, was treacherously slain.[1]

776

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 9

In the year 776, Peohtwine, the bishop of Whithorn, departed to the Lord; and Æthelbeorht succeeded him.[2]

776

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 244, s.a. 775=776[3]

The death[4] of Maelmanach, abbot of Kingarth.[5]

777

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 9, s.a. 777

Æthelbeorht, who had succeeded Peohtwine, was consecrated at York.[6]

ca. 778

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 248, s.a. 777=778

. . . And Aed Find, Eochaid's son, king of Dalriata, . . . died.[7]

"king of the Picts, died." Similarly in B.S. in M.A. 653, s.a. 775, with the spelling *Cemoyd*. His death is placed a year after [773] in MSS. CDE of B.T.; Ab Ithel's ed., 6.

This is the Kenneth who reigned, according to the Chronicle of the Picts (AB), for 12 years after Brude, Fergus' son († 763).

[7] I.e., abbot of Mag-luinge in Tiree. Cf. above, year 673.

F.M., i, 374, s.a. 770=775 (and "the 5th year of Duncan in the sovereignty" over Ireland):—"and Conall, abbot of Mag-luinge, [died]."

[1] This is derived from S.D.; see E.C., 58, note.

[2] This is derived from English sources (cf. S.D., ii, 46). See year 777.

[3] With the marginal note "bissextile."

[4] *Mors*, probably "violent death" when applied by these annals to the death of a churchman.

[5] F.M., i, 374, s.a. 771=776 (and "the 6th year of Duncan in the sovereignty" over Ireland): "Maelmaenaig, abbot of Kingarth, died."

[6] This is derived from English sources. See E.C., 59.

For Æthelbeorht's transference and successor, see year 790.

[7] F.M., i, 376, s.a. 771=776: "Aed Find, lord of Dalriata, died."

Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 123, s.a. 769=776: "Mine author sayeth

778

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 248, s.a. 777=778

Columba's law [was enforced] by Duncan [1] and Bressal. . . .
Niall Frossach,[2] Fergal's son, died in Iona. . . .
Ethne, daughter of Kenneth,[3] died.

780

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 250, s.a. 779=780

The burning of Dumbarton on the Kalends of January. . . .
Alpin, king of the Saxons,[4] died.

that king Niall Frossach and Aed Find [*Hugh ffynn*] king of Dalriata or Redshanks, died this year." For Niall's death see below.

Fordun III, 46, says that "Aed Find (*Ethfyn*), the son of Eugenius VI, succeeded Muiredach" (see year 736), and reigned 730-761: ". . . In his last days he had to fight with the Picts." Fordun says that Aed Find was succeeded in 761 by Eugenius VII, Muiredach's son: "but in one chronicle he is called Nectanius. . . . And he reigned for 2 years."

King Aed Find seems to have introduced new laws; perhaps Pictish laws had been imposed upon the Scots by Angus in 741. See below, year 862. (Cf. Robertson's E.K., i, 19.)

Aed Find ("the white") is allowed a reign of 30 years by the Chronicle of Dalriata, and by the Duan; [747-777] in the Prose Chronicle (see years 736, 781, notes).

The Chronicle of Dalriata says that Aed Find was the son of Eochaid, son of Domangart, son of Donald Brecc. But Eochaid, Domangart's son, died in 697, and it is very unlikely that Aed should have survived his father by 80 years. His father, Eochaid, might have been the son of Eochaid, Domangart's son.

The Prose Chronicle (above, year 736, note) calls Aed Find the son of Ewen, son of Muiredach, who is there called son of Ewen, but who was probably the son of Ainfcellach (†719).

Fordun says that Aed Find was the son of Eugenius VI, the son of Findan and brother of Ainfcellach (see 736, note). Eogan, son of Findan, in Chronicles DFIK, is called Ewen, son of Ferchar Fota, in E. This would connect Aed with the house of Loarn.

[1] The sovereign of Ireland. For Columba's law cf. above, years 753 and 757.

[2] See above, year 770.

[3] *Cinadhon.* See above, year 775. F.M., s.a. 773=778 (and "the 8th year of Duncan over Ireland"): "Ethne, daughter of Kenneth [*Cianadon*], died."

[4] In text *Eilpin, rex Saxonum.* Skene would infer that Alpin had Saxons within his dominion; P. & S., cxxvi, note; S.C.S., i, 301. This

781

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 254, s.a. 780=781

. . . Fergus, Eochaid's son, king of Dalriata, . . . died.[1]

seems to have been the "Alpin, Wroid's son" of the Chronicle of the Picts, ABC, where he is said to have reigned after Kenneth (†775). His name is probably of Anglo-Saxon origin (Ælfwine); perhaps his mother was English.

It is clear from events at years 781 and 782 also that the kingdom was divided at this time. But the reading of the text is perhaps corrupt.

Annals of Clonmacnoise, 123, s.a. 773=780: "Alpin [*Alpinn*], king of the Picts, died."

[1] F.M., i, 382, s.a. 776=781 (and "the 11th year of Duncan," sovereign of Ireland): "Fergus, Eochaid's son, lord of Dalriata, died."

Annals of Clonmacnoise, 124, s.a. 778=781: ". . . Fergus Cathal's son [*ffergus mcCahall*] king of Dalriata or Redshanks . . . died."

The Chronicle of Dalriata gives Fergus a reign of 3 years (in the Prose Chronicle [777-780]).

Fergus is called Aed Find's son by the Chronicle of Dalriata, the Prose Chronicle, and Fordun. Their authority will not stand against that of A.U., which would imply that he was Aed Find's brother.

Fordun, III, 46, says that Fergus succeeded Eugenius VII (see years 736, 778, notes); and that his wife poisoned him through jealousy, and afterwards poisoned and stabbed herself.

Fland Mainistrech (above, p. cxlvii) says that Eochaid reigned after Fergus and before Donald, Constantine's son.

Prose Chronicle inserted in C.M., 9, 14, 16, 223 (P. & S., 177); s.a. 777:—"Aed, king of the Scots, died; and his son Fergus succeeded him." S.a. 780:—"Fergus, the king of the Scots, died; and his son Selbach [*Seluand*] succeeded him." S.a. 804:—"Selbach [*Seluad*], the king of the Scots, died; and Eochaid the Poisonous [*Eokal venenosus*] succeeded him." S.a. 834:—"Eochaid [*Eokal*], the king of the Scots, died; and his son Dungal succeeded him" (in margin, "Donald"). S.a. 841:—"Dungal, the king of the Scots, died; Alpin, Eochaid's [*Eokal*] son, succeeded him."

The reigns of Selbach, Eochaid, and Dungal, are fictitious. Cf. year 841, note.

Selbach is called "Eogan's son," and has 24 years' reign assigned to him in the Chronicle of Dalriata; see p. cxxxiii. Selbach, in reality "Ferchar's son" (A.U.; †730), seems to have reigned about 701-723.

Fordun, III, 47:—"Fergus' successor, Selbach, son of Eugenius, son of Ferchar, began to reign in the year of the Lord 766, . . . and he reigned for twenty-one years. He had peace with the Picts and the Angles in the days of his reign, although they carried on domestic struggles among themselves. . . ." The Northumbrians, he says, were employed in rebellions against their kings, so that a strong Scottish leader could have annexed "all the districts which once belonged to Scotland." But Selbach was

idle; "And the king departed by a tranquil death at Inverlochy; and he rests in the Island [of Iona], with his fathers."

Fordun, III, 48: "And to [Selbach] succeeded Eochaid [*Achaius*, *Achay*], son of Aed Find, in the year of the Lord 787; . . . and he reigned for thirty-two years.

"[Eochaid's] brother, according to tradition, was that remarkable knight Gilmerius Scotus, who long fought vigorously in king Charles's service against the enemies of the cross of Christ, and so won for himself an eternal name, glorious for deeds at arms distinguished by knightly honour.

"The alliance of a treaty [*amicitia confoederationis*] between the kings of the Scots and of the French, and their kingdoms, which still in our days lasts unimpaired, praised be God, was begun by the great king Charles and this Eochaid; and the first occasion was this which follows. A little before Eochaid reigned, in the time, in fact, of his predecessor, the English kings were lifted up with pride because they had conquered the Britons; and not satisfied with molesting only the nations near them in the same island, the Scots and the Picts and the Britons, they did their best to afflict very often, with plundering from their ships, also the foreign nations of the French along the coast, and to disturb the whole Belgian and British Sea. . . ." Charlemagne sent messengers to Eochaid, he says, asking for an alliance, which was formed; but the English also came to terms with Charlemagne. Fordun concludes by referring to Alcuin's mission to Charlemagne, and saying: "for recently some strife had arisen between them" ("between king Charles and king Offa" of the Mercians, in Alcuin,) "and was inflamed by the devil's fanning, until navigation was prohibited on both sides, and ceased." The reference is taken inexactly from Higden, Polychronicon, vi, 242-244; by Higden from William of Malmesbury, i, 68. The words quoted are taken directly, though not exactly, from a letter written by Alcuin in the beginning of 790 to Colcu of Clonmacnoise (†794; S.D., ii, 56); M.G.H., Epistolae, iv, 32.

The letter of Alcuin quoted by Fordun (III, 49) in which Scottish ambassadors are spoken of as bringing to Charlemagne news of Æthelred's death is that written to Offa in 796, after April 18th; u.s., 147.

Fordun's account of this Franco-Scottish alliance is baseless, because Alcuin's Scots were the Irish (cf. below, 812×814). Fordun's estimate of the condition of Northumbria at this time (its inability to resist invasion if it had been attacked; III, 47) is probably based upon Alcuin's account of the civil dissensions there; e.g., M.G.H., Epistolae, iv, 180.

Irish also were the "two priests from Scotland, namely John and Clement, most learned men," who "at the instigation of Charles the Great" founded the Paris university, according to Fordun, in this reign (Fordun, III, 51).

Dungal is called "Selbach's son" in the Chronicle of Dalriata (DEIK; "Eochaid's son" in F), and given there 30 years' reign. These chronicles, omit Dungal, Selbach's son, from his proper place (723-726 and ca. 733-736), and give the fictitious Dungal the same length of reign as is

assigned to the real Dungal by the Duan (see year 741). See the table on pp. cxxxiv-cxxxv.

Between Eochaid and Dungal, Fordun places an additional king, Conall (*Convallus*).

Fordun, III, 53:—". . . After king Eochaid had ended his life, his kinsman Conall was raised to the rule of the kingdom, in the year of the Lord 819; . . . and he reigned for five years. . . .

"And in the following year a great question concerning the right of the kingship of the Picts began to arise, and to be discussed in the mouths of all, both rulers and people; the assertion being made that the Scots ought to have it. Yet it did not come to effect.

"After completing five years [on the throne] Conall died, and immediately Dungal, Selbach's son, began to reign, in the year of the Lord 824; . . . and he reigned for seven years.

"By him was renewed the war against the Picts, which had been at rest for almost fifty years: he said that their kingdom was his, by right of an ancient agreement. . . ." Here Fordun quotes the fabulous account given by Bede in explanation of Pictish laws of succession. When the Picti migrated from Scythia, the Irish refused to allow them to settle in Ireland, but directed them to proceed to Britain. Bede, H.E., I, 1 (i, 12): "And so the Picti went to Britain, and began to settle here and there in the northern parts of the island; because the Britons had occupied the south. The Picti had not wives; and when they asked the Scots for them, the [Scots] agreed to give them upon this condition only, that, when the matter [of succession] came to be in doubt, they should choose their king rather from the female than from the male side of the royal family [*magis de feminea regum prosapia quam de masculina*]; and this is known to be kept up among the Picts to this day."

This story of the arrival of a tribe of Picti in North Britain may have some basis in fact. But after the time of the Roman occupation the name "Picts" was applied not to one tribe, but to all the northern Britons who had not been brought under the dominion of the empire.

Fordun proceeds: "And perhaps this might have been the cause of this claim or dispute. Because it is true that we find from their chronicles and histories that from the beginning, in the days of peace, true friendship was cherished between them, to so great extent that their kings and princes almost constantly took their spouses and wives from the other side, from the sons and daughters of the kings and princes of the Scots; and conversely [the Scots from the Picts]. But He knows, to whom nothing is unknown, this cause of later strife, and by whose fault this most cruel war began, not ending until, as it pleased Him who is the ruler of all kingdoms and their destroyer when he will, the Scots totally overcame the Picts, and finally obtained their kingdom and the palm of victory.

"Then in his seventh year Dungal died (but it is said elsewhere that he was killed in battle); and, buried in the church of Columba, he rests in the islands beside his father."

For the question of the conquest see year 843.

782

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, pp. 254, 256, s.a. 781 = 782[1]

. . . Dubthalorc, king of the Picts on this side of Mounth,[2] and Muiredach, Uargal's son, prior[3] of Iona, . . . died.

782-783

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 256, s.a. 781 = 782

Entrance into monastic life[4] of Artgal, Cathal's son, king

[1] 782 is indicated also by the statement that 27th August was Tuesday.

[2] *citra Monoth.* This means that he was king of Fortriu and Mearns, but not of Athole, Moray, or Ross. Above (years 780, 781) we find two other provinces ruled by kings: one called "the Saxons," which (if correct) must have included Lothian; the other, "Dalriata."

Between the reigns of Alpin, Wroid's son († 780), and of Conall, Tadc's son (5 years to 789, † 807), therefore apparently within the period 780 to 784, the Chronicle of the Picts names three kings:—Drust, Talorcan's son, 1 year (B); Talorcan, Drostan's son, 4 or 5 years (B); and Talorcan, Angus' son, 2½ (A) or 12½ years (BC) (5 years, DFIK and Fordun).

Talorcan, Drostan's son, might have been king in Athole (like the Talorcan who died in 739). If this were so, we should have to identify the Ulster Annals' Dubthalorc with Talorcan, Angus' son. (Dubthalorc is a qualified form of Talorc, literally "black Talorc." Talorcan is a diminutive of Talorc, with which it is freely interchanged.) Skene thought that Talorcan's reign was a breach in the Pictish succession, since his father, Angus, had been king. But we do not know that Angus' wife was not a Pictish princess.

Constantine, Fergus' son, is given a reign of 35 years in the Pictish Chronicle (ABC), after the reign of Conall, Tadc's son, who reigned for 5 years, and was deposed by Constantine in 789. Constantine died in 820: so that if Conall and Constantine reigned together, Constantine's reign would have been about 785-820; otherwise, about 780-785 and 789-820. But Fland and the Duan seem to imply that Donald, Constantine's son, reigned in Argyle from about 781 to about 805. (See year 792, note.)

Any solution of these enigmas must be conjectural. What seems certain is that the affairs of both Pictland and Dalriata were in great confusion, a decade before the first recorded appearance of the Scandinavians in western Scotland.

[3] *equonimus*; in F.M., *prioir.*

F.M., i, 382, s.a. 777 = 782 (and "the 12th year of Duncan," sovereign of Ireland): "Muiredach, Uargal's son, prior of Iona of Columcille, died."

[4] *Bachall Artgaile*, literally "the staff[-taking] of Artgal." This is the Irish equivalent of *clericatus* as used by the Irish annalists (cf. W. Stokes, in the Academy, 1889, p. 240).

of Connaught; and his pilgrimage to Iona in the following year.[1]

789

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 266, s.a. 788=789

A battle [took place] among the Picts, and there Conall Tadc's son was conquered and escaped, and Constantine was the conqueror.[2]

790

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 268, s.a. 789=790

The death[3] of Noah, abbot of Kingarth.[4]

790

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 11, s.a. 790

Bealdulf was ordained bishop at Whithorn.[5]

[1] F.M., i, 382, s.a. 777=782: "Artgal, Cathal's son, king of Connaught, took the staff, and went to Iona in pilgrimage the following year."

Cf. A.U., i, 270, s.a. 790=791: ". . . Artgal, Cathal's son, king of Connaught, died in Iona. . . ." F.M., i, 392, s.a. 786=791: "Artgal, Cathal's son, king of Connaught, died in Iona of Columcille, in pilgrimage."

[2] A.U. (i, 270) have under the next year, 789=790: "The battle of Conall and Constantine is written here in other books."

See year 807.

In the year 790 there was warfare in Ulster. A.U., s.a. 789=790: "A great slaughter of Ulstermen by [the men of] Dalaraide." This is rendered in the Annals of Clonmacnoise, 127, s.a. 787=790: "There was a great slaughter of Ulstermen by the Redshanks or Dalriata"; read "by Dalaraide"?

[3] *Mors*, perhaps "death by violence."

[4] F.M., i, 392, s.a. 785=790 (and "the 20th year of Duncan" as sovereign of Ireland): "Noah, abbot of Kingarth, . . . died."

[5] This is derived from an English source. See E.C., 59-60; D.B., 352.

Bealdulf's predecessor, Æthelbeorht, had in the previous year been made bishop of Hexham; where he died in 797 (C.M.; A.S.C.). Cf. C.M., 12, s.a. 796: "Eanbald, archbishop of York, died; and the other Eanbald succeeded him, ordained by the bishops Æthelbeorht, Hygebeald, and Bealdulf." Hygebeald was bishop of Lindisfarne, from 780 to 803 (A.S.C., DE).

After Bealdulf's episcopate, the bishopric of Whithorn lapsed (E.C., 53, note).

792

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 272, s.a. 791 = 792

. . . Donncorci, king of Dalriata, died.[1]

794

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 274, s.a. 793 = 794

Devastation of all the islands of Britain by the gentiles.[2]

795

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 274, s.a. 794 = 795

The burning of Rathlin by the gentiles; and Skye was pillaged and devastated.[3]

[1] F.M. i, 394, s.a. 787-792: "Donncoirche, lord of Dalriata, died."

According to Fland and the Duan, the king of Argyle at this time seems to have been Donald, Constantine's son. The reign-lengths in the Duan suggest that Donald may have reigned from about 781 to about 805; see the table on page cxxxiv. But Donald was probably the son of Constantine, king of the Picts, and had probably been set over Dalriata by his father; therefore there is a presumption that he did not reign in Argyle before the beginning of Constantine's reign over the Picts, apparently in 789. If this were so, and the Duan's reign-lengths were correct, Donald would have reigned in Argyle from 789 to 812; and his father, from 812 to † 820. The other kings of Dalriata named in the period of Constantine's reign would in that case have been native pretenders. Conall Aidan's son seems to have been a pretender in Kintyre in 807. Donncorci was probably an earlier claimant. His name may have been a nick-name ("brown oats"). It does not occur in the Book of Leinster's list of the kings of Dalaraide.

[2] In the Annals of Clonmacnoise these "gentiles" are called Danes: s.aa. 791, 792, 795, 803, 808, etc. They were probably Norwegians.

Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 127, s.a. 791 = 794: "All the islands of Britain were wasted and much troubled by the Danes; this was their first footing in England."

The first arrival of the Danes is recorded thus in A.S.C. ABCDE, s.a. 787: "In this year king Beorhtric took Offa's daughter, Eadburh, [as his wife, F]. And in his days came first three ships [from Herethaland, DEF]. And then the sheriff rode there, and wished to drive them to the king's town, because he knew not what they were; and they slew him [there, DE]. These were the first ships of Danish men that sought the land of the English race." (F omits "And then . . . him.") If Herethaland is Hordaland, versions DEF would bring these Danes from Norway. The English writers call both Danish and Norwegian invaders "Danes."

[3] *Loscadh Rechrainne o geinntibh ocus Sci doscradh ocus do lomradh;* but the version of O'Donovan, F.M., i, 397, reads, *ocus a scrine do c[h]oscradh*

795

Annals of Innisfallen; Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores, vol. ii, part 2, p. 24; O'Conor's year 781 = 795 [1]

Devastation of Iona of Columcille, and of Inishmurray and of Inishboffin.

796

Annals of Innisfallen, u.s., p. 24; O'Conor's year 782 = 796 [2]

The gentiles in Ireland.

798

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 278, s.a. 797 = 798

Patrick's Island was burned by the gentiles; and they took away tribute from the provinces,[3] and Dochonna's shrine was

ocus do lomrad[h]. The English translator had the latter reading ("who spoyled and impoverished the shrines" Hennessy, A.U., u.s., note). So also in F.M., i, 396, s.a. 790=795 (and "the 25th year of Duncan" as sovereign of Ireland): *Losccadh Rechrainde ó dhibhearccaibh, 7 a Sccríne do chosccradh 7 do lomradh* . . . "by plunderers; and its shrines were pillaged and devastated."

Annals of Clonmacnoise, 127, s.a. 792=795: "Rathlin [*Rachrynn*] was burnt by the Danes."

Probably by *Rechrainn* Rathlin is meant. A.U. record, s.a. 798=799: "Feradach, Segine's son, abbot of Rechrainn, died." Similarly F.M., s.a. 794=799.

Cf. above, pp. 159-160.

Annales Cambriae, s.a. [795] (the year after the "350th year" after 444): "The first arrival of the gentiles among the southerners, to Ireland" *apud dexterales ad Hiberniam*). This is explained by B.T. in M.A., 686, s.a. 795: "The Black-pagans came for the first time to the island of Britain, from the land of Denmark; and they did great evils in England. After this they came to Glamorgan. And there they did much slaying and burning; but in the end the Cymry overcame them, and drove them to the sea, after very many of them had been killed. And then they went to Ireland, where they devastated Rechreyn, and other places." Cf. B.T. in R.B.H., 258: "790 years was the age of Christ when the pagans went first to Ireland" (MSS. CDE add: "and Rechrenn was devastated." Ab Ithel's ed., 8). B.S. in M.A., 653, s.a. 795: "The pagans came for the first time to Ireland, and Rechreyn was devastated."

D.A.I., 27, year 795: "Scandinavians pillaged round Ireland: the ships of the men of Ireland were captured and plundered by them for the first time."

[1] 3 years before 798, which is indicated by f.n. and e.

[2] 2 years before 798.

[3] *borime na crich do breith.*

broken by them, and other great incursions [were made] by them, both in Ireland and in Scotland.[1]

798

Dublin Annals of Innisfallen, Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores, vol. ii, part 3, p. 27; s.a. 798

The Hebrides and Ulster were plundered by Scandinavians.[2]

798

Annales Cambriae, in Y Cymmrodor, vol. ix, p. 163, s.a. [798][3]

Caratauc, the king of Gwynedd, was killed by the Saxons.[4]

801

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 284, s.a. 800=801

Bressal, Segine's son, abbot of Iona, slept in the thirty-first year of his principate.[5]

[1] F.M., i, 400, s.a. 793=798 (and "the 1st year of Aed Oirdnide, Niall Frossach's son, in sovereignty over Ireland"): "Patrick's Island was burned by aliens [*la h-allmuirechaibh*], and Dochonna's shrine was taken by them; and other incursions were made by them both in Ireland and in Scotland."

Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 128, s.a. 795=798: "The island of St Patrick was burnt by the Danes; they taxed the lands with great taxations; they took the relics of St Dochonna, and made many invasions to this kingdom, and took many rich and great booties, as well from Ireland as from Scotland."

[2] *do Lochlannaibh.*

[3] 4 years after the "350th year" after 444.

[4] Similarly in B.S. in M.A., 653, s.a. 798. B.T. in R.B.H., 258, places Caratauc's death in 800; B.T. in M.A., 686, places it in 796, and calls him "son of Gwyn, son of Collwyn."

[5] F.M., i, 404, s.a. 796=801 (and "the 3rd year of Aed in the sovereignty" over Ireland): "Bressal, Segine's son, abbot of Iona, died, after being thirty-one years in the abbacy."

The name "Bressal" appears in the Martyrology of Gorman, p. 98, under May 18th; with the note "from Derthach" (*ó Dherthaigh;* some oratory so named. Similarly in the Martyrology of Donegal; *o Durthach* in Martyrology of Tallaght, L.L., 360f, but *o Dirthach* in the Brussels version; all under May 18th).

802

Annals of the Four Masters, vol. i, 404, s.a. 797 = 802 [1]

Condachtach, a distinguished scribe, and abbot of Iona, . . . died.

802

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, pp. 284, 286, s.a. 801 = 802

Macc-oigi of Applecross, abbot of Bangor, . . . ended [his] life happily in peace.[2] . . .

Iona of Columcille was burned by the gentiles.[3]

804

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 288, s.a. 803 = 804 [4]

Kells was given in this year, without fighting, to Columcille the musical.[5]

806

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 290, s.a. 805 = 806

The community of Iona was slain by the gentiles, that is to say sixty-eight [monks].[6]

[1] Also "the 5th year of Aed" in sovereignty over Ireland.

[2] F.M., i, 404, s.a 797 = 802: "Macc-oigi of Applecross, abbot of Bangor, died."

[3] F.M., i, 406, s.a. 797 = 802: "Iona of Columcille was burned by aliens [*la hallmurachaibh*], that is to say by Northmen."

[4] With marginal note "bissextile."

[5] This passage (containing two lines of verse) appears as a later insertion by another hand in MS. A; it is in the text of MS. B. See below, year 807. It is taken from Gilla-Colmain's chronological verses, in R.S. 89, ii, 538: "Forty-one years . . . from the death of Donald, of Druimm-Dian, to the giving of Kells, without a battle, to Columcille the musical."

This Donald was Murchaid's son, whose death is placed by A.U. in 762 = 763.

Kells was a refuge for the community of Iona from Norwegian invasion.

[6] F.M., i, 410-412, s.a. 801 = 806 (and "the 9th year of Aed Oirdnide" as sovereign of Ireland): "Iona of Columcille was raided by Foreigners, and a great number of laymen and of clergy were killed by them, in number sixty-eight."

Cf. D.A.I., 27, O'Conor's year 806: "Forty-eight of the monks in Iona of Columcille were slain by the Norwegians."

Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 129, s.a. 803 = 806: "There was 68 of the family of Iona [*Hugh*] of St Columcille, slain by the Danes."

ca. 807

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 292, s.a. 806=807[1]

The slaughter of Conall, Tadc's son, by Conall, son of Aidan, in Kintyre.[2]

807

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 292, s.a. 806=807

The building of the new monastery[3] of Columcille, in Kells.[4]

ca. 807

Dublin Annals of Innisfallen; Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores, vol. ii, part 3, p. 28, s.a. 807

Cellach, the abbot of Iona of Columcille, came to Ireland after the slaying of his people by Scandinavians; and the monastery of Columcille was constructed by him in Kells of Meath. And he was abbot there for seven years, and went back to Iona[5]; and he was buried there.

812×814

Einhard, Vita Karoli Imperatoris, vol. i, pp. 50-52[6]

[Charlemagne] had also the kings of the [Irish] Scots so inclined to his will by his munificence, that they never called him any name but lord, nor themselves but his subjects and

[1] A lunar eclipse recorded in the same year-section (also in C.S.) might belong either to 806 or 807.

[2] The Duan Albanach appears to say that these Conalls reigned, one for two, the other for four years, in Dalriata; above, p. cxlviii, note. Cf. year 792.

A.I., 25, O'Conor's year 794=808 (8 years after 800, which is indicated by f.n. and e.): "The slaying of Congal, Tadc's son, in Scotland."

[3] *civitatis*.

[4] Similarly in C.S., 124-126, Hennessy's year 807.

[5] See below, year 814. In going back to Iona he ceased to be abbot of the community, which remained in Kells.

F.M., i, 412, s.a. 802=807, read erroneously: "The church of Columcille in Kells was destroyed" (*do dhíothlâithriucchadh*).

Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 129, s.a. 804=807: "There was a new church founded in Kells in honour of St Columcille" (*Columb Kill*).

[6] Also in B.R., v, 95.

servants. There are preserved, written by them to him, letters by which such feelings towards him on their part are expressed.[1]

814

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 302, s.a. 813=814[2]

Cellach, abbot of Iona, resigned the abbacy[3] after concluding the building of the temple of Kells; and Diarmait, pupil of Daigre,[4] was appointed in his place.

[1] So also (from Einhard) in Ekkehard, Chronicon Universale, M.G.H., Scriptores, vi, 163; and in Annalista Saxo, ibid., vi, 568, s.a. 810. Also in Hugo Floriacensis, ibid., ix, 361. Similarly in the verse annals edited in B.R., v, 177.

Cf. the manner in which the Irish Annals record his death. A.U., i, 300, s.a. 813=814: "Charles, king of the Franks, or rather emperor of all Europe, slept in peace." Similarly in the Annals of Clonmacnoise, 130, s.a. 810=813.

As evidence of communications between Charlemagne and the Irish, a letter of Alcuin to Offa is quoted, in which he refers to messengers "returning by you from Scotia" (M.G.H., Epistolae, iv, 147; the letter was written in 796). Cf. above, p. 251.

An Irish victory over Scandinavian invaders in 812 is noticed by the continental annalists; doubtless it had been reported to Charlemagne. See Einhard's Annals, M.G.H., Scriptores, i, 199; cf. Einhardi Fuldenses Annales, ibid., i, 355. Cf. Herimannus Augiensis, Chronicon, ibid., v, 102. Annalista Saxo, ibid., vi, 570. Annales Ottenburani, ibid., v, 3. Einhard records in the same year an eclipse of the sun on May 15th (cf. Einhardi Fuldenses Annales; also Annales Quedlinburgenses, in M.G.H., Scriptores, iii, 41). A total eclipse was visible in southern Europe in 812, on May 14th, at mid-day (L'Art de Vérifier les Dates).

A victory of Ulstermen over invading Scandinavians in 811 is recorded by A.U. (i, 298); and by the Annals of Clonmacnoise (130, s.a. 808=811). Irish successes and reverses in 812, in Connaught and Munster, are noted by A.U. (i, 300); F.M. (i, 418; s.a. 807=812); the Annals of Clonmacnoise (130, s.a. 809=812); and D.A.I., 28. Successes in Munster and Connaught, and a reverse in Connaught, in 813, are recorded in D.A.I., 28. A reverse in Connaught in 814 is noticed by D.A.I., 29; A.U. (s.a. 812=813); F.M. (i, 420, s.a. 808=813); the Annals of Clonmacnoise (130, s.a. 810=813). The success of Ulster seems to have sent the Norwegians to other parts of Ireland. Probably the victory reported on the continent was the victory of the Ulstermen.

[2] Under the previous year, A.U. record the death of Charlemagne (†814).

[3] *reliquit principatum.*

[4] *alumnus Daigri;* perhaps "foster-son."

815

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 304, s.a. 814=815

. . . Cellach, Congal's son, abbot of Iona, slept.[1]

816

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 304, s.a. 815=816[2]

Cinan, Rotri's son, king of the Britons, . . . died.[3]

817

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, pp. 306-308, s.a. 816=817

Maelduin, son of Cendfaelad, abbot[4] of Raphoe, of the community of Columcille, was slaughtered.

The community of Columcille went to Tara, to excommunicate Aed.[5]

818

Annals of the Four Masters, vol. i, p. 428, s.a. 816=818[6]

Diarmait, abbot of Iona of Columcille, went to Scotland.

819

Annals of Innisfallen; Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores, vol. ii, part 2, p. 26; O'Conor's year 806=819[7]

The death of Aed, Niall's son, king of Tara, upon a campaign in Scotland.[8]

[1] F.M., i, 422, s.a. 810=815: "Cellach, Congal's son, abbot of Iona of Columcille, . . . died."

[2] With the marginal note "bissextile."

[3] Annales Cambriae, Y Cymmrodor, ix, 164, s.a. [816] (2 years after the "370th year" after 444): "King Cinan died." Cf. B.T. in R.B.H., 259 (3 years before 820; s.a. 817 in Ab Ithel's MS. D); B.S. in M.A., 654, s.a. 817.

Cinan or Conan was the grandfather of Mermin; year 844.

[4] *princeps.*

[5] Aed, Niall's son, sovereign of Ireland, died in 819. See year 819. (For *escuine* in Hennessy's text read *escmine;* see Stokes, in the Academy, 1889, p. 207 c.)

[6] Also "the 24th year of Aed" as king of Ireland.

[7] Placed 2 years after 817, which is indicated by f.n. and e. A.U. i, 310, place Aed's death in 818=819; F.M., i, 428, in 817=819.

[8] *for sluagud in Albain.*

A.U., F.M., and C.S. (130, s.a. [819]), agree in placing Aed Oirdnide's

820

Annals of Innisfallen; Scriptores, vol. ii, part 2, p. 26, O'Conor's year 807 = 820[1]

The death of Constantine, Fergus' son, king of Scotland.[2]

825

Annales Cambriae; Y Cymmrodor, vol. ix, p. 164, s.a. [825][3]

Higuel died.[4]

death at Ath-da-ferta in Mag-Conaille, the place of the death of Aed Uairidnech, king of Tara, in 612 (according to F.M., i, 234, s.a. 607=612). D.A.I., 27, O'Conor's year 797, say: "Aed Oirdnide, son of Niall Frossach, [was] king of Tara for twenty-two years, and died at Ath-da-ferta in Tirconnell. But some historians say that he fell in the battle of Druimm" (*accaith droma*). This, taken with the A.I., seems to mean that Druimm was a place in Scotland; perhaps Druimm-nAlban is meant.

Annals of Clonmacnoise, 130, s.a. 816=819: "King Aed [*Hugh*], son of king Niall Frossach, died at the Ford of the two virtues or two miracles (*áth dá fheart*)."

Skene connected this battle with the events related in the Life of Catroe.

A contemporary note in a Karlsruhe chronological manuscript (no. 83, p. 15) reads: "817, Aed king of Ireland died." Zeuss-Ebel, Grammatica Celtica, p. xxiii. Possibly the writer knew the date of Aed's being excommunicated, and did not allow sufficient time for the curse to take effect.

Since Aed had been excommunicated by Columbite monks, he might very naturally have set out on a pilgrimage to Iona, to have the curse removed.

[1] Placed 3 years after 817.

[2] A.U., i, 312, s.a. 819=820 (with marginal note "bissextile"): "Constantine, Fergus' son, king of Fortriu, died."

The Duan Albanach says that Constantine reigned for 9 years over Dalriata; above, p. cxlviii, note. Robertson (E.K., i, 20) connects with this Constantine the Duan's statement that "the last king of [the Picts] was the brave warrior, Constantine" (P. & S., 58); see year 877, where I have taken it to refer to Constantine, Kenneth's son.

Chronicles of the Picts DF, in P. & S., 150, 173, and the version in Fordun (IV, 12; i, 155—not in MSS. BE): "He built Dunkeld." Similarly in Chronicle K, P. & S., 202; but Chronicle I (ibid., 287) reads erroneously: "He first built the church of St. Andrews." Cf. H, above, pp. 121-122.

[3] The year after the "380th year" after 444.

[4] Cf. B.T. in R.B.H., 259, between years 820 and 830; and s.a. 825, in Ab Ithel's MS. D, where Higuel or Howel is called "king of Man." B.S. in M.A., 654, s.a. 825: "Higuel, king of Man [*Manaw*], died."

825

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 320, s.a. 824=825

The martyrdom of Blathmac, Fland's son, by the gentiles, in Iona of Columcille.[1]

825

Walafridus Strabus, Life of Blathmac, in Pinkerton's Vitae Antiquae, pp. 461-463[2]

A certain island appears in the shores of the Picts, rising above the wave-driven sea; it is called Iona,[3] and there the saint of the Lord, Columba, rests in the flesh. To this island came [Blathmac], wishing to endure Christ's scars, because there many a pagan horde of Danes is wont to land, armed with malignant greed. And the saint of the Lord purposed in his mind to tempt these lions, and stripped his mind of empty dread; but armed with the shield of faith, and the helmet of salvation, he feared not the arms of wicked men. He might have sung with the wisdom-speaking prophet, "I have God as my helper, let base fear depart." Already too by wars of states he had been taught to despise the servants of the devil, since he had fitly overthrown their lord, and alone defeated him in all his weapons.

The time arrived, when God's great clemency disposed to associate his servant with the shining bands above the stars, and to bestow upon the good conqueror his certain crown: when the man's holy mind, foreknowing events, learned in

[1] Similarly in C.S., 132, Hennessy's year 825.

F.M., i, 436, s.a. 823=825 (and "the 6th year of Conchobar" as sovereign of Ireland): "Blathmac, Fland's son, took a martyr's crown, for he was killed by the Foreigners in Iona of Columcille."

Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 132, s.a. 822=825: "Blathmac, Fland's son, was martyred by Danes in the island of Iona."

Blathmac's day was July 24th: Martyrology of Donegal, 200. Blathmac and Diarmait, the abbot of Iona, were together when Curui died (Tallaght Discourse, 153); 815×825.

[2] Reprinted there from H. Canisius, Antiquae Lectionis tomus VI, (Ingolstad, 1604) pp. 570-574. Ed. also in P.L. **114**, 1045-1046; better by Dümmler, M.G.H., Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini, ii, 299-301. The poem is written in hexametres.

I have omitted the earlier part of this poem, describing Blathmac's life in Ireland.

[3] *cognominis Eo.*

advance by exalted sense that the approaching wolves were hastening to divide the members of the pious sheep. He said, "You, my friends, search within yourselves with active minds whether you have courage to endure suffering with me for the name of Christ; you who are able to await it, I ask to arm your manly minds; but those whose frail hearts are afraid, let them hasten their flight, to avoid the impending danger, and arm their hands in a better cause; close to us stands the experience of certain death. Let strong faith be watchful, supported by hope in the future; let the prudent precaution of flight save the weaker."

Upon these[1] words the company was stirred, and in this mood they decided upon what they saw was possible; some, with courageous breast, to face the sacrilegious hands; and they rejoiced with tranquil minds to have submitted their heads to the violent sword: but others, not yet induced to this by their confidence of mind, took to flight by a footpath through regions known to them.

Golden dawn shone forth, parting the dewy dusk, and the brilliant sun glittered with beautiful orb, when this holy teacher, celebrating the holy service of mass, stood before the sacred altar as a calf without blemish, a pleasing offering to God, to be sacrificed by the threatening sword. The others of the company were prostrate, commending to the Thunderer with tears and prayers their souls, about to depart from the burden of the flesh. See, the violent cursed host came rushing through the open buildings, threatening cruel perils to the blessed men; and after slaying with mad savagery the rest of the associates, they approached the holy father, to compel him to give up the precious metals wherein lie the holy bones of St Columba; but [the monks] had lifted the shrine from its pediments, and had placed it in the earth, in a hollowed barrow, under a thick layer of turf; because they knew then of the wicked destruction [to come]. This booty the Danes desired; but the saint remained with unarmed hand, and with unshaken purpose of mind; [he had been] trained to stand against the foe,[2] and to arouse the fight, and [was] unused to yield.

[1] For *hic* in Pinkerton and Canisius, reading *his*, as in Dümmler's ed.

[2] He was an Irish prince and general, according to the previous part of Strabo's poem.

There he spoke to thee, barbarian, in words such as these:— "I know nothing at all of the gold you seek, where it is placed in the ground or in what hiding-place it is concealed. And if by Christ's permission it were granted me to know it, never would our lips relate it to thy ears. Barbarian, draw thy sword, grasp the hilt, and slay; gracious God, to thy aid I commend me humbly."

Therefore the pious sacrifice was torn limb from limb. And what the fierce soldier could not purchase by gifts, he began to seek by wounds in the cold bowels [of the earth]. It is not strange, for there always were, and there always reappear, those that are spurred on by evil rage against all the servants of the Lord; so that what Christ's decision has appointed for all, this they all do for Christ, although with unequal deeds.

Thus [Blathmac] became a martyr for Christ's name; and, as rumour bears witness, he rests in the same place, and there many miracles are given for his holy merits. There the Lord is worshipped reverently with fitting honour,[1] with the saints by whose merits I believe my faults are washed away, and to whom as a suppliant I have sent up gifts of praise. Christ refuses nothing to these—they have brought him the greatest gains—; and he reigns for ever with the good Father and the Holy Spirit, and is exalted without end in everlasting splendour.

Here end the verses by Strabus of the life and death of Blathmac.

829

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 326, s.a. 828=829

Diarmait, abbot of Iona,[2] went to Scotland, with the relics of Columcille.[3]

[1] Walafridus Strabus or Strabo lived ca. 809-849, August 18th. He had been abbot of Reichenau from 838, and was buried there.

[2] Cf. above, year 814. Diarmait was abbot at Kells.

[3] *co minnaib Coluim cille.*

Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 132, s.a. 826=829: "Diarmait [*Dermott*] abbot of Iona went to Scotland, and conveyed with him the relics of St Columcille."

Some relics of Columba had been removed from Iona to Saul in Ireland before the time of the establishment of Kells. See Reeves, Adamnan, 313.

831

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 328, s.a. 830=831

Diarmait came to Ireland with the relics of Columcille.[1]

834

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 332, s.a. 833=834

Angus, Fergus' son, king of Fortriu, died.[2]

[1] Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 132, s.a. 828=831: "Abbot Diarmait returned into Ireland again, and brought the said relics of St Columba."

[2] Angus is said in the Chronicle of the Picts to have reigned for 12 years (see p. cxxv). Therefore Skene (S.C.S., i, 308-309, note) held that he died in 832, in which year he believed Alpin to have succeeded and died; but see below, years 841, 858.

Angus is said in the Duan to have reigned for 9 years over Dalriata. The Duan seems rather to imply that Constantine reigned there till his death (see the table on p. cxxxv). Therefore Angus's reign in Dalriata would appear (from this account) to have been for 9 years between 820 and 834.

Angus seems to have made his son Eoganan king of Argyle. The Duan says that Eoganan reigned there for 13 years; the Chronicle of the Picts gives him a reign of 3 years only over the Picts (?836-†839). In the Duan, 22 years of kingship in Argyle are assigned to Angus and his son; and if this period is correct, Angus must have reigned in Argyle before his accession in Pictland in 820. But probably the period is wrong. The Duan's numbers are not trustworthy.

According to the legend of St Andrew (P. & S., 185), Eoganan, Nechtan, and Finguine (*Phinguineghert*), the sons of king Angus, were in Forteviot while their father was absent upon a dangerous expedition in Argyle, at the time when Regulus arrived in Scotland. The same legend names queen Findchaem (*Finchem*) as the wife of Angus.

Chronicle of the Picts (DF), P. & S., 150, 173: "He built Kilrimund" (*Kilremont*, D; *-month*, F: i.e., St Andrews. Perhaps for *Cell-Cindrig-monaid*; cf. year 747, note). Version K, ibid., 202: "He built Kilrimund, now St Andrews, at the time when St Regulus with his disciples came to the church of St Andrew."

Legends of St Andrew say that his cult was introduced in Scotland after a victory of king Angus, Fergus' son. See the legends in (1) the Colbertine MS. (P. & S., 138-140); in (2) Fordun, IV, 13; and in (3) the 17th-century abstract of the St Andrews Register (P. & S., 183-185). Angus is said to have invaded South Britain with an army, and to have been surprised and surrounded, in the plain of Merc (1), near the river Tyne (2, 3), by a confederate force (1), led by Æthelstan, king of the Saxons (3). Fordun (cf. W. M., i, 108) would identify this king with Æthelstan, son of king Æthelwulf of the West Saxons (ca. 839-858), son of king Ecgbeorht: apparently the Æthelstan who was king of Kent, etc., and alive in 851 (A.S.C.). The Chronicles of the Picts would identify this king Angus with the Angus, Fergus' son, who died in 834. St Andrew appeared to Angus

836

Annals of the Four Masters, vol. i, p. 452, s.a. 835 = 836

Godfrey, Fergus' son, lord of Oriel, went over to Scotland to reinforce Dalriata, at the bidding of Kenneth, Alpin's son.

in a vision, and gave him the victory over great odds. King Æthelstan was killed (2, 3). Angus gave a tenth of his heritage to St Andrew. (A.S.C. says that king Æthelwulf gave a tenth of his land to the church in 855.) Regulus afterwards brought relics of St Andrew to St Andrews, and established a monastery there. Regulus had set out from Patras A.D. 345, and arrived in Scotland a year and a half later (3).

The account in the St Andrews abstract is said to have been derived from a memorial written by Thana, son of Dudabrach, in Meigle (*Migdele*), in the time of "king Pherath, son of Bergeth" (P. & S., 188); i.e., 839×842. It gives many details and names.

These legends probably have as their basis the establishment of a monastery near St Andrews, during the reign of the earlier Angus, Fergus' son (∴ 729×747). A monastery already existed at Cendrigmonaid before 747 (q.v.). But the legend attributed to Thana places the foundation in the reign of the later Angus, Fergus' son (820×834). It is possible that relics were brought to Scotland then, and that the monastery was enlarged, or a new church built.

For the story of Regulus, see also the Breviary of Aberdeen, i, 8, 82-83, 96; P. & S., 375-377; Metcalfe's Lives, ii, 289-290. According to this and the account attributed to Thana, Regulus landed at Muckros. The Colbertine MS. says that he landed at Cendrigmonaid; and that he met king Angus "at the gate that is called Matha, i.e. *mordurus* [="great door"] . . . where the king's hall now is." But Thana says that Regulus met the three sons of the king in Forteviot; queen Findchaem, in "Moneclatu, which is now called Monichi"; and the king, beyond the mountains (*scilicet Moneth*), "at the lake that was called Doldencha, but is now called Chondrochedalvan." He returned with the king across Moneth to Monichi, Forteviot, and Kilrimund. These stories are intended to account for the early possessions of the monastery.

There seems to be no authentic account of the removal of Andrew's relics from Constantinople.

Jerome, De Viris Illustribus, c. 7, in P.L. 23, 621: "[Luke] is buried at Constantinople, to which town his bones were translated, along with the relics of the apostle Andrew, in the 20th year of Constantius."

Jerome, Chronicle, in P.L. 27, 690; under Olympiad 284, 2 = 357-358 A.D., in the 20th year [=354-355 A.D.] of Constantinus, Constantius, and Constans (who are said to have reigned together 24 years, 5 months, 12 days, ibid. 679), in the year of Abraham [2374]: "Constantius entered Rome, and by marvellous favour the bones of the apostle Andrew and Luke the Evangelist were received by the Constantinopolitans." This is copied by Bede in his Chronicle, M.G.H., Auctores, xiii, 296-297: and from Bede by Tigernach, R.C., xvii, 33.

839

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 342, s.a. 838 = 839

An expedition of the Foreigners[1] upon Lough Neagh; and they destroyed the districts and churches of the north of Ireland from there. . . .

A battle [was fought] by the gentiles[2] against the men of Fortriu, and in it fell Eoganan, Angus' son, and Bran, Angus' son, and Aed, Boanta's son; and others fell, almost without number.[3]

? 839

Prose Chronicle inserted in the Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 16, 223, s.a. 841[4]

Dungal, king of the Scots, died; and Alpin, Eochaid's son, succeeded him.[5]

[1] *Fecht di Ghallaibh.*

[2] *Bellum re Genntib for firu Fortrenn.* These gentiles may have been Danish invaders from the east; cf. the Chronicle of Huntingdon, below, p. 271.

[3] Eoganan and Aed are named as kings of Dalriata by Fland and the Duan. The Chronicle of the Picts gives Ewen or Eoganan a reign over the Picts of 3 years, probably 837-839.

See the Wars, below, ca. 838-845.

It seems almost certain that the three persons named all fell on the same side, fighting against the Scandinavians. Since a king of the Picts and a king of Argyle fought in the same army, one would suppose that the one was the subject of the other; i.e., that Eoganan, who had formerly been the king of Argyle, had set Aed, Boanta's son, over Argyle, probably when he himself became king of the Picts. (Cf. year 792, note.)

At this time Kenneth, Alpin's son, was king of Dalriata, according to the Huntingdon Chronicle. The chronicles certainly imply that his kingdom was Dalriata; but Skene suggests that it may have been Fife (S.C.S., i, 307). Cf. F.M.'s significant note, above, year 836: but their authority here is doubtful.

The kings of Dalriata had maintained sufficient force to repel Norwegian invasions. The Picts were probably suffering from Danish pressure in the east. Perhaps it was through the combination of these circumstances that a king of Argyle was able to make himself king of the Picts.

[4] Also in P. & S., 177.

[5] Similarly in version E of the Chronicle of Dalriata: "Alpin, son of Eochaid the Poisonous [*Eochal venenosi*], [reigned] for three [years]." See p. cxxxvi.

These chronicles are here supported by the Edinburgh MS. of Fland. See above, p. cxlvii.

After Fergus (†781), and before Alpin, three kings of Dalriata are named in the Prose Chronicle inserted in C.M. :—Selbach, Eochaid, and Dungal. None of these seems to have reigned. See year 781, note.

Perhaps "Alpin, Eochaid's son" (*filius Eokal*) also is wrongly placed here. There was, however, a real person of the name at this time, called in the genealogies Alpin, son of Eochaid, son of Aed Find, son of Eochaid ; see Genealogies I and II after the Senchus, and Genealogy after Chronicle E, above, pp. cliii, cliv, clvii ; and E.C., 1.

Skene says (S.C.S., i, 321): "The ordinary pedigree, which traces [Kenneth's] descent through the kings of Dalriata of the Cinel Gabhran, and identifies his father Alpin with Alpin son of Eachach, the last of the Dalriadic kings, is not older than the twelfth century, and is unquestionably artificial." This may be so ; but of all traditions the mnemonic records of genealogy are often the oldest and most trustworthy. Skene states also that Berchan makes Kenneth "a son of the clan of [Conall's] son," therefore of the tribe of Comgall ; while Genealogy II after the Senchus makes Kenneth of the tribe of "Conall Cerr," Eochaid Buide's son. But the latter statement is due to a false reading ; see above, p. cliv : while the former should certainly read :—"A son of the descendants of [Aidan's] son." There is, in fact, no real divergence.

Fland's first "Alpin, Eochaid's son," to whom the Duan gives a 4-years' reign, was the earlier Alpin, brother of the Eochaid who was father of Aed Find. See the genealogy on p. clvii, the table on p. clv, and the note on p. cxlv, and years 726, 728.

Probably the Edinburgh MS. of Fland correctly enters the second Alpin among the kings of Dalriata, before Kenneth ; in any case Kenneth did have a father called Alpin, who probably had some hereditary claim to the kingdom of Dalriata. On the other hand, it is remarkable that those chronicles that notice the reign of Kenneth's father omit the reign of the previous Alpin ; although they give the later Alpin a different reign-length from that given in the Duan to the earlier Alpin. (See P. & S., cxxvi-cxxxiii.) The earliest Chronicle of the Kings (A) says that Kenneth himself reigned during the period assigned by the later chronicles to his father ; and this earlier account is the more authoritative. Under these circumstances it is hard to say to which Alpin belong the stories related in later chronicles of Dalriata ; probably they are traditions of Kenneth's father. See year 843, note.

Innes (Critical Essay, 93) states that Alpin's mother was the daughter of Angus, Fergus' son : but Angus died in 834, Kenneth in 858 ; therefore Angus could scarcely have been Kenneth's great-grandfather.

Boece (Book X, fo. 199) calls Alpin "the nephew of Angus by his sister Fergusiana" (*Alpinus Hungi ex Fergusiana sorore nepos Pictorum regnum ad se devenisse contendens . . .*) ; he is followed to some extent by Robertson, in E.K., i, 20. This conjecture would make Alpin's mother the daughter of Fergus and sister of Constantine and Angus.

? 841

Chronicle of Dalriata, versions DFI; Skene's Picts and Scots, pp. 149, 172, 288

[Alpin] was killed in Galloway, after he had entirely destroyed and devastated it. And then the kingdom of the Scots was transferred to the kingdom of the Picts.[1]

? 841-858

Prose and Verse Chronicles inserted in the Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 16, 223-224, s.a. 843[2]

Alpin, king of the Scots, died; and his son Kenneth succeeded him. And of him it is said:—"Kenneth, Alpin's son, is said to have been the first to reign in Scotland, waging many battles. After expelling the Picts, he reigned for sixteen years; and he died at Forteviot."[3]

He was called the first king, not because he was [the first], but because he first established the Scottish laws, which they call the Laws of Mac-Alpin.

? 841-858

Chronicle of the Canons of Huntingdon; Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 209

In the year from the Lord's Incarnation 834, the Scots fought with the Picts on the festival of Easter. And many of the noblest of the Picts fell. And thus Alpin, king of the

[1] Version I reads: "to the land of the Picts."

Version K (ibid., 198): "He was killed in Galloway, after he had destroyed it, by a single man who watched for him in a thick wood, above the entrance to a ford of a river, while [Alpin] rode with his men. He was the last of the Scots to reign at that time, immediately before the Picts."

Version N says that Alpin died a natural death (see above, p. cxxxvi).

Down to about the end of the eighth century, a regular succession of English bishops ruled in Galloway (see E.C., years 735, 763, 776, 777, 789, 790; Searle, ii, 194-197). It is possible that the royal family of Dalriata settled in Galloway when their land was taken from them by the Picts, and that they took possession of land in Galloway when the Northumbrian kingdom had been weakened by invasions of the Danes; but this is mere conjecture. They could hardly have taken refuge in Irish Dalriata, where rival claimants to their kingdom had appeared.

[2] Also in P. & S., 177.

[3] The passage within inverted commas is in verse in the original.

Scots, was the conqueror; and he was so exalted with pride because of it that [another] battle was [fought] by [them] on the thirteenth day before the Kalends of August[1] in the same year; and he was conquered by the Picts, and killed.

His son Kenneth [succeeded to his father's kingdom]. And in the seventh year of his reign—when Danish pirates had occupied the shores, and with the greatest slaughter had destroyed the Picts who defended their land—Kenneth passed over into, and turned his arms against, the remaining territories of the Picts; and after slaying many, drove [the rest] into flight. And so he was the first of the Scots to obtain the monarchy of the whole of Albania, which is now called Scotia; and he first reigned in it over the Scots.

In the twelfth year of his reign he fought seven times in one day with the Picts, destroyed many, and confirmed the kingdom to himself; and he reigned for twenty-eight years.[2]

[1] I.e., 20th July.

[2] The dates of Kenneth's reign, as implied by the Huntingdon Chronicle, would have been 834, 840, 845, 861; but these are incorrect. Since he reigned for 16 years after his confirmation in the kingdom, that event is the one that the other chroniclers have counted as the beginning of his reign over the Picts (?843). The Danish invasion said to have occurred in his 7th year might have been that of 839. But the Huntingdon Chronicle's account has very little authority. It implies that Kenneth met Pictish opposition for 5 years before he mastered the whole kingdom.

Fordun follows the Huntingdon Chronicle, but places Kenneth's acquisition of the Pictish throne in his 6th year as king over the Scots, instead of his 7th; and says that the Picts held out for 4 years against him, through the aid of the Angles.

Version E of the Chronicle of the Kings, P. & S., 133, concludes: "From the first year of William the [length of the] kingdom of the Scots [was] 315 years." William succeeded in 1165: therefore this summation places Kenneth's accession in 850.

Similarly the summation in De Situ Albanie places Kenneth's accession in 850 (above, p. cxv).

Rubric in the Chronicle of the Canons of Huntingdon, in P. & S., 209: "As we find in our chronicles, the Scots [have possessed] Scotland, which was at first called Albania, for 456 years from Alpin, the first monarch of the whole island; and from him in direct line of succession the hereditary right has descended correctly, as is shown below, to Malcolm III, [king of Scotland,] who received St Margaret in marriage." 456 years added to the year 834 (the date of the union given in this chronicle) would give 1290, the year of queen Margaret's death.

Chronicle of the Kings, version F, in P. & S., 176: "The sum of the

years from Kenneth Alpin's son to the kingdom of Alexander [II], 501 years." This would place Kenneth's accession in 713. Similarly in G (ibid., 303).

Chronicle of the Kings, version I, in P. & S., 290, concludes: "The sum of the years from the time of Kenneth to the time of the last Alexander is 567. . . ." This would place Kenneth's accession in 719.

Version K of the Chronicle of the Kings concludes thus (208): "The sum of the years between Kenneth, Alpin's son, and this Alexander [III], are 430 years, 1 month, and 7 days. . . ." This would place Kenneth's accession in 856, if the reigns of both are included.

A preface to the Chronicle of the Kings in the late Scalacronica MS. (which contains version K) reads thus (P. & S., 202-203):—"As the chronicles testify, a son of a king of Ireland, called Redda, arrived in Galloway; and both by prowess and by the affinity of the Irish blood [with that] with which the Picts were mixed, occupied the land [of Galloway] and also Argyle, and others of the islands. And their descendants, calling themselves Scots, ever plotted against the Picts; so that in the time of this Drust, Feradach's son, the Scots made a plot [*ietterent couyne*], and were secretly armed at a general council: and within the council-house they slew the aforesaid king and all the great lords of the Picts, who none of them expected it [*qi ne pensoient si bien noune*]. And afterwards they sent for such others as they chose, and killed them as soon as they came; so that they had done what they wished. . . .".

The still later preface in version M contains the following (ibid., 298-299): "So when the English had occupied the island, driving out the Britons, and had established a stable peace with the Picts, the Scots who dwelt with the Picts saw that the Picts (although fewer, because of the [Scots'] relationship with the Irish) were yet far superior in arms and courage, they betook themselves to their innate treachery, in which they excel the other nations. They invited the Pictish magnates as if to a feast; and taking advantage of their intoxication, they killed them all together. And so of the two peoples the more warlike nation was totally destroyed. And the other, by far inferior in every way, profited somehow by their teachery; and they possess that whole land to this day, from sea to sea; and they have called it, from their own name, Scotia.

"Kenneth, Alpin's son, [who reigned over] them at that time, treacherously invaded Pictland, and destroyed the Picts; and six times invaded England, and subdued to his dominion the land which had long been subject to the English, and which extends from the sea of Scotland to Melrose, on the banks of the river Tweed. . . .

"Their kings used never to be crowned or anointed.

"Therefore, since our intention in the present work is to declare the right of the king of England to the said dominion of Scotland . . . let us name . . . the kings . . . according to what we have found in the chronicles of the Scots."

This is a worthless account, partly derived from Giraldus Cambrensis (below). Version M may originally have been one of the chronicles of 1291.

?841-858

Berchan's Prophecy, stanzas 119-122, in Skene's Picts and Scots, pp. 83-84

A son of the clan of [Aidan's][1] son will take the kingdom of Scotland, by force of his strength; a man who will feed ravens, who will conquer in battle: Ferbasach[2] will be his name.

He is the first king that will reign in the east, from among the Irish in Scotland; after using the strength of spears and of swords, after violent deaths, after violent slaughter.

The fierce men in the east are deceived by him. They[3] dig the earth (mighty is the art![4]), a deadly pit (?), death by wounding, in the middle of Scone of the high shields.[5]

[1] See year ca. 574.

[2] [*in*] *Ferbasach.*

Skene translates this word by "the conqueror," perhaps deriving it from *forbaise*, "siege," and reading *forbaiseach.* A word *forbassach* occurs in the Saltair na Rann, l. 7786. Read *forbasach;* or possibly *in t-erbasach* ("the slayer")?

Kenneth, Alpin's son, appears to be meant.

[3] Evidently the king of Dalriata and his men.

[4] *tren an ch*[*e*]*ard;* rhyming with *buirb* in the previous line. The word *an* should therefore be a prefix, bearing the accent; and for *chard* we should perhaps read *-chuird* ("mighty is brilliant artifice"?). See Kuno Meyer, Contributions, s.v. *cuird.*

Skene understood this digging in the earth to be the incident recounted by Giraldus Cambrensis, De Principis Instructione, I, 18; viii, 97-98: "Now we shall tell briefly how the very powerful Pictish race disappeared after so many victories.

"After the island had been occupied by the Saxons, as we have said, and peace had been established with the Picts, the Scots, who were allied to the Picts and had been invited by them to the land, seeing that although fewer in number, because of the nearness of Ireland, the Picts were yet far superior in arms and valour, they betook themselves to their customary and as it were innate treacheries, in which they excel the other nations. They brought together as to a banquet all the nobles of the Picts, and taking advantage of their perhaps excessive potation and gluttony of both drink and food, they noted their opportunity and drew out the bolts which held up the boards; and [the Picts] fell into the hollows of the benches on which they were sitting, [caught] in a strange trap up to the knees, so that they could never get up; and [the Scots] immediately slaughtered them all, tumbled together everywhere and taken suddenly and unexpectedly, and fearing nothing of the sort from allies and confederates, men bound to them by benefits, and companions in their wars. And thus the more

Seventeen years (in fortresses of deeds of valour[1]) [he will be] in the sovereignty of Scotland. After the slaughter of Picts, after the harassing of Foreigners, he dies upon the banks of Earn.

843

John of Fordun, Chronica Gentis Scotorum, book IV, c. 1; vol. i, p. 144

Of the succession of the kings of the Scots, both preceding and subsequent [to the union], down to the time of Malcolm, Kenneth's son.

Above appear the times of the true succession of the kings of the Scots who reigned with the Picts in the northern part of Albion, after Fergus, Erc's son; now we must proceed to the monarchs who obtained undivided rule over the whole of that part, after the Pictish nations had been overthrown; and must publish certain of their deeds, along with the times of their reigning, as the books of the ancients exhibit them. But first we must speak of their law of succession.

For the question is very often asked, why the sons did not commonly[2] succeed their fathers in the rule of the kingdom, as the custom of modern times requires, rather than the

warlike and powerful nation of the two peoples wholly disappeared; and the other, by far inferior in every way, as a reward obtained in the time of so great treachery, have held to this day the whole land from sea to sea, and called it Scotland after their name." Higden (ii, 154-156) connects Kenneth's acquisition of Pictland with this story; 156: "At that time, in the days of king Edgar, Kenneth Alpin's son the [Scottish] ruler invaded Pictland, and destroyed the Picts; and he made war upon England six times; and he took possession of the whole land from the Scottish sea to the river Tweed."

But Gerald's account has no mention of pits: the benches are perhaps implied to have been of box form.

[5] *bródlainn bodhb[h]a, bas n-airgne, | for lar Scoine sgíaith-airde.* For *bródlainn* ("goad-blades," according to Skene) read *brathlang* ("the cover of a pit-fall" Meyer)? Among the plunderings that formed subjects of Irish literary compositions is the "treachery of Scone" (*Braflang Scóine*), Book of Leinster, facsimile, 190, a, where *braflang* seems to be the same word as *brathlang*. (See Meyer, s.v.)

[1] *dindgnaibh gal*, a meaningless cheville.

[2] *communiter*.

brothers; [a style of succession which] has been indicated in the successions of the preceding kings. But this took place so in those days, because [the Scots], and the Picts,[1] and many kings of kingdoms, and even some princes of the empire, had the same law of succession, that every deceased king's brother or brother's son, although in rank further removed, should precede [the king's son] on the throne, if the king's son[2] were not more capable of ruling, in age and ability. For not proximity of blood, but the capacity of full adolescence raised this one or that to reign upon the throne of the kingdom.

This style of government first arose because the very meagre population of a primitive race, whose numbers were small, determined this law described above; because they dreaded yielding to youths the control, not of the kingdom only, but even of their lives, while they were exposed to wars on all sides, in acquiring, or preserving for themselves, a secure place and their freedom. And this ancient custom of royal succession lasted unbroken down to the time of Malcolm, Kenneth's son, and until (because of the loss to the kingdom that might perhaps have resulted from it) he by common decree ordained as a perpetual law that thenceforth every king should be succeeded in the rule of the kingdom by whomsoever should at the time, after his death, be the nearest descendant: a son, that is to say, or a daughter, a grandson or a grand-daughter, the nearest then surviving. But if these [descendants] should happen to fail, the right of inheritance should pass to one born in the royal line, or to the nearest heir in a collateral line.[3]

[1] This was not strictly true of the Pictish succession. Cf. Fordun, III, 53; above, year 781, note.

[2] Reading *filius* for *filio*.

[3] *hereditatis jura possideat vel regia progenitus ex stirpe, vel collaterali proximus heres.*

PART IX

Scandinavian Settlements

844

Annales Cambriae, Y Cymmrodor, vol. ix, p. 165, s.a. [844]

Mermin died.[1]

ca. 844

Prudentius of Troyes, Annales, s.a. 844; M.G.H., Scriptores vol. i, p. 441

The Northmen invaded the island of Britain, especially in that part which the Anglo-Saxons inhabit; and after fighting for three days they were the victors; and spoiling, plundering, and slaughtering, here and there, they took possession of the land according to their will.[2]

ca. 838-845

Wars of the Irish with the Foreigners; Rolls Series, no. 48, pp. 224, 225, 226, 228[3]

After that,[4] a great and vast royal fleet under Tuirgeis came to the north of Ireland. Tuirgeis took the kingship of the

[1] He is called Merfyn Brych in B.S. in M.A., 654, s.a. 844; which places in the same year, before his death, "the battle of Ketil": cf. B.T. in R.B.H., 259.

Mermin was king of North Wales; and the father of Rotri, who succeeded him, and became king of all Wales. Rotri died in 877.

Scandinavian settlements in the north of England had by this time still further sundered the Britons of Strathclyde from their kinsmen in North Wales.

[2] This passage is copied incorrectly by the Chronicon De Gestis Normannorum, M.G.H., Scriptores, i, 533, s.a. 844.

[3] L.L. version. Cf. the late version, ibid., 8, 12, 16.

[4] Previous invasions of five fleets have been recorded in the same text.

Foreigners in the north of Ireland. . . . And he had authority over the north of Ireland.[1] . . .

After that,[2] sixty-five ships came to the black pool of Ath-Cliath [Dublin], and they invaded Leinster to Margi[3] and Mag-breg.

The [men of] Dalriata fought with this fleet, because it went northwards, keeping Ireland on the left, after destroying Leinster and Brega. In this battle Eoganan, Angus' son, the king of Dalriata, was slain.[4] . . .

Another fleet came to Dublin. . . .

Still another fleet, more numerous than this, came to Dublin. They ravaged a great part of all Ireland. They ravaged also Iona of Columcille.

?847

Prudentius of Troyes, Annales, s.a. 847: M.G.H., Scriptores, vol. i, p. 443

The [Irish] Scots, after being attacked by the Northmen for very many years, were rendered tributary; and [the Northmen] took possession, without resistance, of the islands that lie all round, and dwelt there.[5]

[1] C.S., 144-146, Hennessy's year 845: "A fortress [*dún*] [was built] by Tuirgeis for the Foreigners, upon Lough Ree; and they pillaged Connaught and Meath, and burned Clonmacnoise, with its chapels [*dertighibh*], and Clonfert of Brendan, and Terry-glass, and Lorrha, and many monasteries [*catracha*]. . . . Tuirgeis was taken captive by Maelsechlaind, Maelruanaid's son; and Tuirgeis was drowned in Lough Owel."

Similarly in A.U., i, 348-350, s.a. 844=845; and also in D.A.I., 32, year 845: but in the latter, Tuirgeis is said to have been drowned "in Lough Ennel, in Meath"; a few miles to the south of Lough Owel.

Cf. Annals of Clonmacnoise, 133, 139, s.aa. 830, 842; L.L., 309; Berchan, stanzas 4-14 (see above, Bibliographical Notes); and D.M.F., Fomorians, 1-2 (ed. A. Bugge; Det norske historiske Kildeskriftfond, Christiania, 1905).

Bugge (ibid., 15) agrees with Stokes's opinion that Tuirgeis is an Irish form of the Norwegian Thorgestr, not of Thorgils.

[2] I.e., after a battle between Tuirgeis and the Irish of Connaught.

[3] *co margi:* "to the sea" Todd; "to Slievemargy" Hennessy. I.e., Slievemargie, in Queen's County.

[4] See above, year 839.

[5] This passage is copied briefly by the Chronicon De Gestis Normannorum in Francia, M.G.H., Scriptores, i, 533, s.a. 846.

847

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, pp. 352-354, s.a. 846 = 847

A great victory [was gained] by Cerball, Dungal's son, over Hakon[1]; and there 1200 men fell.[2]

848

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 354, s.a. 847 = 848[3]

A battle was gained by Maelsechlaind against the gentiles in Forach[4]; and in it 700 men fell.

A battle was gained by Olchobar, king of Munster, and by Lorcan, Cellach's son, with the Leinstermen, against the gentiles, at Sciath-Nechtain; and there Tomrair Earl, the king of Scandinavia's heir,[5] fell, and 1200 men with him.[6]

A victory [was gained] by Tigernach[7] over the gentiles in Daire-disirt-Dochonna; and there 1200 men fell.

A victory by the Eoganacht of Cashel over the gentiles at Dún-maele-tuile; and there 500 men fell.[8]

[1] *for Agonn* (in C.S., *for Agond*).

[2] So also in C.S., 146-148, Hennessy's year 847. Similarly in D.A.I., 33, year 847.

In the same year, the Norwegians plundered in Tipperary.

[3] With marginal note: "bissextile."

[4] Faragh, county Meath.

[5] *tanise righ Laithlinne*, corruptly; *tanaissi righ Lochlann* in C.S. See D.M.F., III, 162-164. I.e., the king designate.

Tomrair's ring was preserved by the Scandinavian settlers. It was taken by Maelsechlaind Donald's son from the Foreigners of Dublin in 995 (see T., R.C., xvii, 350; C.S., 234; F.M., ii, 732). Tomrair is also called Tomrar, Tomar.

[6] Read, with C.S., "and twelve score men with him."

[7] "King of Lagore," C.S. See year 849, note.

[8] The whole passage is in C.S., which proceeds: "A fortress [was built] by Olchobar, against the gentiles; in order to destroy Dun-corcaige" (i.e. "the castle of Cork").

The passage stands thus in D.A.I., 33, s.a. 848: "A battle by Maelsechlaind, Maelruanaid's son, in Forach, where 700 Scandinavians fell.

"A battle [was fought] by Olchobar, king of Cashel, against the gentiles, at Sciath-Nechtain, in the Decies; and there Tomar, a Scandinavian earl, was killed, and 200 of his people. And Olchobar himself fell there.

"A battle [was fought] by the Eoganacht of Cashel against the Scandinavians, at Dun-Maeltuile, where 500 of them fell.

"A battle [was gained] by Tigernach, king of Lagore, against the Scandinavians, in Disert-Dochonna; where twelve score of them fell."

?848

Prudentius of Troyes, Annales, in M.G.H., Scriptores, vol. i, p. 443, s.a. 848

The [Irish] Scots attacked the Northmen, and, winning the victory, by aid of our Lord Jesus Christ, cast them out of their territories. Hence the king of the Scots sent messengers with gifts to Charles, for peace and friendship, requesting that the way of going to Rome might be granted to him.[1]

849

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 356, s.a. 848=849

A naval expedition of seven score ships, of the people of the king of the Foreigners, came to take control over the Foreigners who were there before them[2]; and then they disturbed all Ireland.[3]

849

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 356, s.a. 848=849

Indrechtach, abbot of Iona, came to Ireland with the relics of Columcille.[4]

[1] Briefly copied in Chronicon Normannorum in Francia, u.s., s.a. 848.

After the death of Tuirgeis in 845, the invaders plundered in Connaught in 846. But in 847 Maelsechlaind, Maelruanaid's son, became king of Ireland: and he and Cerball gained victories over the invaders and their helpers.

If Maelsechlaind was the king who wrote to Charles the Bald, in elation over his victory of 848, he must have done so before the arrival of the Scandinavian fleet in 849.

[2] *du tabairt greamma forsna Gaillu robadar ar a ciunn.*

[3] Similarly in C.S., 148-150, Hennessy's year 849.

D.A.I., 33, year 849, reads: "Seven score ships of Scandinavians came to Ireland. Plundering of Dublin by Maelsechlaind, and by Tigernach, king of Lagore" (a lake fortress, near Dunshaughlin, in Meath).

[4] With Columba's relics went the authority of Columba's successor. Their removal to Ireland was so important a step that it could hardly have been taken without previous arrangement; and in the oldest Chronicle of the Kings (version A) we find that "in the seventh year of his reign [Kenneth] transported the relics of St Columba to a church that he had built"; that is, to Dunkeld. Probably a division of the relics had been made, and both shares were removed at the same time; one to Scotland, the other to Ireland. The removals of 729 and 731 were probably of a different nature.

ca. 850

Giraldus Cambrensis, Topographia Hibernica; Opera, vol. v, p. 186

Of the arrival of the Eastmen.

No great time afterwards,[1] certain men came to the island [of Ireland] again, from regions of Norway and of the northern islands, from the remnants as it were of the former race; and because they knew by faith based upon sight, or by the report of relatives, the best parts of the land, [they came] not in warlike fashion but in the guise of peace, and on the pretext of carrying on merchandise. And they immediately occupied the harbours of Ireland on the sea, and ultimately built diverse cities upon them by consent of the princes of the land. For since by fault of their native indolence the Irish nation, as we have said, would not traverse the seas, or apply themselves to any extent to merchandise, it appeared advisable by common counsel of the whole realm that some nation should be admitted in some districts of the realm, in order that by their efforts other countries' wares, which this land lacked, might be brought hither. . . .[2]

851

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 358, s.a. 850=851[3]

Black-gentiles came to Dublin, and they made great slaughter of the White-foreigners; and they plundered the fortress, both of men and of treasure.[4]

This event is likely to have been correctly dated in the Ulster Annals.

A previous church at Dunkeld existed in 820. But the Danes are said to have invaded Dunkeld in Kenneth's reign; perhaps the older church was then destroyed. See below, p. 288.

A crozier alleged by tradition to have belonged to Columba is one of the relics preserved in the National Museum of Dublin. See Coffey's Guide to Celtic Antiquities of the Christian Period (1910), 59.

[1] I.e. after the overthrow of the first Norwegian settlers under king Tuirgeis; ibid., 182-186. The Norwegians who escaped "were compelled to sail to the islands whence they had come," ibid., 185.

[2] The leaders of these "Eastmen" or Scandinavians were three brothers, Olaf, Sigtrygg, and Ivar; they built and occupied the cities of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick. Other cities were built, and as their numbers increased the settlers became hostile to the original inhabitants of Ireland.

[3] Similarly in C.S., 150, Hennessy's year 851.

[4] Cf. the longer and more fabulous account in Duald's Fragment III, 114-116.

A raid of Black-gentiles on Lind-duachail, and great slaughter of [the inhabitants].[1]

852

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 360, s.a. 851 = 852[2]

Devastation of Armagh by the Foreigners of Lind [-duachail], on the day of Sam-chasc.[3]

The crews of eight score ships[4] of the White-gentiles went to battle with the Black-gentiles at Snam-aignech. They fought for three days and three nights; but the rout was before the Black-gentiles, and their opponents abandoned their ships to them. Stein escaped by flight, and Iercne fell, beheaded.[5]

853

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 362, s.a. 852 = 853

Olaf, the king of Scandinavia's son,[6] came to Ireland; and the Foreigners of Ireland submitted to him, and tribute [was given him] by the Irish.[7]

[1] "Of the White-gentiles" C.S. Cf. year 852, note. The fortress of Lind-Duachail was built in 841, in the same year as the fortress at Dublin; A.U., i, 344, s.a. 840=841.

The whole passage is thus in D.A.I., 34, year 851: "Black-gentiles came to Dublin, and the town was plundered by them; and its nobility and its treasure were taken by them, and many of the White-gentiles were slain. Another host of the Black-gentiles [came] across Lind-duachail, and made great slaughter of the White-gentiles."

[2] With marginal note "bissextile."

The passage stands similarly in C.S., 152, Hennessy's year 852.

[3] See Hennessy's note, C.S., u.s., 152-153. Sam-chasc appears to have been the 10th July in 852.

[4] "Three score and ten" ships, in Duald's Fragment.

[5] Cf. the longer and somewhat fabulous account in Duald's Fragment III, 118-124 (in the "5th year of Maelsechlaind," i.e. 851 or 852). D.A.I., 34, year 852: "Eight score ships of White-Scandinavians came to fight with the Black-gentiles. They fought together for three days and three nights and the rout was upon the White-Scandinavians; and the Black-gentiles enjoyed from then onwards the dwellings and place [*arais 7 ionnad*] of the White-Scandinavians.

"The plundering of Armagh by Scandinavians" (cf. year 851, note) "of Lind-Duachail, on the day of Easter."

[6] *mac righ Laithlinde. Lochlainne* in F.M.

Lochland meant the Scandinavian lands generally, or Norway in particular. The king of Norway was at this time Halfdan the Black, who,

853

Dublin Annals of Innisfallen; Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores, vol. ii, part 3, p. 34, s.a. 853

Olaf, son of the king of the White-Scandinavians, came to Ireland, and the Scandinavians of Ireland submitted to him, and tribute was given him by the Gaels. Sigtrygg and Ivar his two full brothers came with him on that expedition.

853

Duald Mac-Firbis, Fragment III, pp. 124-126

Indrechtach, abbot of Iona, came to Ireland with relics of Columcille. Also in the same year, the sixth year of the kingdom of Maelsechlaind,[1] Olaf Conung, the son of the king of the Scandinavians,[2] came to Ireland, bringing orders from his father for taxes and tribute; and he left suddenly. And the youngest brother, Ivar, came after him, to levy the same taxes.[3]

if the pedigree in Duald's Fragment may be trusted, was this Olaf's great-grandfather. See below, year 874, note.

Lochland in the Irish Nennius (pp. 84, 88) includes (or is a synonym for) the "Germany" (pp. 76, 84, 112) from which the Saxons came to Britain.

Cf. above, year 848.

Cf. the similar use of the Welsh Llychlyn; e.g. in the Welsh Triads: "The second [usurping tribe that came to the island of Britain, and did not depart,] was that of the Gwyddyl Ffichti" (literally, the "Pict-Gaels"), "who came to Scotland across the sea of Llychlyn. . . . The Picts are in Scotland, upon the coast of the sea of Llychlyn." And: "Three invading tribes came to the island of Britain, and departed from it again: the first was that of the Llychlynnwyr, after Urb Lluyddawg had taken away the bravest of the nation of the Cymry" to Llychlyn (M.A., 401 (7), cf. 395 (5): Loth's Mabinogion, ii, triads no. 110, cf. 9); and Maximus is said to have led an expedition to Llychlyn, and never to have returned (Loth, triad no. 9; M.A., 395).

[7] With the expedition of Olaf in 853 may be compared A.C., s.a. [853]: "Món [i.e., Anglesey] was devastated by the Black-Gentiles." Cf. B.T. in R.B.H., 259. B.S. in M.A., 655, s.a. 853, reads: "by the black army."

[1] Maelsechlaind died, according to A.U. (i, 372), on Tuesday, 30th November, 861=862, in the 16th year of his reign: but 30th November was Monday in 862, Tuesday in 863. By his "6th year" the Fragment means probably 852; but the year-section begins with an event placed by A.U. in 848=849.

[2] *mac righ Lochlann.*

[3] Their father, Godfrey, seems to have been in Ireland next year.

Duald's Fragment III, 126: "In this year" (the year [854] of Indrechtach's death, 2 years after the 6th year of Maelsechlaind [∴ 854/855]) "the king of the Scandinavians was invited by Maelsechlaind, to drink, and there was a plentiful feast prepared for him; and the king of the Scandinavians promised to fulfil everything, on his oath. But nevertheless he did not fulfil anything at all after leaving the house of Maelsechlaind, but began at once to plunder the land of Maelsechlaind. Yet this war did not go profitably with him.

"In this year many abandoned their Christian baptism. . . ."

This "king of the Scandinavians" must have been Olaf's father, Godfrey. See year 873. In the next year, "Rodulf [*Rodolbh*] came with his hosts to plunder Ossory; but Cerball, Dunlaing's son, collected an army to oppose them, and gave them battle, and the rout was upon the Scandinavians. . . ."

The account of these events given in the Wars, though fabulous, is interesting because of the relation in which it places its facts.

Wars of the Irish with the Foreigners, 18-24, cc. 20-24: "Afterwards Danish Black-gentiles came and invaded Ireland [*ro laeset fo Erind*], and they were driving the White-gentiles out of Ireland; and they gave battle, and 5,000 of the White-gentiles were killed at Snam-Ergda" (Carlingford Bay; Hogan). "Afterwards another fleet came. It landed in Kerry, and [the land] was plundered by them to Limerick. . . . All these devastations were made in the reign of Fedlimid, Crimthan's son" (king of Cashel, 820; of Munster, 823-847; Annals of Ulster).

[c. 21] "Great toil did [the Black-gentiles] endure in that period [823-847]. The Cenel-Conaill defeated them in battle at Assaroe. The Dail-Caiss defeated them in another battle on Lough Derg. The Ui-Neill defeated [them] in another battle at Ardbrackan. The Ui-Colgan, too, killed earl Saxulf. Olchobar, Kenneth's son, king of Cashel, and Lorcan, Cellach's son, king of Leinster, gained the battle of Sciath-Nechtain over them, and there fell the king of Scandinavia's heir [*tanaissi ri Lochlann*], and with him died 200 of the nobles of Scandinavia [*Lochland*]. The same Olchobar destroyed their [castle] in Tulach-na-Rigna, and there many fell; and Mug's Half" (the south of Ireland) "slew them all.

[c. 22] "Now Maelsechlaind, king of Tara, defeated them in the battle of Caislen-glinni, and there 700 fell. Tigernach also defeated [them] in a battle at Daire-Disirt-Dochonna, and there 500 fell. The same Olchobar, too, and the Eoganacht of Cashel, defeated them in battle at Dun-Maeltuli, and there twelve score fell. 368 of them fell by the [hands of the] White-gentiles. 200 of them fell before the Ciannachta at Inis-Findmic; and 300 besides fell before the Ciannachta at the end of a month afterwards, at Raith-altan. Maelsechlaind defeated them in another battle at Raith-commair. The [men of] Kerry defeated them in another battle.

[c. 23] "Afterwards Olaf, [son of] the king of Scandinavia, came with a huge fleet, 10 years after the death of Maelsechlaind [† 862], and took kingship of the Foreigners of Ireland; and Conchobar, Duncan's son, royal heir of Tara, was drowned by him. By these the battle of Cluain-Daim was

853

Annals of the Four Masters; vol. i, p. 487, s.a. 851 = 853

Godfrey, Fergus' son, lord[1] of the Hebrides, died.[2]

854

Annals of Innisfallen; Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores, vol. ii, part 2, p. 29, O'Conor's year 840 = 854[3]

Indrechtach Ua-Finnachta, abbot of Iona, went into martyrdom on his way to Rome, [being killed] by Saxons.[4]

fought against the Deisi, and there fell all the nobles of the Deisi. By them was killed the son of Cendfaelad, king of Muskerry; and Muchdaigren, son of Rechtabrat, was suffocated in a cave. By them was killed Ketil the White, [with the whole] number of his camp. By them was killed Maelguala, son of Dungal, king of Cashel; his back was broken over a stone. Yet nevertheless they all fell before the men of Munster; Ona, and Scolph, and Tomar, T[uirgeis, etc.]." (*teora ocus ced* in MS. B. See ibid., 23, note. It may be implied that Olaf too fell in Munster.)

[c. 24] "Afterwards Audgisl [*Ossill*], son of the king of Scandinavia, came [with] another fleet, and the greater part of Ireland was plundered by them. These also fell before the men of Ireland. For Audgisl fell with 500 before the men of Ireland in Munster, in one day. In that year fell Colphin and the fleet of Dun-Medoin, at Cend-Curraig. [The foreigners] were slain from Cend-Curraig to Lismore, and many of them fell [killed] by Rechtabrat, Bran's son. Earl Baethbarr and a number of the routed army went to Dublin. Afterwards he was drowned at Dublin, through a miracle of Ciaran; and Aed Scandail, whom they were besieging. In that year fell earl Tomur, [killed] by [St] Brendan, three days after the plundering by him of Clonfert.

"In that year Aed Findliath, Niall's son, defeated them in battle at Loch Foyle, and 1200 heads of them fell there in one place, and all their treasure and jewels were taken."

Cf. the Book of Leinster's version, ibid., 229-231.

[1] *toiseach Innsi Gall.*

[2] Olaf the White seems, from the course of events after his death (the occupation of the Hebrides by Ketil Flatnose and his family), to have ruled in the Hebrides (see below, pp. 305-309); his rule may have followed Godfrey's. Olaf the White and his kindred were descendants of Aun. Cf. below, pp. 292, 306.

[3] Placed 7 years after 847, and 1 year before 855.

[4] *Indrechtach hua Finechta abb Iae hi martra* [fo. 15] *dochoid oc dul do Ro*[*im*] *la* [*Sa*]*xanu.*

854

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 364, s.a. 853=854

Columcille's successor, a very good wise man, was martyred by[1] Saxons on the fourth day[2] before the Ides of March.[3]

856

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, pp. 364-366, s.a. 855=856

[There was] a great war between the gentiles and Maelsechlaind[4] with the Gall-Gaidil.[5] . . .

A great victory [was gained] by Aed, Niall's son, over the Gall-Gaidil, in Glenelly; and he made a very great slaughter of them.[6]

[1] *Apud*, in the sense of the Irish *la*.

[2] I.e., March 12th.

[3] So also in C.S., 152, Hennessy's year 854.

F.M., i, 486, s.a. 852=854 (and the "8th year of Maelsechlaind," sovereign of Ireland): "Indrechtach Ua-Finachtain, Columcille's successor, a distinguished wise man, suffered martyrdom by Saxons on the 12th day of March."

D.M.F., III, 126: "Indrechtach Ua-Finnachta, Columcille's successor, and Diarmait, very wise men, were killed on the way to Rome by English robbers [*do shladaighibh Saxanacha*]; and their innocent blood remains still in the place where they were killed, as a sign of God's vengeance upon those who killed them." "Diarmait, the wisest of the Scots, died," is in the next year-section. Diarmait's death is placed by A.U. (i, 360) and F.M. (i, 486) in 851=852.

[4] Sovereign of Ireland.

[5] So also in C.S. 154; Hennessy's year 856.

[6] Similarly in F.M., i, 488, s.a. 854=856 (and the "10th year of Maelsechlaind").

For the meaning of the name Gall-Gaidil ("foreign Gaels") cf. D.M.F., III, 128 (in the year after Indrechtach's death): "Aed, king of Ailech, the best king of his time in the use of arms, gave battle to the fleet of the Gall-Gaidil: they were Scots and foster-children of the Northmen, and at one time they were called Northmen. They were routed by Aed, and the Gall-Gaidil were massacred; and many heads were taken by [Aed, son of] Niall. And the Irish had the right to kill them, because they used to do as the Scandinavians did." See year 858.

Aed was fighting against Maelsechlaind for the sovereignty of Ireland. Glenelly is in Tyrone.

In the previous year-section, which begins with an assembly at Armagh [851] and the death of Indrechtach Ua-Finnachta [854], D.M.F., III, 126, records: "And in this year some forsook their Christian baptism, and joined the Scandinavians; and they plundered Armagh, and took away

857

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 366, s.a. 856=857

A victory was gained by Ivar and Olaf over Ketil the White with the Gall-Gaidil, in the lands of Munster.[1]

858

Duald Mac-Firbis, Fragment III, p. 138[2]

Maelsechlaind went into Munster, and he harried Munster for a month, in Emly; and he took the hostages of Munster, from Comar-tri-n-uisce[3] to Inis-Tarbnai[4] in the west of Ireland. This was the battle of Carn-Lugdach. And

its riches [*maithius*]. But some of them did penance, and came to make amends."

According to this Fragment, the Gall-Gaidil were Gaels who supported the Norwegian invaders. Elsewhere this name means the mixed population of the Scottish islands, and of Galloway.

It is possible that the Gall-Gaidil here too were invaders from the west of Scotland, but this is not certain. The western islands were still (at least until 853) subject to the Scottish king. In France, renegade natives supported the invading Northmen about this time, and took their share of the spoil; it is quite likely that the same thing occurred in the British islands also.

[1] So also in C.S., 154, Hennessy's year 857.

A.I., 29, O'Conor's year 843=857: "The fleet of Botine [*longes botine*] came to Ireland." Ibid., O'Conor's year 844=858: "Campaign of Maelsechlaind in Munster."

A.C., R.S. 20, 13, s.a. [844] ("the 400th year" after 444), reads: "The battle of Ketil" (*Gueith Cetill*). This may possibly have been fought by Ketil the White. It is noted also in B.S. in M.A., 654, s.a. 844.

Cf. the Wars, 22 (above) and 231.

There is no evidence to show that these Gall-Gaidil were Hebrideans, or that Ketil the White was Ketil Flatnose; although we have reason to believe that Ketil Flatnose fought in the British islands, many years before 874.

C.S. (below, year 859, note) implies that these Gall-Gaidil lived in the north of Ireland.

[2] Cf. A.U., i, 366=368, s.a. 857=858, where the Gall-Gaidil are not mentioned.

[3] "Confluence of three rivers," the boundary of Leinster and Munster: "near Waterford" O'Donovan; "Suir, Nore and Barrow, opposite Cheek Point, county Waterford" Hogan.

[4] "The Bull" W. of Dursey Island, barony Beare, county Cork; O'Donovan, Hogan.

Maelcroin, Muiredach's son, one of the two kings of Decies, was killed in that battle.

If Maelsechlaind had not come on this expedition to take to himself the kingship of Munster, he ought to have come to kill those whom he killed there of the Gall-Gaidil; because these were men who had forsaken their baptism; and they were called Northmen, because they had Northmen's manners, and had been fostered by them; and though the original Northmen did evil to the churches, these did far worse; i.e., this people [the Gall-Gaidil], wherever they were in Ireland.[1]

858

Annals of Innisfallen; Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores, vol. ii, part 2, p. 29, O'Conor's year 844=858[2]

Kenneth, Alpin's son, king of Scotland, [died].

858

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 366, s.a. 857=858

Kenneth, Alpin's son, king of the Picts,[3] and [Æthelwulf],[4] king of the Saxons, died.

858

Duald Mac-Firbis, Fragment III, p. 150[5]

Kenneth, Alpin's son, king of the Picts, died. And this verse was composed: "That Kenneth, of many stables,[6] is dead, causes weeping in every house; there is not under heaven one king so good, as far as to the borders of Rome."[7]

[1] *an lucht sa, gach corair fo Éirinn a mbídís.*

[2] Placed 3 years after 855, 16 years before 874.

[3] Annales Cambriae, Y Cymmrodor, ix, 165, s.a. [856] (2 years after the "410th year" after 444): "Kenneth" (*Cemoyth*, altered from *Cemoith;* read *Cenioyth;* Phillimore), "king of the Picts, died." This is not in MS. C; Ab Ithel's ed., 14. Cf. B.S. in M.A., 655, s.a. 856; B.T., MSS. CD, s.a. 856, Ab Ithel's ed., 12.

[4] In text "Eadulf." Æthelwulf, king of Wessex, died in 858 (A.S.C., ABDE; in 859, CF). His death is placed under 857 by B.S. in M.A., 655.

[5] Placed in the year-section corresponding to the Ulster Annals' 857=858.

[6] *go líon sgor.*

[7] *go bruinne Romha.*

843-858

Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, version A ; Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 8*

So Kenneth, Alpin's son, first of the Scots ruled this Pictland prosperously for sixteen years.

Pictland was named after the Picts, whom, as we have said Kenneth destroyed.[1] For God deigned to make them alien from, and void of, their heritage, by reason of their wickedness ; because they not only spurned the Lord's mass and precept, but also refused to be held equal to others in the law of justice.[2]

Two years before he came to Pictland, he had received the kingdom of Dalriata.[3]

In the seventh year of his reign,[4] he transported the relics of St Columba to a church that he had built. And he invaded England six times; and he seized and burned Dunbar and Melrose.

But the Britons burned Dunblane, and the Danes wasted Pictland to Clunie and Dunkeld.[5]

He died of a tumour[6] ultimately, on the Ides of February, the third day of the week, in the palace of Forteviot.[7]

[1] The statement referred to is not in version A : some account of Kenneth's accession has been omitted.

[2] *Sed et in jure equitatis aliis equi parari noluerunt.* This is understood to refer to their ecclesiastical law.

[3] This is perhaps the most authoritative account of the period 841-843, assigned by later chronicles to the reign of Alpin, Kenneth's father, in Dalriata ([841-843], Prose Chronicle ; 3 years, Chronicle of Dalriata, DEIKN).

[4] I.e., 848-849. See year 849.

[5] *ad Cluanan et Duncalden.* Cf. year 849, note. Cluanan was understood by Robertson (E.K., i, 40) to have been "Cluny in Stormont."

[6] *tumore ani.*

[7] *Fothuirtabaicht.* The date given is Tuesday, 13th February. This was Tuesday in 854 and 860 ; but it was Sunday in 858. Skene argued therefore from this and the Huntingdon Chronicle that Kenneth died in 860, and had succeeded in 832. Cf. year 834, note. See S.C.S., i, 308-309. But Chronicle A's list of reign-lengths has at least equal authority with its dates ; and its reign-lengths do not seem to support Skene's view. It is not unlikely that the day of Kenneth's death is wrongly given by version A.

The Prose Chronicle inserted in the Chronicle of Melrose places Kenneth's death under [859].

The Duan Albanach, in P. & S., 62 : "Thirty years of severe Kenneth."

843-858

Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, version D; Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 151

Kenneth, Alpin's son, reigned over the Scots for sixteen years, after destroying the Picts; and he died in Forteviot,[1] and was buried in the island of Iona, where the three sons of Erc (Fergus, Loarn, and Angus) were buried.

[Kenneth] led the Scots from Argyle into the land of the Picts with marvellous astuteness.[2]

(Here, as throughout the Duan, the epithet is selected to alliterate with the king's name.)

The Huntingdon Chronicle says that Kenneth succeeded in 834, and reigned for 28 years: meaning that he reigned for sixteen years over the kingdom of the Picts, from his twelfth year as king of Dalriata (see the words of the passage, above, p. 271). According to this account he would have died between 860 and 862, perhaps in 861. The Huntingdon Chronicle's account is probably untrustworthy. Kenneth can hardly have reigned in Dalriata before 839; if he did reign before that year, it would seem to have been in some other part of Scotland.

If the story of the death of Alpin is to be taken as relating to the death of Kenneth's father, it would seem to connect the family with Galloway. (Higden, Polychronicon, ii, 148, says that Kenneth added the country south of the Forth to the kingdom of the Picts: "after destroying the Picts, he had caused the territory that is between the Tweed and the Scottish Sea to pertain to his kingdom." This is without authority.)

Of Kenneth's daughters, one married Run, king of Strathclyde (see year 889); one married Aed Find-liath, king of Ireland (†879), and died in 913 (q.v.); one has erroneously been said to have married Olaf, Godfrey's son: see below, p. 309.

[1] *Fethertauethn.* *Forteviet* in F. *Fethirthant vel Fertebeith*, G. *Forteuioth*, I.

[2] Similarly in versions FGI (174, 301, 288); but F omits "of Erc," and reads *in ira caliditate* for *mira caliditate.*

Version K reads confusedly (ibid., 204): "Kenneth, Alpin's son, reigned for 16 years, and died at Forteviot, and was buried in the island of Iona, beside Erc, Loarn and Fergus, three brothers who led the Scots in Argyle [*en Archady*] against the Picts."

Version E, ibid. 131: "Kenneth, Alpin's son, first king of the Scots, [reigned for] 16 [years]."

Version N, ibid., 305: "The first king of the Scots was Kenneth, Alpin's son, who, after destroying the Picts, reigned for 16 years, and was buried in the island of Iona."

859

Duald Mac-Firbis, Fragment III, p. 140[1]

A rout before Cerball, Dunlaing's son, and Ivar,[2] [was made] of the Gall-Gaidil in Araid-tire.[3]

862

Annals of Innisfallen; Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores, vol. ii, part 2, p. 30, O'Conor's year 847=861[4]

The death of Donald, Alpin's son, king of Scotland.

862

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 370, s.a. 861=862[5]

Donald, Alpin's son, king of the Picts, died.[6]

[1] In the 12th year of Maelsechlaind, i.e. 858 or 859.

[2] *re n-Iar.*

[3] The barony of Ara or Duhara, county Tipperary, with Ara Cliach in the west of county Limerick; Hogan.

A.U., i, 368, s.a. 858=859: "A great hosting by Olaf and Ivar and Cerball, into Meath." Ibid: ". . . Cerball, king of Ossory. . . ."

C.S., 156, Hennessy's year 858: "A rout of the [Cenel]-Fiachach and the Gall-Gaidil of Cond's half" [i.e. the north of Ireland]. "6,400 in number, before Cerball and Ivar, in the territory of Ara-tire" [in Tipperary]. C.S. therefore implies that the Gall-Gaidil were Irish.

A.U. say that the Northmen killed Muirecan, Diarmait's son, king of Nass and Airthir-Life, in 863; and that in the same year "Three kings of the foreigners" (Olaf, Ivar, and Audgisl), and Lorcan, one of two kings of Meath, invaded the land of Fland, Conaing's son, and plundered four caves; the other king of Meath was killed by Olaf "king of the foreigners" in 864. Olaf, Ivar, and Audgisl, were brothers (D.M.F., 170; 194).

See years 866, 870, 871.

[4] Placed 6 years after 855, and 13 years before 874.

[5] In the same year-section is recorded the death of Maelsechlaind, king of Ireland, "on the second before the Kalends of December, the third day of the week, in the 16th year of his reign"; so too in C.S., 156. The 30th November was Tuesday in 863, not in 862. This king's sovereignty had begun, according to A.U., in 846=847 (i, 352). F.M. also place his death on the 30th November, after Maelsechlaind had been 16 years on the throne; they date Maelsechlaind's reign from 845=847 to 860=863.

[6] Similarly in C.S., 156, Hennessy's year 862; and in D.M.F., III, 152, in the year-section after that containing the death of Kenneth, Alpin's son.

858-862

Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, version A ; Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 8

Donald, Kenneth's brother, held the same kingdom for four years.[1] In his time the Gaels with their king made the rights and laws of the kingdom, [that are called the laws] of Aed, Eochaid's son,[2] in Forteviot.[3] [Donald] died in the palace of Cend-Belachoir, on the Ides of April.[4]

862

Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, version D ; Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 151

Donald, Alpin's son, reigned for four years; and he died in Raith-inber-amon,[5] and was buried in the island of Iona.[6]

858-862

Prose and Verse Chronicle inserted in the Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 18, 224, s.a. 859[7]

Kenneth, king of the Scots, died[8]; and Donald succeeded him. And of him it is said:—"King Donald succeeded him for four years; in war he was a vigorous soldier. He was the brother of Kenneth, the king aforesaid; and he is said to have been assassinated at Scone."[9]

[1] The Duan Albanach, in Skene's P. & S., 62: "Four [years] of Donald, of ruddy complexion."

[2] Innes (Critical Essay, 409) understood this to have been a promulgation in Pictland of the laws of Aed Find, Eochaid's son, who reigned in Dalriata ca. 748-778. So also S.C.S., i, 323.

[3] *Fothiurthabaicth.*

[4] April 13th.

[5] *Rathinveramon*, D ; *Raith Inverament*, F ; *Raich inveramon*, G ; *Rait inveramon*, I. This name means "castle at the mouth of the Amon river"; probably the Almond, which joins the Tay near, but on the side opposite to, Scone. Fordun, IV, 15, says that he died "at Scone, the royal seat." He derives this from the Verse Chronicle.

[6] Similarly in versions F (ibid., 174), G (301), I (288), and (omitting the place of Donald's death) in N (305).

[7] Also in P. & S., 177-178 (MS. B).

[8] See year 858.

[9] The passage within inverted commas is in verse in the original.

858-862

Berchan's Prophecy, stanzas 123-124; in Skene's Picts and Scots, pp. 84-85

Evil will be Scotland's lot because of it[1]; long will it be till his like will come. A long while till the king takes [sovereignty], the wanton son of the foreign wife (?).[2]

He will be three years in the kingdom, and three months (although thou countest them).[3] His tomb-stone will be above Loch Awe. He dies of disease (some time).[4]

864

Duald Mac-Firbis, Fragment III, pp. 158-162[5]

The destruction and devastation of Fortriu by the Scandinavians[6]; and they took away many hostages in pledge of tax. And taxes were given them for a long time afterwards.[7]

Slaughter was made of the Foreigners at Mundrehid, by Cendétig, Gaithin's son, king of Leix, and by the northern [men of] Ossory.

At this time the Aunites,[8] that is, the Danes, came with innumerable hosts to York, and destroyed the city, and settled in it[9]; and this was the beginning of great suffering and misfortune to the Britons.[10]

Not long before this, there was all manner of war and strife in Scandinavia[11]; and that war in Scandinavia arose out of this, that two young sons of Halfdan, king of Scandinavia,[12] had

[1] I.e., because of the death of Kenneth, Alpin's son.

[2] *na gaillsighthe;* rhyming with *rí;* for *seitche?* Probably a Norwegian or English woman is meant. Her son seems to have been Kenneth's successor, Donald, Alpin's son.

[3] *cía rímhi*, a cheville, to rhyme with *rí*[*ghe*] of the previous line.

[4] *áonfecht*, a cheville, to rhyme with *leacht.*

[5] Placed under the year before 865, which is indicated by the record of "an eclipse of the sun on the Kalends of January."

[6] *la Lochlannaibh.*

[7] Cf. below, year 870.

[8] Literally "descendants of Aun." D.M.F. 116 reads: *Daunites i. Danair;* the emendation *Haunites* "men of Copenhagen" has been suggested.

[9] *go n-dechattur fuirre.* This was in 867. See below.

[10] *ba tosach imnidh 7 docrach móir do Brethnaibh sin.*

[11] *i Lochlainn.*

[12] *ri Lochlann.* Halfdan the Black, king of Norway, died in 864 (or 862).

expelled the eldest son, Ronald, Halfdan's son,[1] for fear lest he should take the kingdom of Scandinavia after their father. And Ronald came with his three sons[2] to the Orkney islands. Then Ronald remained there, with his youngest son; but the older sons came to the islands of Britain with a great host. That host was collected from every quarter, and those sons were filled with pride and wantonness, [going] to attack the French and the Saxons.

They thought that their father would go to Scandinavia at once after they departed.

Then their pride and youthful ferocity[3] impelled them to row forward across the Cantabrian Ocean, that is, the sea that is between Ireland and Spain; and they reached Spain, and did many evils in Spain, both storming and plundering.

They came afterwards across the Gaditanean Straits, that is, the place where the Mediterranean Sea goes into the outer ocean; and they reached Africa. And they gave battle to the Moors, and great slaughter was made of the Moors. However, on their way to this battle the one son said to the other: "Brother," said he, "great is the folly and the recklessness that we show, in being killed from land to land throughout the world, instead of winning our own ancestral [land], and doing our father's will; for he is alone now, in grief and feebleness, in a land that does not belong to him; because one of the sons that we left with him has been killed, as has been revealed to me" (it was in a dream that this had been revealed to him); "and his other son has been killed in a battle; and the father himself scarcely escapes out of that battle." And this was in fact fulfilled.

When he had said this, he saw the battalion of the Moors approaching them. And when the son who had said the words before us saw it, he leapt suddenly into the battalion and came against the king of the Moors, and struck him a blow with a great sword, and cut off his hand. Both sides fought hard in that battle, and neither of them got victory in that battle over

[1] *Ragnall mac Albdain.*

[2] A son of Ronald named below is Halfdan, who fell in Ireland in 877. This may have been the Halfdan who reigned over Danes, with his brother Sigfrith (see pp. 298, 301, 351).

[3] *ógbadata.* For *ócbadbdata?* See Dinneen, s.v. *badhta.*

the other. But both sides returned to their camps, after many had been killed between them. Each side, however, challenged the other to come to the battle on the morrow. But the king of the Moors left the camp, and escaped in the night, after the loss of his hand. When the morning came, the Scandinavians took their arms, and prepared themselves with hardihood and vigour for the battle. But when the Moors had learned that their king had escaped, they fled, after great slaughter had been made of them.

After that, the Scandinavians went through the country, and ravaged it; and they burned the whole land; and they brought a great host of [the Moors] in captivity with them to Ireland. These are the "blue men"[1]; because Moors are the same as negroes; Mauritania is the same as negro-land.[2]

Scarcely did every third man of the Scandinavians escape, what with those that were killed, and those of them that were drowned in the Gaditanean Straits.

Long were these blue men in Ireland.

Mauritania is opposite the Balearic Islands.[3]

[1] *fir gorma.*

[2] Literally "the same as blackness." *uair is ionann Mauri 7 nigri: Mauritania is ionann is nigritudo.*

[3] This story seems to imply that Ronald was the son of Halfdan the Black; that Ronald left Norway not long before Halfdan's death († 864 or 862), and lived in Orkney with two sons, while other two of his sons proceeded on warfare to France, Saxony, Spain, and Africa, and lived in Ireland on their return. The sons that remained in Orkney fell in battle there. It is almost implied that Ronald recovered his inheritance in Norway, by aid of the other two sons.

This Ronald, Halfdan's son, has been identified with Ragnar Lodbrökr, the son, according to Icelandic writers, of Sigurd Ring. But in addition to their different names and the statements of their different parentage, other difficulties oppose the identification. This is probably a variant of the story of Ronald, earl of Mærr, and his sons (Turf-Einar and Hrólf, etc.), told of a different Ronald.

Ragnar Lodbrok's kingdom was magnified in tradition. A fabulous account of him is given in Ragnar's Saga; cf. also the Tale of Ragnar's Sons (Hauksbók, 458-463). See Saxo Grammaticus, book X; pp. 301 ff. Cf. Lorenzen's Gammeldanske Kröniker, 32-35, 88-89 (partly derived from Adam of Bremen); and Oddveria Annall, in Storm's Annaler, 455-457.

Ragnar of the Saga was the invader of France; his sons fought and ruled in France and England.

Ragnar (*Ragneri*) entered Paris on Easter Saturday, 28th March, 845,

865

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 374, s.a. 864=865

An eclipse of the sun on the Kalends of January, and an eclipse of the moon in the same month.[1]

Cellach, Ailill's son, abbot of Kildare and abbot of Iona, slept in the country of the Picts.[2] . . .

The Britons were driven out of their land[3] by the Saxons, and were subjugated in Anglesey of Cinan.[4] . . .

according to the Fragmentum Chronici Fontanellensis, s.a. 845 ; M.G.H., Scriptores, ii, 302 (the year is also indicated by the indiction).

Ragnar (*Reginheri*) fell in France in 845, according to the Annales Xantenses ; M.G.H., Scriptores, ii, 228.

[Ragnar's son] Eric is called king of the Northmen in 845, by Prudentius of Troyes ; M.G.H., Scriptores, i, 441.

For Ragnar's sons, see years 867-868, below. For Ronald's family, see pp. 371-376.

The word *Lodbrökr* (feminine plural) or *Lodbrók* (feminine singular) seems to be a nickname, meaning "wearer of shaggy breeches." But a 12th-century runic inscription in the Maeshowe is said to imply that Lodbrok was the mother of Lodbrok's sons ; and that she was buried in Orkney. See G. Storm, in Vikingetidens Historie, 84-85 (1878). This is perhaps an erroneous implication ; but the whole environment of Ragnar is obscure. The inscription dates from soon after the winter (1152-1153) when Scandinavian crusaders remained in Orkney, and, among other violent acts, broke into the Maeshowe ; some ten of them carved their names upon the stones.

(Cf. i.a. R.S. **88**, iii, pp. xxxvi-xxxviii.)

[1] The sun was eclipsed in 865 on January 1st at 1½ p.m., the moon on January 15th at 6¼ p.m., Paris time (L'Art de Vérifier les Dates).

[2] So too (both paragraphs) in C.S., 158, Hennessy's year 865 (but there "in the country of the Picts" is omitted). Similarly also in D.M.F., III, 162 ; and in F.M., i, 500, s.a. 863=865 (and the "3rd year of Aed" Findliath, sovereign of Ireland), after the death of Tuathal (but F.M. read "died" for "slept").

[3] I.e., Gwynedd, or North Wales.

[4] *i mMaen Chonain.* Cf. D.M.F., III, 154 : "In this year, the third year of the reign of Aed Find-liath [i.e. 865], the Saxons entered [the land of] the Britons of Gwynedd [*i mBreathnaibh Gaimud*] ; and the Saxons drove the Britons from their country." The Welsh chronicles place the death of a Cinan under the year 865 (see B.T. in M.A., 687 ; B.T. in R.B.H., 259 ; R.S. **17**, 14 ; **20**, 14). But the Cinan who is connected with Món or Anglesey was Rotri's son, who fought with his brother Higuel for the island, and who died in 816 (A.C. ; 817, B.S. in M.A.).

Tuathal, Artgus' son, chief bishop of Fortriu and abbot of Dunkeld, slept.[1]

866

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 374, s.a. 865 = 866[2]

Olaf and Audgisl[3] went into Fortriu, with the Foreigners of Ireland and Scotland; and they raided all the land of the Picts, and took hostages from them.[4]

867-868

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 376, s.a. 866 = 867

A battle [was fought] by the Black-foreigners against the Saxons of the North, in York; and in it fell Ælle, king of the North-Saxons.[5]

[1] Similarly (but with the reading "died" for "slept") in D.M.F., u.s.; and (before Cellach's death) in F.M., u.s.

[2] By sequence.

[3] *Amlaiph 7 Auisle. Auisle* is the Irish form of Audgisl, according to A. Bugge; this is probably correct. Stokes suggested that it might have been *auvisli* "damage, injury." The form of the name may possibly have been influenced by the Latin name Auxilius. The Wars give the spelling *Ossill*. Perhaps *Eowils* was an Anglo-Saxon rendering of the same name.

Cf. A.U., i, 372, s.a. 862=863: ". . . Three kings of the Foreigners, . . . Olaf and Ivar and Audgisl." In 867, "Audgisl, the third king of the Gentiles, was slaughtered by his brothers in treachery and parricide" (A.U., i, 376, s.a. 866=867). Therefore A.U. seem to agree with Duald's Fragment in making Olaf, Ivar, and Audgisl, brothers. See above, p. 290.

[4] According to the Chronicle of the Kings (A), "Olaf with his gentiles wasted Pictland, and dwelt in it" from January 1st to March 17th in Constantine's 3rd year (864-865): but probably the invasion of 866 is meant.

[5] Cf. A.C., in Y Cymmrodor, ix, 165, s.a. [866] (2 years after the "420th year" after 444): "The city of York was wasted; that is, the battle of the Black-gentiles" (*cat dub gint*, A; *cat Du lin*, B; not in C: Ab Ithel's ed., 14). Cf. B.S. in M.A., 655, s.a. 866; B.T. in R.B.H., 259, between years 860 and 870.

These "black foreigners" or "black gentiles" were Danes.

A.S.C., s.a. 867 (ABDE; C, s.a. 868): "In this year the [heathen] army proceeded from East Anglia over Humber-mouth to the city of York in Northumbria. And there was much dissension within this [Northumbrian] people among themselves; and they had deposed their king, Osbeorht, and received a king, Ælle, not of royal blood. And late in the year they decided that they should fight against the [Danish] army; and indeed they gathered a great army [*fierd*], and went to the [Danish] army at York, and

broke into the city ; and some of them got into it ; and there was endless slaughter of the Northumbrians, some inside and some out. And both the kings were slain. And those that were left made peace with the [Danish] army."

According to S.D., i, 54-55, Ælle was placed over Northumbria by the Danes, when Osbeorht was deposed (in ?863). York was taken on 1st November, 867, in the 5th year of king Ælle ; and kings Ælle and Osbeorht, uniting their forces, attacked the Danes at York on 21st March, 868, and fell. The Danes appointed Ecgbeorht king (under themselves) over the district north of the Tyne ; they passed a year in Mercia, returned to York for a year, were then led against the East-Angles, and put Edmund to death (A.D. 870).

Meanwhile, the Northumbrians had expelled Ecgbeorht, and made Ricsig their king (ibid., 56. Ricsig died in 876, according to S.D., ii, 111).

Historia de S. Cuthberto, R.S. 75, i, 204 : "The army that Ubba, king of the Frisians, and Halfdan, king of the Danes, had brought into English land, was divided into three parts : one rebuilt the city of York, and cultivated the land around it, and remained there. But the second, which occupied the land of the Mercians, and the third, which invaded the land of the East Saxons, did many evils for three years, and killed all of royal race, except only Alfred, king Edward's father, who hid for these three years in Glastonbury marsh, in great privations."

D.M.F., III, 172, under "the 6th year of the reign of Aed, Niall's son," i.e. 868 or 869 : "In this year the Danes went to York, and gave hard battle to the Saxons there. The Saxons were routed, and the king of the Saxons, Ælle, was killed there, through treachery and deceit of a young lad of his own people. And great slaughter was made in this battle. Afterwards they entered the city of York, and took much of every kind of riches, because it was rich at that time ; and they slew all the good men they found in it. From this arose all manner of misfortune [*doc*[*h*]*onach*] and of tribulation for the island of Britain."

According to the Icelandic writers, Ælle was killed by Ragnar's sons, and Ivar Legless became king in his place. The Icelandic accounts of Ragnar Lodbrökr or Lodbrok, and his sons, are mixed with legend, and untrustworthy. See Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, cc. 61-64 ; Ragnar Lodbrok's Saga ; the Tale of Ragnar's sons, in Hauksbók, ii, 462-465 ; and Ragnarsdrápa (composed in the 9th century by Bragi the Old, Boddi's son), in J.S., i, B 1-4. See also above, pp. 294-295, note.

Ragnar's Saga says that the blood-eagle was carved on Ælle's back ; see the Tale of Ragnar's sons (Fornaldar Sögur, i, 355), where the Knútsdrápa of Sighvat Thord's son (of the first half of the 11th century) is quoted (see J.S., i, B 232 ; Corpus Poeticum Boreale, ii, 135). Cf. below, p. 390.

Ælle appears prominently in the unhistorical Hrólfs Saga Gautrekssonar (ed. Detter, 1891), pp. 50, 53, etc. The sagas say that Ælle had put Ragnar to death in a snake-pit ; but this is probably a literary fable.

Olaf's Saga, c. 63, F.S., i, 114-115 : "Ragnar Lodbrok's sons were great warriors ; they avenged their father, and slew king Ælle in England.

Ivar the Legless became king over that part of England which his kinsmen and relatives had had before. He increased his kingdom in many ways. He caused the holy king Edmund to be slain, and took his dominion [East Anglia] under himself. . . . Sigurd Worm-in-eye married Blæjo, king Ælle's daughter ; their son was Hordaknut. . . ." Cf. Hauksbók, ii, 464.

Cf. the story of Ælle's dealings with Ragnar's sons, in Ragnar Lodbrok's Saga, cc. 15-18, pp. 156-168.

Olaf's Saga, c. 64 ; F.S., i, 117 : "*Of Ivar Legless.*

[After Ælle's death] "Ivar the Legless was king in England for a long time. He had no child, because [so it is said] he had not the desire nor the faculty for that : but he had no lack of understanding or ferocity. He died of old age in England, and was buried there. Then were all Lodbrok's sons dead.

"After that, Æthelmund, Edgar's son, the brother's son of Edmund the Holy, took the kingdom in England. And he christianized England widely, and took taxes from Northumberland, which was heathen. . . ." Similarly in Fl., i, 106. Cf. Hauksbók, ii, 465.

Ari says that in 870 Ivar, Ragnar Lodbrok's son, "caused the holy Edmund, king of the English, to be slain" (see below, pp. 337-338).

Sögubrot af Fornkonungum (Fornaldar Sögur, i, 387 - 388) says that "Sigurd Ring was king over Sweden and Denmark, after king Harold Hilditaunn ; and then his son Ragnar grew up in his father's court. . . . But when king [Sigurd] Ring began to grow old and infirm, his kingdom began to diminish, and especially he lost that part that was farthest away. The king is named Æthelbeorht, that had come of the race of king Ælle, whom Halfdan Ylfing had slain ; and [Æthelbeorht] had taken under himself the part of England that is called Northumberland. That part king [Sigurd] Ring had had, and king Harold [Hilditaunn] before him. King Æthelbeorht ruled over that dominion for a long time ; his sons were called Ama and Ælle, and they were kings in Northumberland after their father." If not mythical, this Æthelbeorht, a descendant of Ælle Yffe's son, may have ruled over Deira. According to Anglo-Saxon sources, an Æthelbeorht was the great-grandfather of king Ida. See Searle, ii, 255.

Ynglinga Saga, c. 41, asserts that Ivar Wide-fathom, king of Denmark and Sweden (Harold Hilditaunn's grandfather) had possessed Northumbria. According to Langfedgatal, this Ivar was Ragnar Lodbrok's grandfather's great-grandfather.

Adam of Bremen, Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Episcoporum, I, 39 ; M.G.H., Scriptores, vii, 298 : "What kings there were of the Danes, in [archbishop Rimbert's] time [865-888], is not found in his Life. In the History of the Franks, Sigfrith and his brother Halfdan are said to have reigned : and also they sent gifts to emperor Louis [840-876], namely a sword with a golden hilt, and other things, asking for peace ; and from both sides intermediaries were sent to the river Eider ; and they swore upon their arms, according to the custom of the nation, a steadfast peace.

"There were also other kings of the Danes or of the Norwegians, who harassed France with piratical expeditions at that time. Chief among

these were the tyrants Eric, Orwic, Godfrey, Rudolf, and Inguar. The most cruel of them all was Inguar, Lodparch's son, who put Christians to death everywhere with torture. It is written in the Deeds of the Franks."

The Annals of Lund copy Adam, but add the names of Ivar and Ubbi, and name all the "princes" sons of Lodbrok; M.G.H., Scriptores, xxix, 197: "In those days" (the reign of Eric the Young, king of Denmark) "the princes of the Danes were the most fierce and cruel sons of Lodbrok; they harassed France with piratical expeditions. Chief among these were Eric, Orwic, Godfrey, Ivar, Rudolf, Inguar, and Ubbi. The most cruel were Ivar and Inguar, Lodbrok's sons, who put Christians to death everywhere with torture." So too the Annals of Roskild make Ivar and Inguar two men (Langebek, Scriptores, i, 374). This may have been the result of mixing different versions of the story of Lodbrok's sons. An attempt is made in the Tale of Ragnar's sons (below) to reconcile different versions.

According to the unhistorical Tale of Ragnar's sons (Fornaldar Sögur, i, 345-346), Ragnar, king of Sweden and Denmark after the death of Sigurd Ring, married Thora Borgarhiortr: "He had two sons by Thora; one was called Eric, and the other Agnar. . . . Afterwards Ragnar married Aslaug, whom some call Randalín, daughter of Sigurd Fafni's-bane and Brynhild, Budli's daughter. They had four sons: Ivar Legless was the eldest, then Biorn Ironside, then Hvitserk, then Sigurd: he had a mark in his eye, as if a worm lay about the pupil; and therefore he was called Sigurd Worm-in-eye." (In reality it appears that Worm-in-eye meant "of snake-like eyes.")

After the death of Ælle (ibid., 354): "Ivar became king over that part of England that his relatives had had before. He had two brothers born out of wedlock; the one was called Ynguar, the other Hústó. These tortured king Edmund the holy at Ivar's command, and then [Ivar] laid under himself [Edmund's] kingdom." See below, p. 300.

Icelandic Annals, version C, s.a. 861: "*From the Chronicle of* [*the archbishops*] *of Bremen.* At this time Sigurd with his brother Halfdan reigned in Denmark; they sent gifts to the emperor Louis. And there were other kings who harassed France greatly at this time, from Norway and Denmark: Sigurd, Eric, Hiordung, Rudolf, and Inguar, Lodbrok's son, who was the most cruel of all." Version D, s.a. 861: "In these times, Sigurd reigned in Denmark with his brother Halfdan"; s.a. 862: "[These] kings fought in France: Sigurd, Eric, Hiordung, Rudolf, Ivar, sons of Ragnar Lodbrok." Version E, s.a. 861: "Ivar the Legless came to England."

Icelandic Annals (KBD) s.a. 884: "The Danes proceeded inland along the Rhine, and burned Cologne: the lords over them were Sigurd and Godfrey."

Ragnar's sons are named in Gammeldanske Kröniker (MS. Holm. B. 77), p. 36: "Eric, Orwic, Godfrey, Rudolf, Inguar, Ubbi." Rydeaarbogen, I, ibid. p. 89, says: "[Ragnar] had nine sons. . . . Inguar, his

son, was the most cruel among the brothers. Sigurd, his son, came after him."

The number of Ragnar's sons was increased in course of tradition.

Inguar, Lodparch's son, appears to have been the same person as, or else in the legends to have been confounded with, the Ivar, Ragnar Lodbrok's son, of the Icelandic writers. "Originally a by-form of *Ingvarr*, *Ívarr* has already in prehistoric times become an independent name"; E.H. Lind, Norsk-isländska Dopnamn, 663.

The slayer of Edmund is called Inguar by Abbo Floriacensis. Abbo gives an account of the invasions of England by Inguar and Ubbi or Hubba, and describes the manner in which Inguar put king Edmund to death in 870: Passio S. Eadmundi, R.S. **96**, i, 8-16. Cf. i.a. B.S. in M.A., 655, s.a. 867. See Matthew Paris's story of Inguar and Hubba; Chronica Majora, s.a. 870 (E.C., 61-62).

The Irish writers say that Olaf, Godfrey's son, was king in Ireland from 853 (with his brother Ivar, from 857) till 872. From 872, Ivar, Godfrey's son, was king of the Norwegians and Danes in Ireland and Britain, till 873, when he died. But the Icelandic writers say that Ivar, Ragnar's son, was king over the same peoples, in York, for a long time after 867; Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga says that he survived the other sons of Lodbrok, and died of age.

Æthelweard says that in the year of Æthelred's accession [866] "the fleets of the tyrant Inguar [*tyranni Igwares*] arrived from the north in the land of the Angles" (M.B.H., 512).

According to Æthelweard, king Edmund was killed, and "the barbarians obtained the favour of victory, for the time, soon after the death of the king; but their own king, Ivar [*Iuuar*], also died in the same year." But later, Æthelweard says also that Inguar fell in the battle of Woden's-field (which he places in [909]; the A.S.C., in 911; the Annals of St Neot's, in 910—Stevenson's Asser, 144-145): "three of the kings of the Danes fell there, . . . namely Halfdan, Eowils [*Eyuuysl*] also, and moreover Inguar [*Iguuar*], leaving his tyranny, then hastened to the palace of hell; and along with them their aldermen, leaders, and nobles" (M.B.H., 513, 519).

A.S.C. (911, ABCD) and H.H. say that kings Eowils and Halfdan fell in the battle of Woden's-field. F.W. (s.a. 911) says that the army of the West-Saxons and Mercians killed "two kings of [the Danes], Eowils and Halfdan, brothers of king Inguar. . . ." This was a full generation after the time when Inguar and Halfdan, Ragnar's sons, flourished; F.W. has probably erred in thinking that the Halfdan who fell at Woden's-field was the same who invaded England in 866.

Through reading "Inguar and Halfdan" instead of Asser's "brother of Inguar and Halfdan," Simeon of Durham erroneously places these kings' deaths in Devon, in 877 (M.B.H., 481, 681, 683 n.). See A.S.C., s.a. 878 (ABDE; 879, C); Asser, c. 54, p. 43, s.a. 878 (c. 52, p. 40). Halfdan does seem to have died in 877, but in Ireland; and his father seems to have been Ronald, not Ragnar.

The Historia de S. Cuthberto (R.S. **75**, i, 202-203) gives a vague account

870

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 382, s.a. 869=870

Siege of Dumbarton[1] by the Northmen; that is to say, Olaf and Ivar, two kings of the Northmen, besieged that fortress, and at the end of four months destroyed the fortress and plundered it.[2]

of Halfdan's death; S.D. (ibid., 56-58, 68) gives a similar account, but in addition implies that Halfdan died in 882.

Of Æthelweard's statements of Ivar's or Inguar's death, the first disagrees with the sagas, which say that Ivar reigned long in Northumbria; it may have been due to a sense of poetic justice, or to confusion with Ivar, Godfrey's son († 873). Æthelweard's second statement differs from his first; it differs from Olaf's Saga, which says that Ivar died of old age; and it is not supported by the other English chronicles.

There was much intercourse at this time between the invaders of France and of Britain, of Britain and of Ireland. Danes and Norwegians fought for the command of the Scandinavian settlements in France and in Ireland.

Danish leaders mentioned in A.S.C. at this time were:—Inguar and Hubba (insertion in F, 870); kings Bagsecg and Halfdan, earls Sidroc the Old, and Sidroc the Young, Osbearn, Fræna, and Harold (ABDEFG, 871; C, 872); kings Halfdan, Guthorm, Oscytel, and Anwynd (ABDE, 875; C, 876); and "the brother of Inguar and of Halfdan" (ABDE, 878; C, 879). Halfdan's brother fell in 878. King Guthorm (Æthelstan) died in 890 (ABDEF, 891, C; 890 in Annals of St. Neots). Halfdan fell at Loch Cuan in Ireland in 877, according to the Irish annals (see below, p. 351). For Inguar, see p. 300.

The "peace which king Alfred, and king Guthorm, and the whole council of the English race, and all the people that are in East Anglia, have all declared and with oaths confirmed" is to be found in Thorpe's Ancient Laws and Institutes, i, 66-67; 505. This treaty of Wedmore was made in 878 (A.S.C., ABDEF; 879, C).

Ivar Ragnar's son's half-sister is said to have come to Britain. Landnámabók, c. 143, p. 58: "Hunda-steinar was the name of an earl in England. He married Alof, Ragnar Lodbrok's daughter. . . ." Their son Biorn was the father of Audun Skokull, who was a great-great-grandfather of St. Olaf (born in 995). Audun Skokull went out to Iceland, and settled in Vídidalr.

Cf. Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 158 (F.S., ii, 23-24). See an account of Ragnar's kindred, in Hauksbók, ii, 505-506. Cf. also above, pp. 294-300; and below, pp. 306-309. Very little trust can be placed upon any of the Icelandic accounts of Ragnar and his kindred. Cf. the genealogical table in Searle's Onomasticon (1899), ii, 378-379. See below, p. 307.

[1] *obsesio Ailech Cluathe.*

[2] This siege was probably the "plundering of Strathclyde" which stands among the themes of Irish literary compositions; L.L., 190.

870

Duald Mac-Firbis, Fragment III, p. 192

In this year[1] the kings of the Scandinavians besieged Strathclyde,[2] in Britain. They were for four months besieging it; and at last, after reducing[3] the people who were inside by hunger and thirst (after the well that they had in their midst had dried up miraculously), they broke in upon them afterwards. And firstly, all the riches that were in it were taken; [and also] a great host [was taken] out of it in captivity.[4]

870

Annales Cambriae, Y Cymmrodor, vol. ix, p. 166, s.a. [870][5]

The citadel of Dumbarton[6] was broken by the gentiles.[7]

871

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, pp. 382-384, s.a. 870=871

Olaf and Ivar came again to Dublin from Scotland, with two hundred ships; and a very great spoil of people—of

D.A.I., 35, s.a. 870: "Plundering of Leinster by Aed, Niall's son, from Dublin to Gowran, after Olaf and Ivar [Godfrey's sons] had gone with the crews of 200 ships to assist the Scandinavians of Britain with the princes of Scandinavia" (*um a ttaoisicc Lochlannn*, in O'Conor's text), "Inguar and Hubba."

The plundering of Leinster is placed by A.U. before the invasion of Scotland, but D.A.I. are probably right in placing it after the departure of Olaf and Ivar.

For the invasion of Berwickshire by "Inguar and Hubba," and the self-mutilation of abbess Æbbe and the nuns of Coldingham in 870, see E.C., 61-62. The story is also told by R.W. Hubba (Ubbi) may have given his name to *Ubbanford*, "Ubbi's ford," i.e. Norham (S.D., i, 361).

[1] I.e., the year of the battle of Dunbolg, 870.

[2] *do ronsad forbaisi for sraith Cluaide.*

[3] *iar fforach.*

[4] This is followed by the note: "'Duald Mac-Firbis wrote this, 1643': so said the first transcriber."

[5] Placed 6 years after the "420th year" after 444. This is not in MS. B or C; Ab Ithel's ed., 14.

[6] *arx Alt-clut;* in B.S., *twr Alclut.*

[7] Cf. B.S. in M.A., 655, s.a. 670: "The fortress of Dumbarton was broken." B.T. in R.B.H., 259: "870 years was the age of Christ, when . . . the castle of Dumbarton was destroyed by the pagans." B.T. in M.A., 687, s.a. 870: "The black-pagans broke down Caer-Alclud" (similarly also in Brut Ieuan Brechfa, M.A., 716).

English, and Britons, and Picts—was brought with them to Ireland in captivity.[1]

871

Duald Mac-Firbis, Fragment III, p. 194[2]

Olaf went from Ireland to Scandinavia, to fight with the Scandinavians[3] and to assist his father, Godfrey; for the Scandinavians were warring against [Godfrey]; and [Godfrey] his father had sent to him.[4] But since it would take long to tell the cause of the war, and seeing that it concerns us so little,[5] although we know about it, we shall abstain from writing about it; because it is our concern to write about what relates to Ireland, and indeed not everything of that; since the Irish suffer not only the evils of the Scandinavians,[6] but also many evils from themselves.[7]

[1] D.M.F., III, 194 (in the year after the siege of Dumbarton): "Olaf and Ivar came again from Scotland to Dublin, with a great spoil [*brad mór*] of Britons, Scots, and Saxons. Their number was 200 ships."

C.S., 162, Hennessy's year 871: Olaf and Ivar came again to Dublin from Scotland. They had 200 ships. A great spoil of people" (*creach mor daine*, for which A.U. have *preda maxima hominum*) "of English and Britons was brought to Ireland.

"Ailill, Dunlaing's son, king of Leinster, was killed by the Northmen."

D.A.I., 35-36, s.a. 871, have the same account as C.S., but conclude with the words "by Scandinavians" (*do Lochlannaibh*).

Ailill's death is noted in A.U., and in D.M.F., III, after the storming of Dunseverick (in the same year). D.M.F., u.s.: "Ailill, Dunlaing's son, king of Leinster and the Northmen, was killed."

Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 141, s.a. 864: "Olaf and Audgisl [*Awley and Hushe*], the two princes of the Danes, with all their forces went to Pictland, and there spoiled the country, and brought from thence hostages in token of subjection, A.D. 871."

[2] The same year-section has Olaf and Ivar's return from Scotland, corresponding to the Ulster Annals' 870=871. The next year in Duald's Fragment is called the 10th of Aed, i.e. 871 or 872 (see year 872).

[3] *i Lochlainn . . . ar Lochlandaibh.*

[4] *ar ttiachtain ó a athair ar a chenn.* Cf. year 853.

For Godfrey's death, see year 873.

[5] *ara laighed tremdhírges cugainn.*

[6] *uilc na Lochlann* (here evidently a generic term for all Scandinavians).

[7] Olaf is mentioned for the last time in A.U. in 870=871. (In that year, "Ailill, son of Dunlaing, king of the Leinstermen, was killed by the Northmen.") The same Annals place the death of "Ivar, king of the North-

872

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 384, s.a. 871 = 872 [1]

Artga[l], king of the Britons of Strathclyde, was slain by counsel of Constantine, Kenneth's son.[2]

872

Duald Mac-Firbis, Fragment III, p. 194

In this year, the tenth year [3] of the reign of Aed Find-liath, Ivar, son of Godfrey, son of Ronald,[4] son of Godfrey Conung, son of Godfrey, and the son of the man who had gone from Ireland—i.e., of Olaf [5]—, plundered Ireland from west to east, and from south to north.

873

Duald Mac-Firbis, Fragment III, p. 196

In this year (the eleventh year of the reign of Aed [6]), Bard, foster-father of the king's son,[7] drew many ships westwards from the sea to Lough Ree, and from [these ships] wasted the

men of all Ireland and Britain," in 872 = 873 : therefore Olaf had ceased to be king then (871 × 873). According to the Chronicle of the Kings, he fell in Scotland a short while before 875 (in 874, if we accept the simplest emendation of the text). See below, year 877.

[1] With the marginal note "bissextile."

[2] Similarly in C.S., 162, Hennessy's year 872 (but with the reading "Ardgal").

[3] I.e., 871 or 872.

[4] This appears to have been the Ronald, Halfdan's son, spoken of by the same Fragment under 864 (above); therefore the words "son of Halfdan" seem to have been omitted here. See above, pp. 293, 294.

[5] I.e., Olaf Conung, Godfrey's son, and this Ivar's brother, according to Duald's Fragment III. Conung is a nickname or title (Icelandic *konungr* "king"). Olaf's son was probably the Oistin or Eystein who fell in 875.

There is nothing to indicate that Eystein was Thorstein the Red, or that he was a son of Aud the Deep-minded. *Thórsteinn* became *Torstan* in Irish. Thorstein and Eystein were certainly different men.

Halfdan had come to England (below, pp. 350, 351) and Ireland after Olaf Godfrey's son's departure from Ireland, and death. Halfdan seems to have wished to take Olaf's place in Ireland.

[6] I.e., 872 or 873.

[7] Bard [*Barid*] was probably fosterer of Eystein, Olaf's son ; see above.

islands of Lough Ree, and the neighbouring farms, and Mag-Luirg.

There God freed Columba's successor[1] from the hands of the Scandinavians; and while he escaped from their hands, they thought that he was a stone pillar.

873

Duald Mac-Firbis, Fragment III, p. 198[2]

Death of the king of the Scandinavians, Godfrey,[3] of a sudden horrible pestilence[4]; for so it pleased God.

Harassings of the Welsh[5] in this year.

873

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 386, s.a 872=873[6]

Ivar, king of the Northmen of all Ireland and Britain, ended his life.[7]

873

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 386, s.a. 872=873[8]

Flaithbertach, Muirchertach's son, abbot of Dunkeld, died.[9]

ca. 853- ca. 874

Landnámabók, c. 82, p. 36[10]

Olaf the White was the name of a war-king.[11] He was the

[1] I.e., Feradach († 880).

[2] Placed in the 11th year of Aed, i.e., 872 or 873.

[3] *ég righ Lochlann, i. Gothfraidh.* This Godfrey was apparently the son of Ronald spoken of above. See years 872, 864. Godfrey may have reigned over some district in Norway; but the Icelandic writers do not mention him.

[4] *do tédmeimm grána opond.*

[5] *imneda Bretan.*

[6] With epact of 873.

[7] C.S., 164, Hennessy's year 873: "Ivar, king of the Northmen of all Ireland, reposed."

D.A.I., 36, s.a. 873: "The death of Ivar, king of the Foreigners of Ireland."

[8] With epact of 873.

[9] So also in F.M., i, 516, s.a. 871=873 (and the "11th year of Aed").

[10] Cf. Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 122 (F.S., i, 246; Fl., i, 165).

[11] Eyrbyggia Saga says that Olaf the White was "the greatest war-king in the west beyond the sea" when Ketil Flatnose came to the Hebrides: but Olaf was probably not alive then.

son of king Ingiald, the son of Helgi, the son of Olaf, the son of Godfrey, the son of Halfdan White-leg, king of the Uplanders.[1]

[1] I.e. the Uplanders in Norway.

Ari, Islendingabók, genealogies, p. 14: "These are the names of the pedigrees of the Ynglingar and Breidfirdingar: i. Yngve, king of the Turks; ii. Niord, king of the Swedes; iii. Frey; iiii. Fiolner, who died at Frid-Froda; v. Svegther; vi. Vanlande; vii. Visbur; viii. Dómald; ix. Dómar; x. Dyggve; xi. Dag; xii. Alrek; xiii. Agne; xiiii. Yngve; xv. Iórund; xvi. Aun the Old; xvii. Egil Vendil-kraka; xviii. Ottar; xix. Adisl in Upsala; xx. Eystein; xxi. Ynguar; xxii. Braut-Onund; xxiii. Ingiald the Wicked; xxiiii. Olaf Tree-hewer; xxv. Halfdan Whiteleg, king of the Uplanders; xxvi. Godfrey; xxvii. Olaf; xxviii. Helgi; xxix. Ingiald, daughter's son to Sigurd, Ragnar Lodbrok's son; xxx. Olaf the White; xxxi. Thorstein the Red; xxxii. Olaf Feilan, who first of them lived in Iceland; xxxiii. Thord Yeller; xxxiiii. Eyiólf, who was baptized in his old age, when Christianity came to Iceland; xxxv. Thorkel; xxxvi. Gelli, father of Thorkel, and Brand, and Thorgils, my father; and I am called Ari."

With this pedigree cf. the Heimskringla's Ynglinga Saga: for Adisl (or Audgisl), also Hrólfs Saga Kraka, cc. 11, ff. Cf. also Langfedgatal's (12th-century) pedigree, in Langebek's Scriptores, i, 4-5; and the tract Af Upplendinga Konungum, in Rafn's Fornaldar Sögur, ii, 103-105.

Niál's Saga, c. 1: "A man was called Hauskuld; he was the son of Dales-Koll. His mother was called Thorgerd, and was the daughter of Thorstein the Red, son of Olaf the White, son of Ingiald, son of Helgi. Ingiald's mother was Thora, daughter of Sigurd Worm-in-eye, son of Ragnar Lodbrok. . . ."

Cf. Niál's Saga, c. 114: "Snorri [Godi's] father was called Thorgrim. and was the son of Thorstein Codbiter. . . . Thorgrim's mother was called Thora, a daughter of Olaf Feilan, son of Thorstein the Red, son of Olaf the White, son of Ingiald, son of Helgi; and Ingiald's mother was called Thora, daughter of Sigurd Worm-in-eye, son of Ragnar Lodbrok."

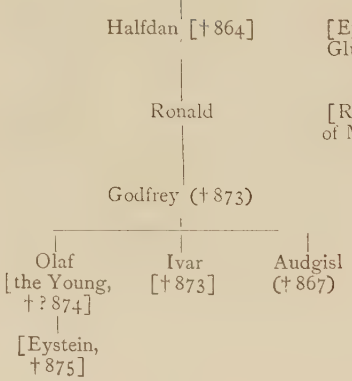
Cf. the tract Af Upplendinga Konungum, in Rafn's Fornaldar Sögur, ii, 104: ". . . Halfdan [Whiteleg] possessed Raumariki, and much of Heidmark. He died of disease, at Thótn; and he was carried to Heidmark, and buried there.

"Godfrey, Halfdan's son, was king in Heidmark after his father. His son was Helgi, father of Ingiald, father of Olaf the White, who married Aud the Deep-minded, daughter of Ketil Flatnose; their son was Thorstein Red, who was earl in Scotland, and fell there.

"Eystein, son of Halfdan Whiteleg, was king in Raumariki. He married a daughter of Eric, Agnar's son, who was king in Vestfold. . . ."

Olaf's marriage with Aud took place before 860; therefore probably before Olaf the White left Norway. Olaf seems to have succeeded Godfrey († 853) as ruler of the Hebrides; and he had almost certainly died before Ketil made himself ruler of the Hebrides, not long after 874.

DUALD'S FRAGMENT III



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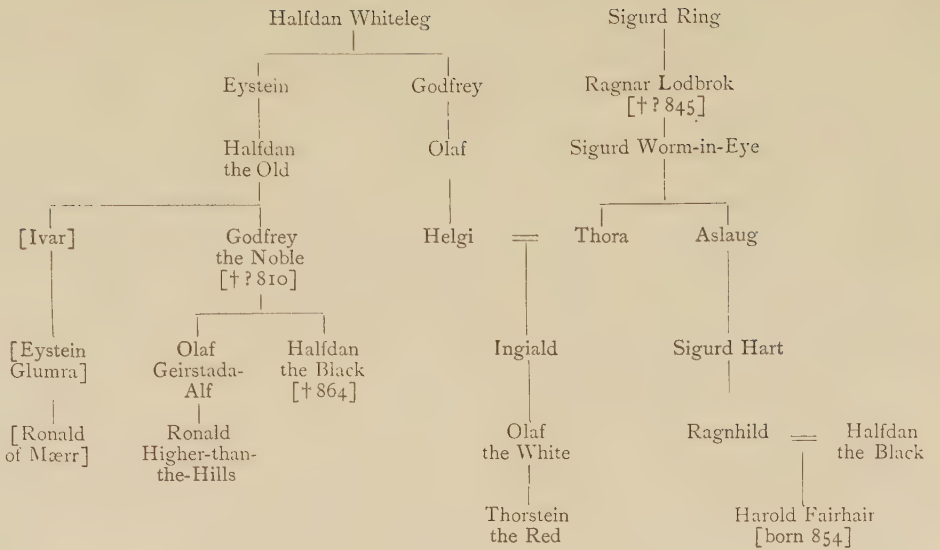

Olaf the White went on a piratical expedition in the west, and took Dublin in Ireland, and Dublin-shire, and was made king over it.[1]

[1] Landnámabók's statement seems to show that the writer identified Olaf the White with the Olaf, king of the Norwegians of Dublin, who appears in the Irish annals at the same time (853-872), and who is called Olaf the Young by D.A.I. Cf. above, p. 304, note. But the pedigree of Olaf the White given by Ari and other Icelandic writers differs from that of Olaf the Young given by D.M.F. (see p. 307).

There is a very strong probability that Godfrey [† 810] and Halfdan [† 864] are the same in both pedigrees. (Cf. E. H. Lind, in the Historisk Tidskrift, 1896, p. 251.) Godfrey Conung is almost certainly the Godfrey, king of the Danes, who opposed Charlemagne, and died in 810. Godfrey, Halfdan's son, was called "Godfrey the Proud; and some called him the Hunter-king," according to the Heimskringla's Ynglinga Saga, c. 48. He is elsewhere called "Godfrey the Noble." This Godfrey was king of Vestfold, Raumariki, Vestmarar, and one half of Vingulmark; he probably inherited also Sóleyiar, and much of Heidmark, and Thótn, and Hadaland. He annexed Agdir. (See Ynglinga Saga, and Af Upplendinga Konungum.)

Godfrey's son, Olaf Geirstada-Alf, ruled over Vestfold (Ynglinga Saga, c. 49); "over the wide land of Ofsi, and over Vestmar; also over the shire of Grenland" (Ynglingatal, quoted ibid.; see J.S., i, A 14-15, B 13; cf. Corpus Poeticum Boreale, i, 250. Over Grenland, also Af Upplendinga Konungum).

Godfrey's son, Halfdan the Black, was one year old when Godfrey died 17 years afterwards, Halfdan the Black became king of Agdir, and obtained a share of Olaf's kingdom of Vestfold, and half of Vingulmark; he afterwards annexed Sogn, and the remainder of Vingulmark (Heimskringla's Halfdan the Black). (See Spruner-Menke, Hand-Atlas für die Geschichte des Mittel-alters, map no. 64; Storm's H., s.f.)

Halfdan's son was Harold Fairhair, who succeeded him, and became king of Norway.

Olaf's son was Ronald Higher-than-the-Hills, in whose honour Thiodolf wrote the Ynglingatal. But Thiodolf calls Ronald "the Highly-Honoured."

The Icelandic writers' account of Ragnar and his kindred is vitiated by a large admixture of fable. According to these, Ragnar was put to death in a snake-pit, by Ælle, in Northumbria; but this story is probably a literary invention, leading up to the killing of Ælle by Ragnar's sons.

According to chronicles of France and Germany, Reginhere invaded Paris in 845, and died in that year. This historical Ragnar was probably the hero of the saga. But according to the Icelandic pedigrees, Olaf the White was descended from Ragnar Lodbrok by 4 generations; Harold Fairhair, by 5; Olaf Tryggvi's son, by 7; St Olaf, by 7 (cf. Hauksbók, 505-506). It is obvious that the Ragnar who probably flourished and died in 845, and whose sons flourished in 867 and 870, could not have been the

grandfather's great-grandfather of Thorstein the Red, who was old enough for warfare before 890 ; nor of Harold Fairhair, who was born in 854.

Sons of Ronald have perhaps been added to the number of Ragnar's sons.

Duald's account of Ronald and his sons is consistent, except that in the pedigree of Ivar (above, year 872) the name of Halfdan has been omitted.

Another son of Ronald was Halfdan, who fell in 877 (Wars of the Irish with the Foreigners).

Ronald's son fell in Ireland. Halfdan was endeavouring to claim authority over the Scandinavian inhabitants of Ireland. He may have been the same Halfdan who reigned over the Danes at this time, along with his brother Sigfrith ; in that case, Sigfrith also would have been a son of Ronald.

Olaf the White's grandfather, called Helgi in Landnámabók, is called Frodi in Fostbrœdra Saga (Origines Islandicae, i, 249). Olaf the White's great-grandfather, Olaf Godfrey's son, is omitted by the tract Af Upplendinga Konungum. Olaf the White was a descendant of Aun (cf. p. 292).

We cannot identify the two Olafs (Olaf the White and Olaf the Young) without rejecting Ari's pedigree where his evidence is strongest, at the bottom of the tree. There are other difficulties in the way of identification.

According to D.M.F., III, 150, Olaf Godfrey's son married the daughter of Aed, Niall's son (*ingen Aodha*), afterwards king of Ireland [862 or 863-879] ; and (pp. 170-172) in the 6th year of Aed's reign (i.e. 867) Olaf killed his brother Audgisl, because Audgisl proposed to relieve him of his wife : but she is there called the daughter of Kenneth (*inghen Cinaoth*), which is probably the true reading in the previous place also. Kenneth, Conaing's son, king of the Ciannachta in eastern Meath, was put to death by Maelsechlaind in Maelsechlaind's 5th year (i.e. 851 or 852), because he had with the Norwegians destroyed sacred buildings (D.M.F., III, 116-118). Cf. A.U., s.aa. 849, 850.

Olaf's killing of Audgisl is regarded as a miracle of Mochuta, in the Wars of the Irish with the Foreigners, p. 32.

Olaf, Godfrey's son, is therefore said to have married a daughter of Aed or of Kenneth, at a time when Aud, Ketil Flatnose's daughter, was Olaf the White's wife. The statement of Olaf Godfrey's son's marriage (though late, inconsistent, and fabulous) inclines to prove that Olaf Godfrey's son was not Olaf the White ; unless, indeed, a second marriage might have been a cause of warfare between Olaf the White and Ketil Flatnose, in Ireland, in 857—a conjecture which cannot be entertained without more evidence. Olaf and Godfrey were very common names.

Aud is said to have been in Norway before Ketil Flatnose set out for the Hebrides ; Ketil made himself ruler over the Hebrides, and Olaf the White's son invaded Scotland from there with the earl of Orkney (874 × 894).

The history of the Scandinavians in Denmark and France is very obscure at this time. Godfrey, king of the Danes—apparently the Godfrey Conung in Duald's pedigree of Ivar—invaded Saxony in 804, and the Abodriti in Wendland in 808 (Annales S. Amandi ; M.G.H., Scriptores,

i, 14. Einhard, Annales, ibid., i, 191, 195. Chronicon Moissiacense, ibid., i, 308. Cf. Einhard's Vita Karoli, ibid, ii, 450). Godfrey died in 810 (Einhard, and Chronicon Moissiacense ; ibid., i, 197, 309). His brother's son was called Ronald († 808 ; cf. Annales S. Amandi, ibid, i, 14). A Ronald, count of Herbauges (in the north-west of Poitou), died in 843. (See Prudentius of Troyes ; Fragmentum Chronici Fontanellensis ; Chronicon Aquitanicum ; and Ademar, Historiae, III, 17 : in M.G.H., Scriptores, i, 439 ; ii, 302 ; ii, 253 ; iv, 121.) This Ronald had been beaten, in conflict with Northmen, in 835 ; Ademar, u.s., 120. Prudentius calls him "duke of Nantes." There is no evidence to suggest that this Ronald was a relative of Godfrey.

Godfrey was succeeded (according to Einhard) by his brother's son, Hemming, who died in 812 (a year indicated also by the record of an eclipse of the sun).

Sigfrith, Godfrey's grandson (*nepos*), and Anulo, Heriold's grandson (*nepos*), fought for the kingship, and both fell (Einhard, Annales). There was a long struggle between the sons of Godfrey and the grandsons of Heriold, until Heriold the Dane, Heriold's grandson, died in 852 (Ruodolf of Fulda).

The 13th-century list of Danish kings, the Brevior Historia Regum Daniae, in Langebek's Scriptores, i, 16, places Godfrey or Gautrek's reign after Gorm the Old : "Gautrek the Generous. He, after subduing the Frisians, and the Nordalbingi, and the peoples of the Slavs, threatened Charlemagne with war.

"Olaf, [Gautrek's] son.

"Hemming, Olaf's son. He, a grandson of Gautrek, succeeding to the kingdom made peace with Charles. He accepted the river Eider as the boundary of his kingdom.

"Syward and Syward Ring, grandsons of Gautrek. These both entered battle for the sceptre ; but both fell on the field, with eleven thousand.

"Lodbrok [*Lothbroki*], son of Syward Ring.

"Harold Klak, who was also called Herioldus. He was expelled by the sons of Gautrek, who is also called Godfrey [*Godefrid*]. And fleeing he came to emperor Louis, the son of Charlemagne ; and from him he received the Christian faith. He returned to Denmark, accompanied by the holy bishop Anskarius."

A Godfrey, son of Heriold the Dane, was a leader of Northmen in France from 849 to 855 (Ruodolf of Fulda, M.G.H., Scriptores, i, 366 ; Prudentius of Troyes).

Eric, sole king of the Danes [and of the Northmen of France] (Vita S. Anskarii, c. 24 ; M.G.H., Scriptores, ii, 709), divided his kingdom with his two nephews, in 850 (Prudentius of Troyes). (Cf. Einhard's Annales, u.s., 216, s.a. 827.) In 854, "the Danes fought among themselves in intestine warfare, and raged in a three days' most obstinate struggle ; so that king Eric and the other kings with him were killed, and almost all the nobility perished" (Prudentius of Troyes, Annales, s.a. 854 ; M.G.H., Scriptores, i, 448-449. Cf. Vita S. Anskarii, c. 32 ; ibid, ii, 715). Eric was succeeded by Eric the Young.

He married Aud the Deep-minded,[1] the daughter of Ketil Flatnose. Their son was called Thorstein the Red.

Olaf fell in Ireland in battle.[2] Then Aud and Thorstein sailed to the Hebrides. There Thorstein married Thurid, the

It is possible that Godfrey, Ronald's son, might have reigned over Northmen in France between the years 854 and 873; but Duald's Fragment seems to be the only evidence of this, and its evidence is uncertain. Duald's Fragment says that Godfrey sent Olaf to collect tribute from Ireland in 853, and afterwards Ivar, for the same purpose; and that Godfrey himself was in Ireland in 854. But in 872 Olaf left Ireland, to defend Godfrey from a rebellion of his subjects; and in 873 Godfrey died of disease.

Sigfrith was king of the Danes in 873 (Annales Fuldenses; M.G.H., Scriptores, i, 386); he and another Godfrey were kings of the Northmen in France, in 880 (Annales Vedastini; M.G.H., Scriptores, ii, 198), and in 881 (Regino's Chronicon, ibid., i, 592), in 882, and until 891, when they fell (Annales Fuldenses, ibid, i, 396, 408).

Sigfrith had a brother, Halfdan, who reigned with him, according to Adam of Bremen (see years 867-868, note).

There was also one "Rudolf, a certain Northman of royal race," in 873 (Annales Fuldenses; M.G.H., Scriptores, i, 386).

[1] *Diupudga;* usually (but incorrectly) *diupaudga* "the deeply-wealthy." Eyrbyggia Saga, c. 1, pp. 3-4, after describing Ketil's expedition to the Hebrides, says: "Ketil Flatnose gave" (*gipti;* perhaps "had given") "his daughter Aud in marriage to Olaf White, who was then the greatest war-king in the west beyond the sea. He was a son of Ingiald, Helgi's son; and Ingiald's mother was Thora, daughter of Sigurd Worm-in-eye, Ragnar Lodbrok's son.

"Thorunn Hyrna he gave" (u.s.) "to Helgi the Lean, son of Eyvind Eastman and Raforta, daughter of Kiarval the Irish king."

Eyrbyggia Saga seems to put both these marriages after Ketil's arrival in the Hebrides; but this is certainly untrue of Aud's marriage: the grand-daughters of Aud and Olaf were of marriageable age some years before 900, probably before 895.

[2] Olaf, Godfrey's son, died after 871, and perhaps in 874 (see years 871, 877, notes).

Although Olaf the White seems to have died about the same time, the statement that he fell in Ireland is one of the facts that oppose the identification of Olaf Godfrey's son with Olaf the White. See above, p. 309. Olaf of Dublin fell in Scotland; Olaf of the Hebrides is said to have fallen in Ireland.

Asmund, a "son of Olaf, king of the Scots," and foster-brother of Hrólf Gautrek's son, king of the Goths, is a prominent figure in Hrólf Gautrek's son's Saga. Hrólf and Asmund with help from Ælle, king of the Northumbrians (∴ × 867), invaded Ireland (ibid., p. 59); after many adventures, Hrólf married Ingibiorg, daughter of Hrólf, king of the

daughter of Eyvind the Eastman, and sister of Helgi the Lean.[1] They had many children.[2] Olaf Feilan was the name of their son, and their daughters were Gro and Alof, Osk and Thorhild, Thorgerd and Vigdis.

Irish. The whole story is quite unhistorical. It proceeds (c. 45, pp. 75-76): "*Departure of king Hrólf from England; and death of Olaf, king of the Scots.*

"And after that, king Hrólf went away from England, with his army. He and king Ælle exchanged gifts, and parted the best of friends.

"The king proceeded thence to Scotland, and as soon as king Olaf learned the arrival of king Hrólf and Asmund, his son, and all the foster-brothers together, with a great army, he made at once the noblest feast for them, and invited king Hrólf to him with all his army. The king himself went to meet them, with honour and the greatest friendliness; and entertained them handsomely. And with king Hrólf's advice Ingiald began his suit, and asked for the daughter of Olaf, king of the Scots, to be given to him. With Asmund's pleading and king Hrólf's support this suit was easily won; and at this banquet so prepared they both drank their wedding feast, Ingiald with Margaret, king Olaf's daughter, and Asmund with Ingibiorg, the Irish king's daughter. There was the greatest gladness and good cheer, and they amused themselves gladly and merrily, without grief or sorrow.

"And at the end of the feast, king Olaf lodged king Hrólf's army there in Scotland; and these lords sat there for the winter with king Olaf, in great esteem and honour, and they agreed all together exceedingly well.

"And the same winter Olaf, king of the Scots, died; he was then very old, and was thought to have been a noble lord. Then Asmund took the dominion and kingship in Scotland, and became a good lord and well-liked. And at midsummer the kings prepared their ships and armies; Asmund remained there behind. He offered to Gautrek, king Hrólf's son, to be with him, and [Gautrek] accepted that, by advice of the king, his father. He was long with king Asmund after that; [Asmund] gave him ships, and he took to warfare, and was the most famous man. . . ."

This is probably pure fable. Ingiald was a son of Hring, king of Denmark.

[1] If Laxdœla Saga's account is to be trusted, Aud and Helgi the Lean would seem to have sailed from the Hebrides to Ketil Flatnose in Norway before Ketil set out from Norway to the Hebrides. But see below, p. 350, note.

[2] So far, this passage is copied almost exactly in Eric the Red's Saga, c. 1, p. 3.

PART X

Harold Fairhair. Orkney and the Hebrides

Middle of 9th century

Landnámabók, c. 184, pp. 71-72 [1]

A famous man in Gothland [2] was called Biorn, the son of Hrólf of Ám. He married Hlíf, daughter of Hrólf, son of Ingiald, son of Frodi the king. Starkad the Old was the poet of them both. Eyvind was the name of their son.[3]

Biorn disputed about land with Sigfast, a relative of Solvar, the king of the Goths. Sigfast had given his daughter to earl Solvar: [Solvar] was so attached to the earl Sigfast that he took possession by tyranny of all the lands of Biorn. Then Biorn put all his possessions in Gothland into the hands of Hlíf, his wife, and of Eyvind, his son; but Biorn carried from the east twelve horse-loads of silver. Then he burned Sigfast in his house with thirty men, on the last night before he sailed from land; then he sailed to Norway.

He came west to Agdir in Hvinir,[4] to the baron Grim, the son of Kolbiorn Snipper, and brother of Ingiald the Faithful, a relative of Arinbiorn of Firdir; and [Grim] received him very well. Biorn and his party remained for the winter with Grim. But one night on the approach of spring [Biorn saw] that a man stood over him with a drawn sword, and was intending to strike him. [Biorn] seized him; and although he had taken a price from Grim to kill Biorn, [Biorn] did not kill him. Grim had wished to betray him for his money. Therefore Biorn

[1] Cf. Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 124 (and Fl., i, 266-267).

[2] In the south of Sweden.

[3] Eyvind's son Helgi married Thorunn Hyrna, the daughter of Ketil Flatnose (872 × 883; probably ca. 875): therefore Helgi was probably born before 860, Eyvind before 840.

[4] In Norway.

sailed out to Ondott Crow, who lived in Hvinis-fiordr[1]; the son of Erling Purse. Ondott had married Signy, the daughter of Sighvat from Hlidar[2] in easter Vik.[3]

Biorn sailed on western piracy in the summers, and was with Ondott for the winters.

Then Hlíf died in Gothland; and Biorn married Helga, Ondott's sister. Their son was Thrond the Voyager.

After that, Eyvind came from the east to his father Biorn; he was the son of Hlíf. He succeeded to his father's warships and way of life, when [Biorn] wearied of warfare.[4]

Afterwards Eyvind married in Ireland Raforta, daughter of king Kiarval.[5] She bore a son in the Hebrides, and gave him into fosterage there.

Eyvind was called Eastman because he had come from the east, from Sweden, to the west beyond the sea.

Two winters after that, they came to the islands again, to visit the boy, and found him a boy with fine eyes but without flesh, because he was starved. Therefore they called the boy Helgi the Lean. He was fostered in Ireland afterwards.[6]

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Landnámabók, c. 342, p. 121

Vethorm, the son of Vemund the Old, was a powerful baron. He fled from king Harold to the east, to Iamtaland.[7] He cleared there marks in the forest, to live in.

Holmfast was the name of his son, and Grim of his sister's son. These were in western piracy, and in the Hebrides they slew earl Asbiorn Skeria-blesi; and they took there in the spoils his wife Alof, and his daughter Arneid, whom Holmfast got by lot and gave to his father, and made a bondwoman.

[1] In Agdir, Norway; Sturlubók version, c. 217, p. 192.

[2] Now Lier, on Vestfold (Jónsson).

[3] The Vik (*Víkin*) was the country round Kristianiafjord.

[4] Cf. Gretti's Saga, c. 3, pp. 6-7.

[5] Cf. below, p. 325.

[6] Cf. an addition to Svarfdœla Saga, c. 13 (Islendinga Sögur, 1829-30, ii, 196-197), where it is said that Helgi was "fostered in the Hebrides, and afterwards in Ireland, by his mother's father Kiarval, king of the Irish."

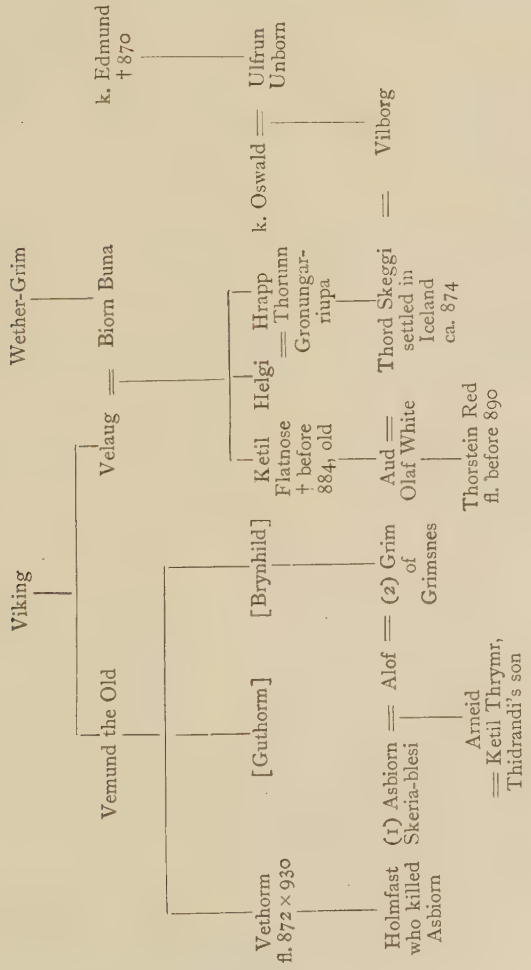
Cf. also an addition to Víga-Glúms Saga (Islendinga Sögur, u.s., 323).

[7] In Sweden; probably 872×.

Grim married Alof, Thord Vagagdi's daughter, whom earl [Asbiorn] had had as wife.[1] Grim sailed to Iceland and took Grimsnes. . . .

[1] But Droplaugarsona Saga (of less authority) implies that Asbiorn's wife was named Sigrid. The same saga says that a Tryggvi was ruler of the Hebrides, and when he fell was succeeded by Asbiorn Skeria-blesi; and that Guthorm took the rule of the Hebrides after Asbiorn.

For the date of Asbiorn Skeria-blesi cf. this table, drawn from Landnámabók, cc. 11; 240, 323. (The children are not placed in order of age.)



Landnámabók seems to imply that Aud was married to Olaf about 850.

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Landnámabók, Hauksbók version, c. 240, p. 89

Ketil Thrymr and Porridge-Atli, sons of Thori Cock-partridge, sailed from Veradalr to Iceland, and took land in Fliótsdalr. . . . Ketil sailed out, and was with Vethorm, the son of Vemund the Old. Then he bought from Vethorm Arneid, the daughter of earl Asbiorn Skeria-blesi. Holmfast, Vethorm's son, had taken her in the spoils when he and Grim, Vethorm's sister's son, had slain earl Asbiorn in the Hebrides. Ketil Thrymr paid for Arneid twice as much as Vethorm would have asked for her at first.[1] But before Ketil and she went to Iceland, Arneid found much silver under the roots of a tree; and she had hidden it from Ketil until he married her.[2]

They sailed out, and lived in Arneid's-stead. Their son was Thidrandi, the father of Ketil of Niardvik.[3]

Ketil Flatnose's son-in-law Helgi the Lean was the grandson of king Cerball, who died in 888 (A.U., s.a. 887=888).

Asbiorn was probably younger than Ketil. The rule in the Hebrides remained in Ketil's family for some time after his death; and therefore Asbiorn's rule in the Hebrides (and also, according to Droplaugarsona Saga, that of Guthorm) would seem to have preceded Ketil's; but this is uncertain.

King Harold may have sent Ketil to the Hebrides to avenge Asbiorn's death, and take over the rule of the islands. Eyrbyggia Saga says that Ketil was unwilling to go; this unwillingness would be accounted for if he had not wished to fight against his own first-cousin, Guthorm. When he did go, he aided the Hebrideans against Harold.

[1] "And after she had been bought, Ketil made for Arneid the wedding-feast" Sturla's version, c. 278, p. 204.

[2] Sturla's version, c. 278, pp. 204-205, says: "Then Ketil offered to convey her to her relatives, but she chose now to follow him."

[3] More of their descendants are named in Melabók; ibid., p. 255.

Similarly in Grims Saga Lodinkinna, Fornaldar Sögur, ii, 156-157: "Vedrorm, the son of Vemund the Old, was a powerful baron. He asked for Brynhild, Grim Lodinkinni's daughter; she went with him. Their son was Vemund father of Vedrorm, who fled before king Harold east to Iamtaland, and cleared there a mark to dwell in. His son was Holmfast. And Vedrorm's sister was Brynhild, [and] her son [was] Grim, who was named after Grim Lodinkinni.

"These relatives, Grim and Holmfast, went upon western piracy, and slew in the Hebrides earl Asbiorn Skeria-blesi; and they took captive his wife Alof, and his daughter Arneid. And Holmfast got [Arneid] by lot, and sold her to Vedrorm, his relative; and she was a slave there until

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Droplaugarsona Saga, cc. 1-2 ; Jakobsen's Austfirðinga Sögur, pp. 141-144[1]

Ketil was the name of a man, who was called Thrymr. He lived [in Iceland] in Skrido-dalr, at Husa-stadir.

Atli was the name of a man who was Ketil's brother. He was called Atli Porridge. They had a dwelling both together, and were very wealthy men. They went constantly to other lands with merchandise, and became very rich. They were sons of Thidrandi.

One spring, Ketil prepared his ship in Reydar-fiordr, because it was drawn up there; and then they sailed to sea. They were long out, and they made Konunga-hella[2] in autumn, and drew up their ship there. And then [Ketil] bought a horse, and rode east with twelve men into Iamtaland, to the man who was called Vethorm. He was a great lord, and there was good friendship between Ketil and him. Vethorm was son of Ronald, son of Ketil Raumr.[3] Vethorm had three brothers; one was called Grim, another Guthorm, a third Orm. All these brothers were great warriors, and were with Vethorm in the winters, but in the summers on warfare.

Ketil Thrymr married her, and took her out to Iceland. After her are named the Arneidar-stadir in Austfirdir. Grim married Alof, Thord Vagalldi's daughter, whom earl [Asbiorn] had had as wife. Grim went to Iceland. . . ."

Evidently Vemund, son of Vedrorm, son of Vemund the Old, is the same person as Landnámabók names Vemund the Old; and his son Vedrorm is the same as Landnámabók's Vethorm, the fugitive from king Harold.

Fliotsdœla Saga hin Meiri (Samfund **11**, 9, 13) says that Ketil Thrym's younger brother Thorvald went to Shetland. "Over Shetland then ruled a certain earl who was called Biorgolf. He was then an old man." He was the father of Droplaug, whom Thorvald married, the mother of Droplaug's sons, according to this later and fabulous saga; but with regard to her descent, Droplaugarsona Saga is more likely to be correct. It says that Thorvald's wife, Droplaug, was the only daughter of Thorgrim, of Gil in Iokulsdalr. Her sons were Helgi and Grim.

For Ketil Thrymr, cf. Brandkrossa Tháttr (Origines, ii, 533); and the Saga of Gunnar Thidrandi's-bane (Austfirðinga Sögur, 183, 195 ff.).

[1] Also in Origines Islandicae, ii, 536-537.

[2] Kongelf, Sweden (Origines).

[3] This account gives Vethorm a different pedigree, but evidently refers to the same Vethorm as does Grims Saga Lodinkinna, above.

Ketil was there for the winter with his men. There with Vethorm were two foreign women; one did all the work she could, the other sat sewing, and was the older. The younger woman worked well, but it was ill received from her: she often wept. Ketil took notice of this.

One day when Ketil had been there a little while, it happened that this woman went to the river with clothes, and washed them, and then she washed her head; and her hair was long and fair, and became her well. Ketil knew who she was, and went there and spoke to her: "What woman art thou?" he said. "I am called Arneid," said she. Ketil said: "What is thy kin?" She answered, "I think that concerns thee not." He pressed his inquiry, and asked her to tell him. She said then, with weeping: "My father's name was Asbiorn, and he was called Skeria-blesi. He ruled over the Hebrides, and was earl over the islands after the fall of Tryggvi; then Vethorm plundered thither, with all his brothers, and eighteen ships; they came by night to my father's farmstead, and burned him in it, and all the men-folk; but the women went out, and then they brought here me and my mother, who is called Sigrid. But they sold all the other women as slaves. Guthorm [Vethorm's brother] is now the leader[1] of the islands."

So they parted. But next day Ketil said to Vethorm: "Wilt thou sell me Arneid?" Vethorm said, "Thou shalt have her for half a hundred of silver,[2] for the sake of our friendship." Then Ketil offered money for her keep, "because she must not work." But Vethorm declared that he would allow her board like the rest of his company.

That summer Vethorm's brothers Grim and Orm came home; they had been plundering in Sweden during the summer. Each of them had [captured] his merchant-ship, and they were laden with treasure. [Grim and Orm] were with Vethorm for the winter. But in spring the brothers prepared their ship for Iceland, and Ketil and they intended to sail together.

And when they lay off the Vik, Arneid asked Ketil for leave to go up ashore to gather nuts, along with another

[1] *for-maðr.* Guthorm may have been a son of Vemund; but this saga implies that he was a son of Ronald, son of Ketil Raumr.

[2] I.e. 60 ells' value in silver; 10 ounces of silver.

woman who was there in the ship. He gave her leave, but bade her not go far. So they went ashore, and came under a certain bank; there a river made great rain. Arneid said: "Go to the ship, and say to Ketil that he must come to me because I am ill." [The woman] did so, and Ketil went alone to Arneid. She greeted him, and said, "I have found coal here." They dug there in the sand, and found a box full of silver; and then they went to the ship. Then Ketil offered to convey her to her relatives with this treasure, but she chose to follow him.

Then they put out to sea, and parted with [Grim and Orm]. Ketil came with his ship to Reydar-fiordr, and beached his ship, and then went home to his dwelling in Husa-stadr. . . .

[c. 2] Now it is to be told how Ketil Thrymr bought land to the west of the water that is called Lagar-fliót: this farmstead is called At Arneid's-stead. And he lived there afterwards. . . .

. . . After this, Ketil made his wedding with Arneid, because she was the most stately lady. They had a son, who was called Thidrandi; he was a big man, and promising.

Ketil lived a short time, and Thidrandi took the treasures and priesthood after his father. . . .

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Landnámabók, c. 334, p. 119

Olvi Barnakarl was the name of a famous man in Norway. He was a great viking. He would not let children be thrown upon the spear-points, as was then the custom of vikings. Therefore he was called Barna-karl.[1]

His sons were Steinolf, father of Una, whom Thorbiorn Laxa-karl married; and Einar, father of Ofeig Grettir, and of Olaf Broad, the father of Thormod Skapti. Steinmod was the third son of Olvi; [he was] the father of Konal, the father of Alfdis the Barra-woman, whom Olaf Feilan married. Konal's

[1] His nickname would perhaps more naturally mean that he had many children.

Abbo Floriacensis (Passio S. Edmundi; R.S. 96, i, 9) speaks bitterly of the barbarity of the Northmen and Danes; he accuses them of eating human flesh.

son was Steinmod, the father of Alfdora, who was married to Eilif, son of Ketil the One-handed.

These relatives, Ofeig Grettir and Thormod Skapti, went to Iceland, and were the first winter with Thorbiorn Laxa-karl, their kinsman-in-law.

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Landnámabók, c. 130, p. 52

Onund Wooden-leg [was the name of] a son of Ofeig Burlufótr, son of Ivar Beytill. Onund was against king Harold in Hafrsfiordr, and left his foot there. After that, he went to Iceland, and took land from Kleifar to Ófæra:—Kallbaks-vik, Kolbeins-vik, Byrgis-vik; and he lived in Kallbak till he was old. He was the brother of Gudbiorg, mother of Gudbrand Kula, father of Asta, mother of king Olaf the Holy. . . .

871-874

Gretti's Saga, c. 1, p. 1

A man was called Onund. He was the son of Ofeig Burlufótr, the son of Ivar Beytill. Onund was the brother of Gudbiorg, the mother of Gudbrand Kúla, the father of Asta, the mother of king Olaf the Holy. Onund was an Uplander[1] by his mother's kindred, but his father's kindred was principally about Rogaland and Hordaland. Onund was a great viking, and plundered west beyond the sea. With him in warfare were Balki, Blæing's son, of Sótanes,[2] and Orm the Rich.[3] Hallvard[4] was the name of the third of his companions. They had five ships, and all well manned.

They plundered in the Hebrides; and when they came to the Barra isles,[5] they found a king there, who was called Kiarval: he also had five ships. They opened battle with him, and there was a hard fight. Onund's men were the most vigorous people. Many fell there on both sides; and it ended

[1] I.e. of "the district between the Vik and the Swedish boundary, as far as Romsdalsfiord" (Boer).

[2] See below, p. 328, note.

[3] Cf. Landnámabók, c. 302, p. 115: Sturlubók version, c. 351, p. 220.

[4] See below, p. 328, note.

[5] *í Barreyjar.*

so, that the king fled with one ship. There Onund and his men took the ships and much treasure as well, and they stayed there for the winter. For three summers they plundered in Ireland and Scotland; then they went to Norway.[1]

874 or 872

Gretti's Saga, c. 2, pp. 2-5

At this time there was great dispeace in Norway: Harold Thick-hair, Halfdan Black's son, was striving for sovereignty there. He was formerly king in the Uplands; then he went to the north of the land, and fought there many battles. He plundered thus southwards through the land, and subdued to himself every place he came to.

But when he came to Hordaland, there came against him a multitude and many men. The leaders there were Kiotvi the Rich, and Thori Long-chin, and the South-Rogalanders [Sóti and] king Súlki.[2] Geirmund Hellskin was then west beyond the sea; and he was not in this battle; and yet he was king in Hordaland.[3]

This autumn Onund and his fellows came from west beyond the sea; and when Thori Long-chin and king Kiotvi heard of that, they sent men to meet them, and bade them come to the army, and promised them honours. So they made common cause with Thori and his men, because they were very eager to prove themselves, and declared that they would be wherever the battle was most severe.

Their encounter with king Harold took place in Rogaland, in the fiord that is called In Hafrsfiordr.[4] They had on each side a great force. This battle has been the greatest fought in Norway. And most sagas tell of it, because most is said of those [things] from which history chiefly springs.

[1] In the same autumn in which they returned to Norway, they fought in the battle of Hafrsfiordr. See c. 2, pp. 2-4.

[2] Heimskringla, Harold Fairhair, c. 18: "These were the instigators: Eric, king of Hordaland; Súlki, king of Rogaland, and earl Sóti, his brother; Kiotvi the Rich, king of Agdir, and Thori Long-chin, his son; two brothers of Thelamark, Hróald Hryggr and Hadd the Hard."

[3] Wrongly "king of Rogaland" in Landnámabók.

[4] The battle of Hafrsfiordr is described in Egil's Saga, c. 9; H., Harold Fairhair, c. 18; Fr., pp. 48-49. Cf. Upphaf Rikis Haraldar Hárfagra, F.S., x, 189-193. F., 15-19.

Forces came there also from all the land; and many from other lands, and many vikings.

Onund laid his ship aboard Thori Long-chin's ship; that was quite in the middle of the battle. King Harold lay to beside Thori Long-chin's ship, because Thori was the greatest berserkr, and dauntless. There was the hardest battle on both sides. Then the king bade his berserks go forward; they were called Wolf-skins, and iron would not bite them: and when they rushed on, nothing could stop them. Thori fought very doggedly, and fell in his ship with great valour. Then the ship was cleared from stem to stern, and cut from the lashings; and it drifted off between the ships. Then the king's men lay to by Onund's ship. [Onund] was in the front of the ship, and fought manfully. Then the king's men said: "This man in the prow goes forward hard; let him have some memorial of us, to show that he has been in the battle." Onund had stepped out upon the gunwale with one foot; and just then [a spear] was thrust at him. And as he warded off the thrust, he bent backwards; and one of the king's forecastle-men hewed at Onund, and struck his leg below the knee, and cut off his leg. Onund was at once disabled; and the greater part of his force fell. Onund was taken on board the ship of the man that was called Thrond[1]; he was Biorn's son, the brother of Eyvind Eastman. He was fighting against king Harold, and lay on the other side of Onund's ship. Immediately afterwards the general flight began.

874 or 872

Heimskringla, Harold Fairhair's Saga, c. 19[2]

Harold Fairhair becomes the sole ruler in Norway.

After this battle [of Hafrsfiordr][3] king Harold met with no resistance in Norway; all his greatest enemies had fallen there:

[1] See below, p. 329, note.

[2] Cf. Frisbók, 49.

[3] Ari's Islendingabók implies that Harold was born in 854 (see below, p. 338), lived 80 years, reigned 70 winters, and died "a winter or two" after 930 (below, p. 322). The Landnámabók (below, p. 335) implies that Harold became king in 862, a date that is accepted by the earliest version of the annals (K), and is counted from for the date of Hafrsfiordr (872) given in Olaf's Saga (c. 116).

Theoderic puts Harold's accession, doubtfully, in 858; and this date is

but some fled from the land, and they were very numerous, because then the great waste-lands were peopled. . . .

In this warfare, when Harold came to the land in Norway, foreign lands were found and peopled [by Norwegians]: the

accepted and built upon by the Annales Regii (version C of the Icelandic Annals). But this date is inconsistent with the reign-lengths given by Theoderic himself.

The battle of Hafrsfiordr was fought 10 years after Harold's accession ; Ágrip, c. 4 ; F., p. 19 ; H., Harold Fairhair, cc. 4, 23 ; and when it was fought he had passed the 20th year of his age ; Upphaf Rikis Haraldar Hárfagra, F.S., x, 193 (Fl., i, 575) ; Mantissa, c. 5 (Origines, i, 271-272) ; and F., 19. Cf. Hauksbók, 506.

It is to be noticed that the Landnámabók implies that Harold became king at the age of eight ; while the Islendingabók and the sagas (cf. Fr., 38) say, at the age of ten. In writing Islendingabók, Ari has corrected his account in Landnámabók. But whether Harold became king in 862 at the age of eight (as is implied in Landnámabók), or in 864 at the age of ten (as we deduce from Islendingabók), the date of his birth would have been the same, namely 854.

His birth-date would naturally have been found by subtracting 80 years from his death-date ; therefore we may conclude that he died in 934.

Since the battle of Hafrsfiordr was fought 10 years after Harold's accession (probably 864 ; see above, pp. cxii-cxiv), and when Harold was 20 years old (reckoning his birth in 854), it was probably fought in 874.

The Icelandic Annals draw different conclusions from the same sources. They place Harold Fairhair's birth in 852 (KBODE ; 848, CA) ; his accession in 862 (KE ; 863, BOD ; 858, CA) ; his sole sovereignty (i.e. the battle of Hafrsfiordr) in 868 (CDA) ; his division of the kingdom among his sons in 892 (KBOD ; 898, CA) ; his abdication in favour of Eric in 930 (KBOD ; 928, CA ; 929, E) ; and his death in 933 (KBOD ; 931, CA ; 932, E).

Y. Nielsen (Slaget i Hafrsfjorden 872 (Stavanger, 1906), pp. 11-16, 29-33) argues that the warfare in Scandinavia in 871, when Olaf left Ireland to assist his father Godfrey, culminated in the battle of Hafrsfiordr in 872 ; and that after the loss of that battle, Ivar, Godfrey's son, and Olaf, Godfrey's son, returned to Ireland, and plundered it in 873. See year 871, above.

He would therefore identify Godfrey with Kiotvi, ? king of Agdir ; and Olaf with Háklang, ? king of Dublin. These identifications are highly conjectural. If Olaf Godfrey's son did go to the battle of Hafrsfiordr, the Irish dates are not sufficiently trustworthy to fix the year of the battle with exactitude.

The commander of Harold's forces was his uncle Guthorm, Sigurd Hart's son ; who was 26 winters old at the time of the battle. H., Harold Fairhair, cc. 1-2 ; Egil's Saga, c. 26 ; Upphaf, F.S., x, 177.

Faroes and Iceland[1]; and there was then too a great going to Shetland. And many powerful men of Norway fled as outlaws before king Harold, and sailed into western piracy; they were in the Orkneys and the Hebrides in the winters, and in the summers they plundered in Norway, and did there great injury to the land. There were many men and powerful who submitted to king Harold, and became his liege-men, and inhabited the land with him.

ca. 874×

Gretti's Saga, cc. 2-5, pp. 5-13

Thrond and his men, and the other vikings, took themselves away, each as he could; and they sailed afterwards to west beyond the sea. Onund went with [Thrond]; also Balki and Hallvard Súgandi. Onund was healed, and all his life afterwards he went with a wooden leg; he was therefore called Onund Wooden-leg, as long as he lived.

[c. 3] Many famous men were then west beyond the sea, who had fled from their lands in Norway before king Harold; because he made all men outlaws that had fought against him, and took into his own hand their possessions.

When Onund was healed of his wound Thrond and he went to join Geirmund Hellskin, because he was then the most famous of the vikings in the west beyond the sea; and they asked whether he would not attempt to recover the kingdom that he possessed in Hordaland, and they offered him their

[1] Cf. the passages in Landnámabók, cc. 45, 114, 130, 347; pp. 21, 46, 52, 123: and the instances of Geirmund Hellskin, Thrond Biorn's son, and Sæmund the Hebridean.

Egil's Saga, c. 4; pp. 14-15: ". . . King Harold took possession of all the odal-lands in every district, and all the land, occupied and unoccupied. . . . But many men fled away from the land to escape from this oppression, and then many great wildernesses were peopled; both east in Iamtaland and Helsingialand, and the western lands: the Hebrides, Dublin county [*Dyflinnar skiði*], Ireland, Normandy in France, Caithness in Scotland, the Orkneys and Shetland, the Faroes; and at that time Iceland was found."

Cf. Eyrbyggia Saga, 2, c. 1; Laxdœla, 4, c. 2. Svarfdœla Saga, c. 12 (Islendinga Sögur, 1829-1830, ii, 195): "Then many noble men in Norway had fled from their odal-lands, and some went west beyond the sea to Shetland and Orkney, and settled there; and many went to Iceland, and that [island] began now to be very fully inhabited."

support. They thought that they must look after their own possessions, because Onund was of high family, and rich. Then Geirmund said that king Harold's power had grown so great that he thought there was little hope of their getting redress by warfare, where men had been defeated, although the whole people of the land had been collected. He said too that he was not inclined to become the king's thrall, and to beg for that which he had formerly owned himself; he said that he would rather seek for himself other fortunes; he had then moreover left behind him his youth. Onund and Thrond went back to the Hebrides, and met there many of their friends.

A man was named Ofeig, and was called Grettir[1]; he was a son of Einar, son of Olvi Barnakarl; he was a brother of Oleif Broad, the father of Thormod Skapti.

Also a son of Olvi Barnakarl was Steinolf, the father of Una, whom Thorbiorn Laxakarl married.

Another son of Olvi Barnakarl was Steinmod, the father of Konal, the father of Alfdis the Barra-woman. Konal's son was Steinmod, the father of Halldora, who was married to Eilif, son of Ketil the One-handed.

Ofeig Grettir married Asny, daughter of Vestar, son of [Ketil] Hængr. Asmund Beardless and Asbiorn were sons of Ofeig Grettir; and his daughters were Aldis, Æsa, and Asvor.

Ofeig had fled west beyond the sea from the hostility of king Harold, as also had Thormod Skapti, his relative: they had brought with them all their household. They plundered widely, to the west of the sea.

Thrond and Onund Wooden-leg intended to go west to Ireland to meet Eyvind Eastman, Thrond's brother: [Eyvind] had the land-defence of Ireland. . . .

Eyvind had then taken over his father's warship, and had now become a great chief in the west beyond the sea. He married Raforta, daughter of Kiarval the Irish king; their sons were Helgi the Lean and Snæbiorn.

And when Thrond and Onund came to the Hebrides, they found there Ofeig Grettir and Thormod Skapti; and great friendship arose between them, because every one thought that he had a man restored to him from hell, when he met one

[1] I.e. "Grimacer."

who had remained behind in Norway while the dispeace was greatest. . . .[1]

Then they went on warfare in the summers, but were in the Barra isles in the winters.

[c. 4] Vikings were called Vigbiod and Vestmar; they were Hebrideans, and lay out both winter and summer. They had eight[2] ships, and they plundered in Ireland, and did many evil deeds, until Eyvind Eastman took the land-defence there. Thereafter they fled to the Hebrides, and plundered there and everywhere in Scotland's firths.

Thrond and Onund went to oppose them, and learned that they had sailed in to the island which is called Bute. Now Onund and Thrond came there with five ships. And when the vikings saw their ships, and knew how many they were, they thought they had numbers enough, and they took their weapons and lay waiting for the ships. Then Onund bade lay his ships between two cliffs; there was a great channel there and deep, and ships could sail one way only, and not more than five at a time. Onund was a wise man; and he made the five ships go forward into the strait in such a manner that they could immediately let themselves drift, with hanging oars, when they wished, because there was much sea-room behind them. There was also a certain island on one side. Under it he made one ship lie; and they carried many stones to the edge of the cliff, where they could not be seen from the ships.

The vikings attacked very boldly, and believed that [their opponents] had got into a strait. Vigbiod asked who these were that were so hemmed in. Thrond said that he was the brother of Eyvind Eastman; and then, "Here is my comrade, Onund Wooden-leg." Then the vikings laughed, and said, "May the trolls take the whole of Wooden-leg! The trolls confound him all! And seldom has it happened to us that those men come to battle who have not might over themselves." Onund said that they could not know, until it was proved.

After that they laid their ships together. There began a

[1] Marriages were arranged, to take place after three years, between Onund and Ofeig's daughter Æsa, and between Thrond and Thormod Skapti's daughter.

[2] "Thirteen" in Magnusson and Thordarson's text.

great battle, and both sides fought well. And when the battle was in full swing, Onund let [his ship] drift by the cliff; and when the vikings saw that, they thought that he wished to escape; and they advanced against his ship, and under the cliff, so as to come up with him. At the same moment those men came to the precipice that had been appointed to this; they cast upon the vikings so great stones as nothing could resist. Many of the viking's crew fell there, and some were hurt so that they could not bear weapons. Then the vikings wished to draw back, but they could not, because their ships had then come where the strait was narrowest; both the ships and the current impeded them. Then Onund and his men fell on with vigour, where Vigbiod was the leader: and Thrond attacked Vestmar, and gained but little advantage. Since the people on Vigbiod's ship were reduced in number, Onund's men and [Onund] himself determined to board her. This Vigbiod saw, and urged on his men with ardour. Then he turned against Onund, and most [of the others] sprang aside. Onund bade his men observe how it went with [him and Vigbiod]; for Onund was of great strength. They pushed a log under Onund's knee, and he stood quite firmly. The viking came forward along the ship until he reached Onund, and hewed at him with his sword, and struck his shield and cut off what he touched: then his sword struck into the log that Onund had under his knee, and the sword stuck fast. Vigbiod stooped as he pulled his sword to him; upon this, Onund struck him on the shoulder, and took off his arm. Then the viking was out of the battle.

When Vestmar knew that his companion had fallen, he leapt into the ship that lay farthest out, and fled; so did all they that could.

After that, [Onund's men] searched the fallen. Vigbiod had then come near to his death. Onund went to him, and said: "Look whether thy wounds are bleeding. Didst thou see me giving way? The one-legged warrior got from thee no scratch. To many a fighter is more boastfulness given than wisdom: the warrior is without strength in danger."

They took much spoil there, and sailed back to Barra in autumn.

[c. 5] Next summer they prepared to go west to Ireland.

Then Balki and Hallvard determined to go west beyond the sea; and they sailed out to Iceland, because there was said to be good choice of land there.[1] . . .

Thrond and Onund came to meet Eyvind Eastman, and he received his brother well. But when he knew that Onund had come there, he was angry, and wished to attack him. Thrond begged him not to do this; he said that it was not fitting to make war upon Norwegian men, least of all with those that used no violence. Eyvind said that [Onund] had used violence before, and made war upon king Kiarval; he said that now he must suffer for it. The brothers discussed this long, until Thrond said that one fate should befal Onund and him. Then Eyvind let himself be appeased.[2]

They abode there for a long time in the summer, and they went on campaigns with Eyvind. [Eyvind] thought Onund the most valiant man.

They went to the Hebrides in the autumn. Eyvind gave Thrond all the inheritance from their father, if Biorn died

[1] Cf. above, p. 324, note.

Landnámabók, c. 45, p. 21: "Balki was the name of a man, the son of Blæing, the son of Sóti of Sóta-nes. He fought against king Harold in Hafrsfiordr. Therefore he went to Iceland, and took all Hrutafiordr, and lived in Bær. . . ." Cf. Landnámabók, c. 135, p. 52: "A man was called Balki, son of Blæing, son of Sóti of Sóta-nes. He went to Iceland from the tyranny of king Harold, and took all Rutafiordr. . . ."

Cf. Sturlubók version, c. 167, p. 176 (". . . he was against king Harold in Hafrsfiordr. . . .")

Landnámabók, c. 114, p. 46: "Hallvard Súgandi was in the battle in Hafrsfiordr, against king Harold. He went from Sætr in Hordaland to Iceland, and took Súganda-fiordr and Skala-vik."

[2] It is clear from this that the Kiarval who is said to have been attacked in the Barra Islands in 871 was the Irish king Cerball; but the story of Kiarval is probably false.

Cerball was king of Ossory: his father, Dungal, king of Ossory, fell in 842. Cerball defeated the Norwegians of Dublin with slaughter in 846, supported the Gall-Gaidil 859-860, but fought against the Norwegians in 860, 861, and 862. He invaded Leinster in 853, 864, 870, and 871; Meath in 859; Munster in 864, 871, 879; Connaught in 871 and 873; Decies in 874; and he died in 888. (A.U., s.aa. 841, 845, 852, 858, 869, 887. C.S., Hennessy's years 858, 859, 873, 888. A.I., O'Conor's years 845=859, 874=888. F.M., s.aa. 841, 845, 851, 857, 858, 859, 862, 868, 869, 871, 872. 876, 885.)

before Thrond. They remained now in the Hebrides until they married,[1] and for some winters afterwards.[2]

After 879

Landnámabók, c. 184, p. 72

Biorn died in the house of Ondott, his relative; but Grim said that the king [Harold] must take all [Biorn's] possessions, because he was a foreigner, and his sons were west beyond the sea. Ondott kept the money for Thrond, his sister's son.[3]

[1] I.e. until the end of their three years' matrimonial engagements.

[2] Therefore until after 879.

Thrond's father, Biorn, died in Norway. Gretti's Saga c. 6, p. 14: "Now Thrond heard of the death of his father, and prepared at once to start from the Hebrides, and Onund Wooden-leg with him. But Ofeig Grettir and Thormod Skapti sailed out [879×] to Iceland with their household; and they landed in the south of the land at Eyrar, and were the first winter with Thorbiorn Laxakarl. Then they took Gnúpveria-hreppr. Ofeig took the farther part, between Thverá and Kálfá; he lived in Ofeig's-steads, by Steinsholt. And Thormod took the eastern part, and he lived in Skapta-holt. . . ."

Thrond went to Iceland from Norway after Biorn's death (see below). "Ofeig and Thormod Skapti received [Thrond] well. Thrond lived in Thrond's-holt; it is west of Thiórsá" (c. 6, pp. 15-16).

Landnámabók, c. 333, p. 119: "Thrond the Voyager [*miok siglandi*], Biorn's son, and brother of Eyvind Eastman, as has been said before, was in Hafrsfiordr against king Harold, and afterwards escaped to Iceland, late in the settling time" [870-930]. "He took land between Thiorsá and Laxá, and inland to Kalfá and to Sand-lœkr. He lived in Thrandar-holt. His daughter was Helga, whom Thormod Skapti married."

Landnámabók, c. 334, p. 119: "The relatives Ofeig Grettir and Thormod Skapti went to Iceland, and were the first winter with Thorbiorn Laxa-karl, their kinsman-in-law. And in spring he gave them Gnupveria-hreppr. To Ofeig he gave the shore-ward part between Thverá and Kalfá; and [Ofeig] lived at Ofeigs-stadir, near Steins-holt; and to Thormod he gave the eastern part, and he lived in Skapta-holt. . . . Ofeig fell before Thorbiorn Earl's-champion, in Grettis-geil, near Hæll. . . ."

Onund went to Iceland after avenging Ondott. He received lands from Eric Snare, and "Onund made a dwelling in Kaldbak, and had many men; but when his treasure began to increase, he had another dwelling in Reykiafiordr" (Gretti's Saga, c. 6, p. 16).

[3] Landnámabók, c. 195, p. 76: "Ondott held the money for the hands of Thrond, his sister's son. And when Thrond heard of the death of his father, he sailed from the Hebrides by [rapid] voyaging, from which he was called the Voyager; and then he received his father's possessions, and sailed to Iceland. . . ." Cf. Gretti's Saga, 14-16, cc. 6, 7.

Helgi [the Lean] was brought up in Ireland. He married Thorunn Hyrna, the daughter of Ketil Flatnose of the Hebrides, and of Yngvild, daughter of Ketil Wether of Hringa-ríki.[1] Afterwards Helgi went to Iceland, with his wife and children: Hrólf, and Ingiald, and Ingunn, whom Hamund Hellskin[2] married. [Hamund] followed Helgi out. . . .

? 874

Historia Norwegiae; Storm's Monumenta Historica Norvegiae, pp. 87-90

Of the tributary islands.

Certain islands lie before Gulacia,[3] and are named Solundae[4] by the inhabitants: from them is named the Solundic sea, which flows between Norway and Ireland. In it are the Orchades islands, more than thirty in number, named after an earl Orchanus. These, occupied by different inhabitants, are now divided into two dominions[5]; the southern islands[6] are elevated to [being ruled by] kinglets, while the northern[7] are adorned by the protection of earls: and both [kinglets and earls] pay large tribute to the kings of Norway.[8]

Of the Orchades islands.

These islands were at first inhabited by the Picts[9] and

It would seem more reasonable to account for his nickname by the number or extent of his voyages.

According to Gretti's Saga, Biorn died "some winters" more than three winters after the battle of Hafrsfiordr (∴ 879 × /877 ×).

Grim killed Ondott (Landnámabók, u.s.); and Onund and Ondott's sons avenged Ondott and sailed for Iceland (Gretti's Saga, cc. 6-9).

[1] According to Laxdœla Saga, Helgi's marriage took place in Norway, immediately before Ketil Flatnose set out for the Hebrides; but Eyrbyggia Saga implies that the marriage took place in the Hebrides, during Ketil's life-time (∴ 874 × 884). For Helgi, cf. p. 314.

[2] Twin-brother of Geirmund Hellskin, and son of king Hior.

[3] I.e. Gulathingslog.

[4] I.e. Sulendöerne.

[5] *regna.*

[6] I.e. the Hebrides.

[7] I.e. Orkney and Shetland.

[8] This must have been written before 1266. It was written, according to Storm, towards the end of the 12th century.

[9] *Peti.* These were perhaps the original people of that name, from whom the other inhabitants of non-Roman Scotland took their name.

Papae. Of these, the one race, the Picts, little exceeded pigmies in stature; they did marvels, in the morning and in the evening, in building [walled] towns,[1] but at mid-day they entirely lost all their strength, and lurked, through fear, in little underground houses.

But at that time [the islands] were not called Orchades, but Pictland; whence still the Pictland Sea[2] is [so] named by the inhabitants, because it divides the [Orkney] islands from Scotland; and there [is] the greatest of all whirlpools, which draws in and swallows down in the ebb the strongest ships, and vomits and casts up their fragments in the flood. Whence the people came there, we are entirely ignorant.

And the Papae have been named from their white robes, which they wore like priests; whence priests are all called *papae* in the Teutonic tongue. An island is still called, after them, *Papey*. But, as is observed from their habit and the writings of their books[3] abandoned there, they were Africans, adhering to Judaism.

In the days of Harold Fairhair, king of Norway, certain pirates, of the family of the most vigorous prince Ronald, set out with a great fleet, and crossed the Solundic sea; and stripped these races of their ancient settlements, destroyed them wholly, and subdued the islands to themselves. And being there provided with safe winter seats, they went in summer-time working tyranny upon the English and the Scots, sometimes also upon the Irish, so that they took under their rule, from England, Northumbria; from Scotland, Caithness; from Ireland, Dublin, and the other sea-side towns.[4]

[1] *In structuris* [s.l.] *urbium vespere et mane mira operantes.* The "towns" meant are probably brochs; the "houses," earth-houses or Picts' Houses. It is noteworthy that these types of structure should be coupled at this date. For Irish earth-houses, cf. the Wars, below, years 875-877.

[2] *Petlandicum mare:* the Pentland Firth. Cf. Theoderic, in Storm's Monumenta, 31 (*Perlantzfiorth*).

[3] *apices librorum.*

[4] This account is interesting because it shows an early form of the fabulous tradition (which survives still in Shetland) that the Picts were of diminutive stature, and because its description of the *papae* is independent of Ari (see year 874). It gives also what is perhaps a true account of the establishment of the Norwegians' power in Orkney: Orkney was first annexed by "certain pirates of the family of Ronald," not by king Harold

?874

Heimskringla, Harold Fairhair's Saga, c. 22[1]

King Harold's western expedition.

King Harold learned that vikings who passed the winters in the west beyond the sea were plundering widely about the middle-land.[2] Then he took out a levy every summer, and searched the islands and distant rocks; but as soon as the vikings were aware of his army, they all fled, and most of them out to sea.

And when the king wearied of this, it happened one summer that king Harold sailed with his army to west beyond the sea.[3] He came first to Shetland, and slew there all the vikings who did not flee thence. Then he sailed south to the Orkneys, and everywhere there cleaned out the vikings. After that, he sailed as far as the Hebrides, and plundered there; he

after his invasion of Scotland. The annexation took place "in the days of Harold Fairhair, king of Norway"; strictly, this ought to mean after the battle of Hafrsfiordr; but that is uncertain. If the sagas and the Upphaf are to be believed, and Orkney was given to Ronald's family in compensation for the death of Ronald's son, Ivar, that gift was probably a confirmation of the earlier seizure.

A later account of the islands is in Saga-Fragment I, F.S., x, 416: ". . . The Hebrides [*Suðreyjar*] lie near to Ireland; ten of the Hebrides are inhabited. Twenty-five of the Orkneys are inhabited: in them is a bishop's see, which is called Kirkwall [*í Kyrkjuvâgi*]; there lies the holy earl Magnus. Shetland is next to the Orkneys; in it is an archdeacon. Near there are the Faroes; they are eighteen in all; in them is a bishop's see, which is called Kirkiubær [*í Kyrkjubœi*]."

[1] The same passage is in Olaf's Saga, c. 95 (c. 179 in Fl., i, 221). Cf. ibid., cc. 98, 214. A shorter account is in the Orkneyinga Saga, c. 4; i, 4-5. Cf. Fr., 50.

[2] Instead of this beginning, Olaf's Saga (c. 95) says: "In the dispeace when king Harold went to the kingdom in Norway, many of his outlaws fled west beyond the sea, and became vikings. They sat in the winters in the Orkneys and the Hebrides, and in the summers plundered in Norway, and did there great injury to the country."

[3] The Heimskringla and Olaf's Saga imply that Harold's expedition to the Hebrides took place several years after the battle of Hafrsfiordr. But, if the sagas' story is true, Sigurd was made earl of Orkney on Harold's return; and Ari says that Sigurd was earl of Orkney in 874. These accounts can scarcely agree, even if we accept the earlier date of the battle of Hafrsfiordr.

The Iarla Saga in Heimskringla's St. Olaf's Saga (perhaps the most

slew there many vikings, such as had been the leaders of a company before.[1] He fought many battles there, and always[2] had the victory.

Then he plundered in Scotland, and fought a battle there.

And when he came west to Man, they had learned already what warfare king Harold had been making before, there in the land[3]; so all the people had fled into Scotland, and Man was desolate, and all the possessions they could they had carried away. And when king Harold and his men went on land, they took no spoils there.[4]

Thus says Hornklofi: "The very wise necklace-giver bore many shields into the town of the sand-necklace[5]; the grove of the wolves of Nid[6] succeeded in the attack on the sand, ere all the more stubborn army of the Scots fled by the bane-roads[7] before the long-sustainers, from the land of the fish-spear."[8]

trustworthy version of Iarla Saga) refers to Hornklofi's Glymdrápa (quoted here) for a description of Harold's invasion of Scotland (894×) after the death of Halfdan Longleg; this is one of the points of difference between the two versions of Iarla Saga used by Snorri in the Heimskringla. This reference to Hornklofi tends to show that Harold's great expedition, in which he went as far as Man, was made at the later date; but it is not decisive, because the Glymdrápa might have described two invasions.

The only thing in the account of the earlier invasion that cannot belong to the later is the story of the appointment of Sigurd.

The sagas almost certainly confuse two expeditions to the west. The first placed Sigurd over Orkney, in 874 or earlier; the second was the great expedition of Harold through the islands as far as to Man, and took place after 894, but probably before 900.

[1] *thá er fyrir liði reðu áðr.*

[2] "Most frequently" Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga.

[3] "they . . . land" omitted in Olaf's Saga (F.S., i, 193).

[4] Cf. the Orkneyinga Saga, c. 4: "He subdued to himself Shetland, and the Orkneys, and the Hebrides: he sailed as far west as to Man, and laid waste the inhabited land of Man. He fought there many battles, and took possession of lands so far west that no king of Norway has [ruled] farther since then."

[5] I.e., an island town: Man, or a town in Man?

[6] I.e., the protector of the warriors from the river Nid in Norway (cf. Nidaróss "mouth of the Nid," now Trondhjem).

[7] I.e. "were slaughtered in their flight." Instead of "ere . . . bane-roads," J.S. translates: "The whole Scottish force had previously been forced to flee from the land."

[8] Literally "saithe-stabber," a metaphor for the sword. "The land of the saithe-stabber" is probably the battle-field.

In this battle[1] fell Ivar, the son of Ronald, earl of Mærr; but in compensation for this, king Harold when he sailed from the west gave to earl Ronald the Orkneys and Shetland.[2] But Ronald gave both lands immediately to his brother, Sigurd; and [Sigurd] remained behind in the west. When the king sailed east, he gave earldom to Sigurd.[3]

For the text and a translation of this stanza see J.S., i, A 23-24, B 21.

The meaning of these lines is too uncertain to be built upon as historical evidence. See the conjectures in Gislason and Jónsson's Njála, ii, 388; F. Jónsson's Kritiske Studier, 79; Morris and Magnusson's Heimskringla, i, 389. Cf. Corpus Poeticum Boreale, ii, 30.

Probably the same verses of Glymdrápa are referred to for a description of Harold's later invasion. It seems almost certain that the lines quoted here describe the later invasion.

[1] "in one battle" O.S.

Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 95: "In this warfare was Ronald, earl of Mærr, and his brother, who was called Sigurd. There also with king Harold was Ivar, earl Ronald's son; and he fell there in a battle. . . ." But the Upphaf states that Ivar fell in the battle of Hafrsfiordr (F.S., x, 193; Fl., i, 575).

The Irish annals place the death of a king Ivar in 873 (above); probably Godfrey's son.

Ronald had joined Harold before the battle of Solskel, and had been made earl of north and south Mærr and of Romsdal, in return for his support: see Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 95 (c. 179 in Fl.); H., Harold Fairhair, cc. 10, 12 (cf. c. 24); O.S., c. 4.

[2] Cf. Vatnsdœla Saga, c. 9 (Fornsögur, 17).

[3] "[Sigurd] was a forecastle man of king Harold," O.S.

It seems to me that the last paragraph translated above from Heimskringla must be rejected as inconsistent with other authorities, and all that precedes must be taken to describe the later invasion. See below, pp. 392-393.

PART XI

Iceland and the Hebrides

ca. 870-ca. 873

Landnámabók, c. 6, p. 6[1]

[Ingolf and Leif] were one winter[2] in the land [of Iceland], and afterwards sailed to Norway. After that, Ingolf took charge of their wealth for an expedition to Iceland, while Leif sailed upon a western expedition.[3] He harried in Ireland, and found there a great house underground: he went in, and it was quite dark there till [he came to a place] where there was light from a weapon which a man was holding. Leif killed the man and took the sword, and much other treasure. Thereafter he was called Hior-leif.[4]

Hiorleif harried far in Ireland, and took much spoil there. He took there ten slaves, named Dubthach, and Geirrod, Skaldbiorn, Halldor, and Drafdrit; more are not named.

After that, Hiorleif went to Norway, and met there his foster-brother, Ingolf. He had before then married Helga, Orn's daughter, Ingolf's sister. . . .[5]

[1] Cf. Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 116.

[2] I.e., ?870-871. For Ingolf, Orn's son, and Leif his foster-brother, cf. Flóamanna Saga; Fornsögur, 120-122.

[3] I.e. in ?873.

[4] I.e. "Leif of the Sword."

[5] Next summer (the Landnámabók says) Leif with his booty, and Ingolf with the wealth of both, set out for Iceland, after Harold Fairhair had been king of Norway for 12 winters; 6073 winters after the creation of Adam, and A.D. 874. (The Landnámabók therefore places Harold's accession in 862.)

The Irish captives killed Leif the next spring [875], and were killed by Ingolf.

After passing three winters in Iceland, Ingolf settled in Reykjavik [877].

According to the Historia Norwegiae, in Storm's Monumenta, 92-93, Ingolf and Hiorleif when they went to Iceland were "fleeing from their land because of the offence of man-slaughters."

Geirmund Hell-skin, son of king Hior, also had sailed as pirate to the British Isles before the battle of Hafrsfiordr. Landnámabók, c. 86, p. 38: "Geirmund Hellskin was a war-king. He led a plundering expedition to the west" (*hann heriadi i vestr víkinng*, literally "he harried into west-viking" or western piracy), "but had his kingdom in Rogaland" (read "Hordaland"; see Gretti's Saga, cc. 2, 3) in Norway. Geirmund returned after the battle; his lands had been confiscated, and he had to go to Iceland. Cf. the Tale of Geirmund Hellskin, Vigfusson's Sturlunga Saga, i, 1-5; Origines Islandicae, i, 274-277.

Landnámabók, c. 107, p. 45: "An Red-cloak, son of Grim Shaggy-cheek from Rafnista, and son of Helga, daughter of An Bow-wielder, fell into disfavour with king Harold, and therefore sailed from the country upon western piracy. He plundered in Ireland, and married there Grelod, the daughter of earl Biartmar. They sailed to Iceland. . . ."

Landnámabók, c. 145, p. 59: ". . . Ingimund was a great viking, and he plundered in western piracy. His comrade was called Sæmund the Hebridean. They came back from plundering in the time when king Harold was encamped in Hafrsfiordr for battle against Thori Longchin. Ingimund wished to support the king, but Sæmund would not, and he broke off their fellowship there. After the battle king Harold gave to Ingimund as wife Vigdis, the daughter of earl Thori the Silent. . . ." Ingimund became a great man in Iceland.

Landnámabók, c. 155, p. 63: "Sæmund the Hebridean [was] the comrade of Ingimund the Old, as has been written. He came with his ship to the mouth of Gonguskard river [in Iceland]. Sæmund took all Sæmund's-side to Vatsskard, above Sæmund's stream; and he lived in Geirmund's-stead. His son was Geirmund, and he lived there afterwards. . . ."

Sæmund's daughter Thorlaug married Eilif Orn, who took land beside Lax-river-dale; Landnámabók, c. 154, p. 63 (Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 130).

For Sæmund, cf. Niál's Saga, c. 114 (Origines Islandicae, i, 243).

Further communications with the west appear in Landnámabók, c. 175, p. 68: "Thord was the name of a famous man. He was the son of Biorn Butter-keg, son of Hróald the Sad, son of Asleik, son of Biorn Ironside, son of Ragnar Lodbrok. Thord sailed to Iceland and took Hofda-strand in Skagafiordr. . . . Hofda-Thord married Fridgerd, the daughter of Fridgerd, daughter of Kiarval, king of the Irish. [Cf. Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 226.] They had nineteen children.

"Biorn was their son: he married Thurid, daughter of Ref of Bard, and their children were Arnor Hag's-nose, and Thordis, mother of Orm, father of Thordis, mother of Botolf, father of Thordis, mother of Helga, mother of Gudny, mother of Sturla's sons.

"The second son of Thord was called Thorgeir. He married Riupa, the daughter of Arnald, Sæmund [the Hebridean's] son. Their son was Halldor of Hof.

"Snorri was the third son. He married Thorhild Riupa, the daughter

ca. 870 and ca. 874

Ari, Islendingabók, c. 1, pp. 3-4

Iceland was first settled from Norway in the days of Harold Fairhair, the son of Halfdan the Black.[1] According to the meaning and telling of Teit, my foster-brother, bishop Isleif's son, the wisest man I know,[2] and of Thorkel, my father's brother and Gelli's son, who was of great age; and of Thorid, daughter of Snorri Godi,[3] a woman both learned and sincere, this was at the time when Ivar, Ragnar Lodbrok's son, caused

of Thord Yeller. Their son was Thord Horse-head, the father of [Thorfinn] Karlsefni, who found Vínland the Good . . ."—some part of North America, probably Nova Scotia. See below, year 986.

Landnámabók, c. 94, p. 41: "Ulf the Squinter, son of Hogni the White, took all Reykianes between Thorskafiordr and Hafrafell. He had as wife Biorg, the daughter of Eyvind the Eastman, and sister of Helgi the Lean. Their son was Atli the Red, who married Thorbiorg, sister of Steinolf the Short. Their son was Má of Reykiahólar, who married Thorkatla, the daughter of Hergils Hnapprass. Their son was Ari.

"[Ari, Má's son,] was driven from his course to White-men's-land, which some men call Ireland the Great. It lies to the west in the sea, near Vínland the Good. It is called six days' sailing west from Ireland. From there Ari could not sail forth, and he was baptized there.

"This was first told of by Hrafn, a Limerick trader, who had long been in Limerick in Ireland. Thorkel Gelli's son said that Icelanders who have heard it from Thorfinn, earl of the Orkneys, say that Ari had been recognized in White-men's-land, and he could not sail away, but was highly esteemed.

"Ari had married Thorgerd, daughter of Alf of Dales. . . ." Dales-Alf was a grandson of Thorstein Red. Thorgerd's mother was Halldis, daughter of Erp, son of earl Maelduin. (Sturlubók version, c. 107, p. 159.)

Iceland was said to be six days' sailing from Britain (ibid., c. 1, p. 3); but there is no land as near to the west of Ireland as Iceland is to the north of Britain. White-men's-land is placed somewhere in north America, in Eric the Red's Saga, c. 12, p. 45. It may be fabulous.

According to Giraldus Cambrensis (v, 95), Iceland was only three days' sailing from Ireland.

[1] Halfdan was king of the Uplanders in Norway. See the Landnámabók, c. 326, pp. 114-115; and Heimskringla, Halfdan the Black's Saga.

[2] For Teit and Ari, see Snorri's Prologus to the Heimskringla. Cf. Origines Islandicae, i, 241, 247, 427.

[3] That Snorri Godi was born in 963 is deducible from Kristni Saga, c. 1, p. 3.

to be slain the holy Edmund, king of the English; 870 winters after the birth of Christ, as is written in [Edmund's] Saga.[1]

Ingolf was the name of the Norwegian who is truthfully said to have been the first to sail from [Norway] to Iceland,[2] when Harold Fairhair was sixteen winters old[3]; and the second time, four winters later.[4] He dwelt in the south [of Iceland], in Reykjavik. . . .

[1] Edmund's death is placed in 870 by A.S.C. (ABDEFG; 871, C). See Abbo Floriacensis' account of his martyrdom: R.S. 96, i, 15-16. Cf. the Annals of St Neots, s.a. 870 (Stevenson's Asser, 132-133).

For Ivar, see above, year 867, note.

[2] What is meant seems to be that Ingolf was the first Norwegian settler.

Landnámabók, c. 3, p. 4: "A man was called Gard, the son of Svavar the Swede. [Gard] had lands in Sióland" (i.e. Sælland in Denmark; Jónsson), "but was born in Sweden. He sailed to the Hebrides, to claim his wife's inheritance; but when he had sailed through the Pentland Firth a storm carried him away, and he went westward into the ocean. He landed [in Iceland] to the east of Horn. There was a haven there at that time. Gard sailed round the land, and found that it was an island. . . ."

Gard was one of the first Scandinavians to land in Iceland. The Landnámabók says that Floki was the first to sail out on purpose to explore Iceland (c. 5, p. 5): "Floki, Vilgerd's son, was the name of a great viking. He set out from Rogaland to search for Iceland. . . . He sailed first to Shetland, and lay in Floki's Bay; there his daughter Geirhild was lost, in Geirhild's Water. In the ship with Floki was a farmer called Thorolf, and another Heriolf, and Faxi, a Hebridean. . . ."

Naddodd of the Faroes is named as perhaps the first Norwegian to discover Iceland, in Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 113 (c. 199 in Fl., i, 248).

Landnámabók, 4, c. 4: "A man was called Naddodd ["of the Faroes" ibid., 26, c. 63]; he was a brother of Exna-Thori, kinsman-in-law of Barna-Karl. He was a great viking. . . ." On his way to the [Orkney] islands, he was carried from his course to Iceland; he called it "Snow-land."

[3] If Harold was sixteen winters old in 870, he must have been born in 854. See above, p. 323.

[4] I.e. in 874; the second expedition is the one dated in the Landnámabók.

Theoderic, c. 3; Storm's Monumenta, pp. 8-9: "In Harold's 9th year, or as some think his 10th, certain merchants sailed to the islands that we call Faroes; and there they were caught by a storm, and driven very far through the ocean, and at last were carried to a very remote land, which some consider to be the island of Thule—but because we know not the truth of the matter, we neither affirm it nor deny it. Going up from their ship and wandering around, and even climbing the mountains, they found no human habitation at all. So they returned to Norway, and reported the

land that they had found; and by praising it much they incited many to look for it. Among these was especially a certain noble man, Ingolf by name, of the province that is called Hordaland; he prepared a ship, and took with him his brother-in-law, Hiorleif by name, with many others; and looked for the aforesaid land, and found it, and began to inhabit it with his followers, in about [*þaene*] the tenth year of Harold's reign [873-874/871-872]. And then that land (which we now call Iceland) began to be inhabited for the first time, except that a very few men from the island of Ireland, that is lesser Britain, are believed to have been there in ancient times, from certain indications found; namely their books, and certain utensils.

"Two men, however, had gone before Ingolf in this affair; the first of them was called Garthar, and from him at first the land was called Garthar's-holm; and the other was called Floki. But let this suffice concerning this affair."

Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 116; F.S., i, 239: "It was in the 6th year of the reign of king Harold the Fairhaired that men went to look for Iceland; and seven years later, that Hiorleif and Ingolf went to inhabit the land. . . . That was in the 13th year of king Harold the Fairhaired; he had then been for two winters sole king in Norway, from the time when the battle of Hafrsfiordr was [fought]. That was four winters after the fall of king Edmund the Holy in England. Then 6073 winters had passed from the beginning of this world, and 874 years from the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ." (Less correctly in Flateyiarbók, i, 248.) This puts Harold's birth in 852, his accession in 862, and the battle of Hafrsfiordr in 872.

The Icelandic Annals, following Ari, place Ingolf's first voyage to Iceland in 870 (CDA; 867, E), and the "beginning of the occupation of Iceland" in 874 (KBDE; 875, C).

The Kristni Saga reckons [10]7 winters from the settlement to the arrival of bishop Frederick in Iceland (in 981), thus placing the settlement in 874 (c. 1, pp. 1-2); but Thorvald Wide-farer's Tale counts an interval of 106 winters between the same events (c. 10, p. 79); Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 138.

Landnámabók, c. 2, p. 3: "At the time when Iceland was found and settled from Norway, Adrian was pope in Rome, and John, the fifth of that name in the seat" (read "eighth"; A.D. 872-882). "Louis, Louis's son, was emperor to the north of the mountains [876-878], and Leo [886-912], and Alexander, his son" (read brother; 912-913) "over Constantinople. Then Harold Fairhair was king of Norway, and Eric, Eymund's son, of Sweden, and his son, Biorn; and Gorm the Old, in Denmark. Alfred the Mighty [was king] in England [871-901], and his son, Edward [901-924]; Kiarval, in Dublin [† 888]; Sigurd the Mighty [was] earl in the Orkneys." This passage is copied in Olaf's Saga, c. 111; F.S., i, 233-234 (c. 198, i, 247). Cf. Saga-Fragment I, in F.S., xi, 410.

Since Sigurd was earl in the Orkneys, the settlement of Iceland began after whatever expedition had established Sigurd there (see year ? 874).

The greatest rush of settlers from the Hebrides probably took place at the time of Harold's western expedition (after 892).

At that time Iceland was wooded between the mountains and the coast. At that time, Christian men were here, whom the Norwegians call *papar;* but they departed afterwards, because they would not be here with heathen men[1]; and they left behind them Irish books, and bells, and croziers. Therefore one could perceive that they were Irish men.

×874

Landnámabók, Prologue; Jónsson's edition, p. 3[2]

But before Iceland was inhabited [by settlers] from Norway, there were[3] there the men whom the Norwegians call *papar;* these were Christian men, and it is believed that they had come from the west beyond the sea, because Irish books, and bells, and croziers, were found [left] behind them, and many other things besides, so that one might know that they were

Landnámabók, c. 355, p. 125: "Learned men say that Iceland was fully settled in 60 winters, so that since then it has not been more fully peopled." This means that the period of settlement was from 870 to 930, when the Althing was established (see below, p. 386).

[1] Landnámabók, c. 280, pp. 99-100: "Ketil the Foolish [was] the son of Iórunn Mannvits-brekka" (perhaps "taxer of the understanding"), "daughter of Ketil Flatnose. [Ketil the Foolish] sailed to Iceland from the Hebrides, and was a good Christian. He took land between Geirland's river and Fiord's river, above Nykomi" (in eastern Iceland; ibid., p. 125). "Ketil lived in Kirkiubær. There *papar* had settled before, and heathen men could not live there.

"Ketil's son was Asbiorn, father of Thorstein, father of Surt, father of Sighvat Lawman. . . ."

Cf. Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 125 (and Fl., i, 267).

Landnámabók, c. 283, p. 100: "Hildi [son of Eystein, son of Hrani, son of Hildi Parak] wished to remove his dwelling to Kirkiubær, after Ketil the Foolish; he thought that a heathen man might be able to dwell there. But when he came near the home-field-fence he died suddenly. He lies there in Hildi's Barrow."

Cf. Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 126.

Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 125 (F.S., i, 251): ". . . [Ketil] was a good Christian; therefore the pagans called him Ketil the Foolish. . . ." Cf. Nial's Saga, i, 532, c. 101.

See below, p. 343 ff.

[2] This passage is copied in Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 110; F.S., i, 233. Cf. Saga-Fragment I, in F.S., xi, 410.

[3] "had been" Olaf's Saga.

Westmen.[1] This was the case in Papey in the east, and in Papyli.[2] So too do English books declare, that people sailed between the lands at that time.[3]

[1] "that they were Christian men, and had come there from west beyond the sea" Olaf's Saga. Theoderic says that they were "very few" (above).

[2] This sentence is not in Olaf's Saga.

There are islands called Papa and Papa Stour in Shetland, Papa Stronsay and Papa Westray in Orkney, Paba near Lewis, Pabbay between Harris and North Uist, Pabbay in the Barra Isles, Pabba near Skye; these and other names contain the same root, the Latin *papa* in its Irish sense of "bishop."

[3] Ohthere, or Ottar, a voyager of Halogaland, the most northern province of the Norwegians, (Langebek, Scriptores, ii, 108, 113) gave to king Alfred an account of the northern lands (∴ 871×901). In this account, nothing is said of Iceland; and from this it has been argued that Iceland had not been discovered by the Norwegians at the time when Ohthere's account was made. Alfred described the voyages of Ohthere in his Orosius (edited by H. Sweet, E.E.T.S., 1883, pp. 17-19; a facsimile, with transcription and translation, by J. Bosworth, Description of Europe (London, 1885). A previous translation by Bosworth is in Alfred's Works (1852), ii, 39-50. Text and translation, by Rask: Ottars og Ulfstens korte Rejseberetninger; Copenhagen, 1816).

Cf. Dicuil's account of Thule; De Mensura, pp. 41-44. Ibid., 43-44: "This [ca. 825] is now the thirtieth year from the time when I was informed by priests who had remained in that island from the Kalends of February to the Kalends of August, that not only at the summer solstice, but in the days on both sides of it, the sun setting in the evening hour hides itself as it were behind a little knoll. . . ."

Cf. the mention of Thule in the unhistorical introduction to the Life of Catroe, c. 3; Colgan's Acta, p. 495.

Of Irish settlements in the Faroes, Dicuil says (ibid., p. 44): "There are in the northern ocean of Britain many other islands which can be reached in two days and nights' straight sailing with a steady wind [blowing] favourably, from the northern islands of Britain. A religious priest related to me that he had entered one of them in two summer days and one intervening night, sailing in a boat with two thwarts.

"Some of these islands are small; nearly all alike are separated by narrow channels; and in them for nearly a hundred years hermits have dwelt, sailing from our Scottia" (Ireland). "But just as from the beginning of the world they were ever uninhabited, so now [ca. 825], because of those robbers the Northmen, they are empty of anchorites, though full of innumerable sheep, and very many kinds of sea-birds. We have never found these islands mentioned in the [geographical] authors' books." This implies that the route to the islands was infested by Norwegian pirates, and that therefore the islands were inaccessible to the Irish.

874×930

Landnámabók; Sturlubók version, c. 72, pp. 147-148

Vali the Strong was the name of one of king Harold Fairhair's bodyguard: he lifted a spear in a sanctuary, and was outlawed. He sailed to the Hebrides, and abode there. But his three sons sailed to Iceland. Hlíf Horse-gelder was their mother. One was called Atli, another Ulf-varin, the third Audun Stoti. These all sailed to Iceland. . . .

Landnámabók, c. 71, p. 30

Audun Stoti, son of Vali the Strong, married Myruna, the daughter of Blathmac,[1] king of the Irish. . . . [Audun] lived in Hraunsfiordr; from him the Hraunsfiord-men are descended. . . .

874×930

Landnámabók, c. 269, p. 96

Thorstein Leg, son of Biorn Blue-tooth, sailed out from the Hebrides to Iceland, and took all the land from the Horn southwards to Iokuls-river in Lon. And he lived in Bodvarsholt for three winters. He sold the lands afterwards, and sailed to the Hebrides.

874×900

Landnámabók, c. 399, p. 231

Learned men say that some of the settlers who occupied Iceland had been baptized, and most of those who came from the west beyond the sea. Among these are named Helgi the

Claudian (perhaps in poetic hyperbole) in 398 A.D. implied that Thule was inhabited by Picts. M.G.H., Auctores, x, 151:

maduerunt Saxone fuso
Orcades; incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thyle;
Scottorum tumulos flevit glacialis Hiverne.

Icelandic place-names do not show traces of Celtic language, as do those of Shetland and Orkney.

[1] *Biadmaks:* "of Blathmac"? But possibly Biadach, Kiarval's son, is meant. See p. 345.

"Myruna, the daughter of Matad, king of the Irish" in Sturla's version, c. 83, p. 151.

Lean, and Orlyg the Old [Hrapp's son], Helgi Bióla, Iórund the Christian [son of Ketil, Bresi's son], Aud the Wealthy [daughter of Ketil Flatnose], Ketil the Foolish [grandson of Ketil Flatnose], and many men besides, who came from the west beyond the sea. And some of them held Christianity well till their death day, but it seldom passed to their descendants; so that some of their sons built temples, and sacrificed. And the land was quite heathen for nearly a hundred years.[1]

[1] I.e., from 900 to 1000 A.D. Some settlers of the first generation (870-900) were Christian; some inhabitants were Christian a few years before 1000.

Landnámabók incidentally implies that the settlers from the Hebrides went to Iceland soon after 870, and had died before 900. This is not, however, to be taken quite literally, because there seems to have been an exodus of Harold's enemies from the islands after the death of Halfdan Longleg, when it was known that Harold was preparing an expedition to the west (i.e., ca. 894 - ca. 895). Aud's party, weakened by the death of Thorstein, had probably gone before Halfdan's death (∴ 889 × ca. 894).

Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 125 (Fornmanna Sögur, i, 250-251): "Helgi the Lean went to Iceland with his wife and children. Helgi was called Christian, and yet was very mixed in his beliefs; he was baptized and professed faith in Christ, but he vowed to Thor for sea-journeys and difficult undertakings" Fl., i, 267.

In Hauk Erlend's son's genealogy, Helgi stands 22 generations below Odin, 13 generations above Hauk. Hauksbók, ii, 504-505.

Helgi settled in the north of Iceland (Landnámabók, p. 125).

Landnámabók, c. 15, pp. 10-11: "Orlyg was the name of a son of Hrapp, Biorn Buna's son. He was fostered by the holy bishop Patrick in the Hebrides. He desired to go to Iceland, and he asked bishop Patrick to arrange it for him. The bishop got for him church-timber, and bade him take it with him; and a plenarium" [probably a book of gospels] "and an iron bell, and a gold penny, and consecrated earth to lay under the corner-posts, and to have it as consecration, and for the sake of hallowing [the church] to Columcille. . . . Orlyg put to sea; and also in another ship the man who was called Koll, his foster-brother: they kept the same course. In the ship with Orlyg was the man who was called Thorbiorn Sporr; another, Thorbiorn Talkni, and a third, Thorbiorn Skuma. These were the sons of Bodvar Bladder-pate. . . ."

Cf. Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 119 (and Fl., i, 164).

Patrick described the place where Orlyg should build his church; Orlyg found the place from the description. Possibly this was one of the places formerly occupied by Irish hermits.

Of descendants of Orlyg it is said that "they believed in Columcille,

although they were unbaptized" (Landnámabók, c. 15, p. 11). (A church was dedicated to Columba by Halldor the Red: c. 21, p. 14.)

A large proportion of the earliest settlers in Iceland were Norwegians from the British Isles.

The ten settlers in Iceland named in Landnámabók (cc. 11-16) next after Ingolf and Leif are Thord Skeggi, Ketil Flatnose's nephew; Hall, Thori Godless' son; Helgi Bióla, Ketil Flatnose's son; from the Hebrides, Orlyg, Ketil Flatnose's nephew, with Orlyg's foster-brother and son, and with three Thorbiorns, sons of Bodvar Bladder-pate; Svartkel "from England" ("a Caithness man," in Sturla's version, c. 16, p. 136). Of these, all but one went from Britain. After these Landnámabók (cc. 18-21) names Hvamm-Thori and Thorolf Butter; Avang, an Irishman; Bresi's sons, grandson, and great-grandson, from Ireland; Kalman, "an Irishman" ("a Hebridean," and Kylan his brother; c. 30. Cf. Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 129).

In Landnámabók, p. 124, Helgi Bióla and Orlyg are named before and after Ingolf, in the list of settlers in the south of Iceland.

Landnámabók, c. 16, p. 12: "A man" ("of Caithness" Sturla's version) "was called Svartkel. He went from England to Iceland, and took land in-shore from Mydals-river, and between it and Eilifs-dals-river; and he lived first at Kidia-fell, and afterwards at Eyrr. His son was Thorkel, father of the Glum who took Christianity in his old age. . . . Arnleif was the name of a sister of Svartkel; she was married to Thorolf Viligisl, father of Kleppiarn the Old of Floka-dalr. Their daughter was Hallgerd, whom Bergthor, Koll's son, married."

Landnámabók, c. 179, p. 70: "Bard the Hebridean took land [in Iceland] from Stifla up to the Miova-dalr river. His son was Hall of Mio-dœl, the father of Thurid, whom Arnor Hag's-nose married."

Elsewhere are named Radorm and Iolgeir, brothers, "from west beyond the sea" (c. 320, p. 113); and (according to the text in Origines Islandicae, i, 221) Hrodgeir the Wise and Oddgeir, brothers (cc. 25, 329; pp. 15-16, 116); Alfgeir, from the Hebrides (Sturla's version, c. 79, p. 150); Kampa-Grim, from the Hebrides (Melabók version, p. 254). From Orkney, Thorbiorn Earl's-champion, a Norwegian (c. 336, p. 120); and Oddlaug and Thraslaug, daughters of Eyvind the Orkneyman (Landnámabók, c. 293, pp. 102-103).

An Irish settler in Iceland was Baug (great-grandfather of the famous Gunnar of Hlidar-endi), son of Raud, son of Kiallak (Cellach), son of Kiarval (Cerball) king of the Irish (cc. 303, 307, pp. 106, 107-108; cf. Sturla's version, c. 348, pp. 218-220).

From Ireland went to Iceland ("in a ship that was called Kudi") Vilbald and Askel Hnockan (Asgeir in c. 321), sons of Dubthach, son of Donald, son of Kiarval, king of the Irish (cc. 286, 321; pp. 101, 113).

Kiarval's daughter Gormflaith married Grimolf, nephew of Alf of Egd (Grimolf left Norway during Harold Fairhair's reign); c. 348, p. 123. Two other daughters of Kiarval are named: Fridgerd, who married Thori Hima (c. 175, p. 68); Raforta, who married Eyvind Eastman (c. 184, p. 72).

For Kiarval's daughter Fridgerd see Eric the Red's Saga, c. 7; p. 27,

note. Biadach, a son "of Kiarval the Old, king of Ireland, who reigned there long," is mentioned in the Dream of Thorstein Side-Hall's son (Möbius, Analecta Norrœna (1859), p. 186. Origines, i, 251).

From Ireland went "Hildi, and Hallgeir, and Liót their sister" (c. 308, p. 109); "Steinrod, son of Maelpatraic, a noble man of Ireland. [Steinrod] was a freedman of Thorgrim Bill. He married Thorgrim's daughter, and was the goodliest of all men. . . ."

Irish slaves taken to Iceland by Ketil Gufa, son of Orlyg, son of Bodvar, son of Vigsterk, from western piracy "late in the settling time" (870-900), rebelled and perished (Landnámabók, c. 97, pp. 42-43). Their names may be noted: "One was called Thormod, another Floki; Kori, and Svart, and two Skorris." Floki is mentioned also in Sturla's version, c. 35, p. 140. Ketil Gufa's nick-name may be the Irish *goba*, "smith"; Vigfusson thought that both names had been made Icelandic from Irish (*Cathal goba*).

The names of the following settlers suggest that they had Irish or Scottish origin: Bekan (Beccan), c. 24; Dufan (Duban), c. 107, p. 45; Dufthak (Dubthach), c. 303, p. 106; Galm[an] (Colman), c. 188, p. 74; perhaps also Thorgeir Meldun (Maelduin), c. 45, p. 21; and Sturla's version, c. 33, p. 140.

PART XII

Ketil Flatnose establishes Scandinavian Rule in the Hebrides

864 × 883

Landnámabók, c. 13, p. 10[1]

Why Ketil Flatnose was exiled.

Harold Fairhair plundered in the west beyond the sea, as is written in his saga. He subdued to himself all the Hebrides, so far westward that no king of Norway has owned more afterwards, except king Magnus Bare-leg.[2]

But when [Harold] sailed from the west, vikings,[3] [both] Scots and Irishmen, invaded the Hebrides, and plundered widely. And when king Harold learned this, he sent west Ketil Flatnose, the son of Biorn Buna,[4] to take the islands

[1] Cf. Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 121 (and Fl., i, 263-264).

[2] See above, pp. 331-334. Ketil's western expedition followed that which made Sigurd earl of Orkney; but Harold's great campaign in the west was at least twenty years later.

[3] *vikingar.* Originally perhaps *víkingr* may have meant "man of the Vik" in the south of Norway; then "pirate" of any race. Here Norwegian settlers are attacked by Scottish and Irish vikings.

The feminine abstract word *víking* became a technical term for the "cruise of a pirate": I translate it "piracy."

[4] Landnámabók, c, 11, p. 9: "Biorn Buna was the name of a powerful and famous chief in Norway. He was the son of Wether-Grim, a chief of Sogn. . . .

"Biorn married Velaug, the sister of Vemund the Old; they had three sons: one was Ketil Flatnose, another was Helgi, the third was Hrapp. They were famous men, and of their descendants much is said in this book. And from them have come almost all the great men of Iceland.

"Hrapp married Thórunn Groningar-riupa. Their son was Thord Skeggi. [Thord] married Vilborg, the daughter of king Oswald and of Ulfrun the Unborn, daughter of Edmund, king of the English. . . ." Cf. Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 118. Thord is the first settler in Iceland named in Landnámabók after Ingolf and Leif; Orlyg is the sixth. Cf. Kialnesinga Saga, cc. 1-2, where Orlyg is said to have been of Irish descent, and to have left Ireland when Conchobar was king there.

again. Ketil was married to Yngvild, the daughter of Ketil Wether, a chief in Hringa-ríki. Their sons were Biorn the Eastern, and Helgi Bióla.[1] Aud the Wealthy, and Thorunn Hyrna, were their daughters.[2]

[1] Landnámabók, c. 14, p. 10: "Helgi Bióla, the son of Ketil Flatnose, sailed to Iceland from the Hebrides. He was with Ingolf for the first winter, and took with his advice all Kialarnes, between Mogils-river and Mydals-river. He lived at Hof. . . ." (Cf. Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 119.) Landnámabók seems to imply that Ingolf was alone for his first three winters at least in Iceland; but Helgi must have been one of the earliest settlers there (? 877 ×). He is the fifth settler named, after Ingolf and Leif. "Helgi [had] married Thorný, daughter of Ingolf of [Reykia]vik, who was the first to inhabit Iceland," says the Kialnesinga Saga, c. 1 (Islandinga Sögur, ii (1847), 397).

An assembly met at Kialarnes, before the establishment of the Althing in Iceland (Landnámabók, c. 10, p. 9).

[2] Laxdœla Saga, c. 1, pp. 1-2: "A man was called Ketil Flatnose, the son of Biorn Buna: he was a powerful chief in Norway, and of high family. He lived in Romsdal, in Romsdœla-fylki: it is between south Mærr and north Mærr.

"Ketil Flatnose married Yngvild, daughter of Ketil Wether, a famous man. Their children were five: one was called Biorn the Eastern, another Helgi Bióla.

"A daughter of Ketil was called Thorunn Hyrna, who was married to Helgi the Lean, the son of Eyvind Eastman and Raforta, the daughter of Kiarval, the Irish king.

"Aud the Deep-minded" [v.l. "the Wealthy"] "was another daughter of Ketil; she was married to Olaf the White, son of Ingiald, son of Frodi the Valiant, whom the Svertlingar killed.

"Iórunn Mannvits-brekka was another daughter of Ketil. She was the mother of Ketil the Fisher" (*hins fiskna;* in Landnámabók correctly "the Foolish," *hinn fiflski*, cc. 354, 356; *hinn filfski*, c. 280), "who took land in Kirkiubær. His son was Asbiorn, the father of Thorstein, the father of Surt, the father of Sighvat the Lawman."

Cf. Eyrbyggia Saga, c. 1, p. 1 (Origines Islandicae, i, 252-253).

Biorn, Helgi Bióla, Aud, and Thorunn, and Iórunn's son Ketil, all went to Iceland from the Hebrides.

Ketil's son Thori also had gone to Iceland. Cf. Vemund's Saga, Islendinga Sögur (1829-1830), ii, 278-279, 291-293.

Eyrbyggia Saga, c. 1, pp. 1-2: "Sons of [Ketil and Yngvild] were called Biorn and Helgi, and their daughters were Aud the Wealthy and Iórunn Mannvits-brekka. Biorn, Ketil's son, was fostered in the east, in Iamtaland, by the earl who was called Kiallak" (*Ceallac*, Irish *Cellach?*), "a wise and famous man. The earl had a son whose name was Biorn, and his daughter was called Giaflaug." Iamtaland is now Jämteland, in the north-west of Sweden. See year 884.

Ketil sailed west,[1] and left in his place Biorn, his son. Ketil subdued all the Hebrides, and made himself lord over them, but paid no tax to king Harold, as had been intended. Then king Harold took to himself [Ketil's] possessions in Norway, and expelled [Ketil's] son Biorn.

Cf. Landnámabók, c. 111, pp. 160-161 : "A man was called Kiallak, the son of Biorn the Strong, the brother of Giaflaug, who was married to Biorn the Eastern. He went to Iceland, and took land from Dogurd-river to Klofningar, and he lived at Kiallak's-stead. His sons were Helgi Hrogn, and Thorgrim Tangle, under Fell ; Eilif Prudi; Asbiorn Vodvi, at Orrastadir ; Biorn Whale-maw, at Tungardr ; Thorstein Thynning ; Gizur Glad, in Skora-vík ; Thorbiorn Skrofudr, at Ketil's-stead. [His daughter was] Æsa of Svíney, mother of Eyiolf and Tinforni.

"Liótolf was the name of a man. To him Kiallak gave a dwelling in Liótolf's-stead, inland from Kalda-kinn. . . ." See the rest of c. 111 (II, 16, in Origines Islandicae, i, 85-86).

Landnámabók brings these Scottish affairs into the beginning of the history of Iceland, because they led many settlers to go there.

Since Helgi was one of the earliest settlers in Iceland, he must have gone there little later than 877. Laxdœla Saga says that Helgi sailed to Iceland in the same summer in which Ketil sailed to the Hebrides : this may possibly be correct, but Laxdœla is certainly wrong in saying that Ketil's son Biorn sailed to Iceland that summer. See below, pp. 359-363.

[1] Laxdœla Saga says that Ketil was old when he set out for the Hebrides, and that a report of the possibility of settling in Iceland had then reached Norway (∴ 870×). Landnámabók places Ketil's settlement in the west after Harold's first western expedition (∴ 874×) ; but see above, p. 286. Eyrbyggia Saga and Laxdœla Saga imply that Ketil came west in or after the year of Hafrsfiordr (∴ 874×).

Eyrbyggia Saga implies that Aud's marriage with Olaf took place after Ketil came to the west (∴ 874×) ; but their son Thorstein fought in Scotland before 892, and perhaps not long after 874 (cf. Laxdœla Saga) ; their grand-daughter was married some years before 900, indeed probably before Halfdan Longleg went to Orkney (in or soon after 894) ; therefore Aud's marriage probably took place before 855, and certainly before 860.

Laxdœla Saga says also that Aud accompanied Ketil from Norway ; this, with the fact that Olaf the White is not mentioned (except in a discredited statement in Eyrbyggia Saga) in connection with either Ketil's departure or Thorstein's campaign, seems to imply that Olaf the White was then dead ; perhaps even that Ketil was assisting Thorstein to step into Olaf's shoes. See below, p. 378.

Olaf the White flourished in 850 ; and probably he died a short time before Ketil's expedition, which took place (872×883) not long after 874. These dates do not oppose an (otherwise untenable) identification of Olaf the White with Olaf, Godfrey's son, who flourished in 853 and died (872×874) perhaps in 874. See pp. 308-309.

ca. 874

Eyrbyggia Saga, c. 1, pp. 2-3

This was in the time when king Harold the Fairhaired came to the kingdom in Norway. Many noble men fled to escape this war, away from their odal-lands and out of Norway; some east over the Ridge, others west beyond the sea. There were some who remained in winter in the Hebrides or the Orkneys, but in the summers plundered in Norway and did much harm in king Harold's dominion. The farmers brought this before the king, and bade him deliver them from this warfare. Then king Harold took this counsel, to have an army made ready for west beyond the sea, and to say that Ketil Flatnose [and his sons] should be in command of the army. Ketil made excuses, but the king said that he must go. And when Ketil saw that the king would be obeyed, he prepared for the expedition, and took with him his wife and all his children that were there.[1] And when Ketil came west beyond the sea, he had some battles, and always won the victory. He laid the Hebrides under him, and became lord over them. Then he made alliances with the greatest lords who were to the west of the sea, and bound himself to them by marriage-ties; and he sent the army east again.

And when they came to king Harold they said that Ketil Flatnose was lord in the Hebrides, but they said they knew not that [Ketil] would bring under king Harold the dominion to the west of the sea. And when the king heard this he took under himself the possessions that Ketil had had in Norway.[2]

[1] Biorn was absent.

[2] A different and perhaps less authoritative account is given by the Laxdœla Saga, cc. 2-3, pp. 3-4: "In the later days of Ketil arose the dominion of king Harold the Fairhaired, so that no district-king and no other man of rank could thrive in the land unless [Harold] alone was obeyed as their superior" (*réði . . . nafnbótum theira*, literally "ruled their titles"). "But when Ketil learned that king Harold had intended for him the same terms as for the other nobles—to have their kinsmen unattoned for, and themselves to be made liegemen—then he summoned an assembly of his relatives. . . ." They all decided to leave Norway: "Biorn and Helgi wished to go to Iceland, because they thought they had heard much that was good of it; they said there was good choice of land there, and one needed not [have] money to buy [land]: they asserted that there was much whaling [*hval-rétt*] and salmon-fishing, and [good] fishing-

875

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 388, s.a. 874=875[1]

An encounter of the Picts with the Black-foreigners[2]; and great slaughter was made of the Picts.[3]

Eystein, son of Olaf, the king of the Northmen, was killed by Halfdan, by stratagem.[4]

places at all seasons. Ketil answered: 'In my old age I shall never come into those fishing-places.' Then Ketil spoke his mind, that he was more willing [to go] west beyond the sea; he said there was reckoned to be a good livelihood there. Wide lands were known to him there, because he had plundered there widely.

[c. 3] "After this, Ketil held a noble feast; and he gave Thorunn Hyrna, his daughter, in marriage to Helgi the Lean, as has been written above.

"After that, Ketil prepared his expedition from the land to west beyond the sea. His daughter Aud [*Unnr*] went with him, and many of his relatives.

"Ketil's sons proceeded the same summer to Iceland, with Helgi the Lean, their brother-in-law. . . ."

Laxdœla's statement that Ketil Flatnose had visited the Hebrides before is noteworthy (cf. year 857). It is to be noted also that Ketil was an old man at the time of his settlement there.

It is possible that Helgi had gone with Aud from the west to Norway. But there is no certainty that Aud had been with Olaf in the west. (If her husband was Olaf, Godfrey's son, he married again in Ireland.) Helgi the Lean lived in the west; he might have brought to Ketil and Aud the news of Olaf's death. (Eyrbyggia Saga implies that the marriage between Helgi and Ketil's daughter Thorunn took place in the Hebrides: but it implies the same of Aud's marriage with Olaf, and that is incorrect.)

But Ketil's family-gathering may have grown in the story-teller's hands (like Ronald earl of Mærr's; see pp. 374-376).

Laxdœla Saga may possibly be right in saying that Helgi Bióla went to Iceland in the summer of Ketil's final expedition, but is certainly wrong in implying that Biorn left Norway in that year. See below, 883-884.

Laxdœla Saga (c. 3, pp. 4-6) describes separately the voyages and settlement of Biorn, Helgi Bióla, and Helgi the Lean.

Ari, Islendingabók, c. 2; "Helgi the Lean, a Norwegian, son of Eyvind Eastman, settled in the north, in Eyia-fiordr. From him the Eyfirdingar are descended."

[1] With epact of 875.

[2] I.e., the Danes of Northumbria.

[3] See the Chronicle of the Kings, below, year 877.

Here Skene would place the martyrdom of Adrian in the Isle of May: see P. & S., 425.

[4] Halfdan seems to have been Eystein's grand-uncle; but his followers were Danes. Eystein's death was avenged two years later.

For Eystein, cf. year 872, note.

877

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 390, s.a. 876 = 877 [1]

Rotri, Mermin's son,[2] king of the Britons, came to Ireland, fleeing from the Black-foreigners. . . .

A little battle [was fought] at Loch Cuan between White-gentiles and Black-gentiles; and in it fell Halfdan, leader of the Black-gentiles.[3]

875-877

Wars of the Irish with the Foreigners, c. 25, pp. 24-26

Leinster and the men of Munster were plundered by Bard, and by [Eystein], Olaf's son, with the fleet of Dublin, until [Bard and Eystein] reached Kerry; and they left there no cave under ground unexcavated, and they left nothing, from Limerick to Cork, unpillaged. And they burned Emly,[4] and plundered southern Decies. The same people had plundered Meath and Connaught two years before, as far as Corcomroe and Leim-Conculaind.[5]

Slaughter was afterwards made of [Halfdan], Ronald's son, and of the Foreigners, by Aed, Niall's son, at the feast that was given to Ronald's son of Dublin.

They fought a battle between themselves, that is to say the White-gentiles and the Black-gentiles, namely Bard and Ronald's son; and there Ronald's son fell, and many with him. And Bard was wounded there.

And they made war against the men of Scotland; and there Constantine, Kenneth's son, sovereign of Scotland, fell, and many with him. That was the occasion when the earth gave way [6] under the men of Scotland.[7]

[1] With epact of 877.

[2] *Ruaidhri mac Muirminn.* See year 878.

[3] *Albann, dux na n-Dubgenti; dux* in C.S., *taoiseach* in D.A.I.

Both sentences appear similarly in C.S., 166, Hennessy's year 877; the second, in D.A.I., 36, s.a. 877 (both these versions read "a battle at Loch Cuan").

In the Wars, Halfdan is called "Ronald's son"; he was thus the uncle of Olaf and Ivar. See years 864 and 872.

[4] In Tipperary.

[5] Loop Head, in extreme SW. of Clare (Hogan).

[6] *Is andsin da muig in talum.*

[7] Cf. the older version of the Wars, in the Book of Leinster, ibid., 231-

877

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 390, s.a. 875 = 876[1]

Constantine, Kenneth's son, king of the Picts, . . . died.[2]

862-877

Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, version A; Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 8

Constantine, Kenneth's son, reigned for sixteen years. In his first year, Maelsechlaind, king of the Irish, died; and Aed, Niall's son, held the kingdom.[3] And after two years, Olaf, with his Gentiles, wasted Pictland, and dwelt in it, from the Kalends of January to the feast of St Patrick.[4] Again in [Constantine's] third year, Olaf, drawing a hundred [ships?],[5] was slain by Constantine.[6]

232, concluding thus: "All these also fell before the men of Ireland. And slaughter was made of them by Aed Findliath, Niall's son, at Dublin, at the feast that was given by Aed in Dublin to Ronald's son. They fought a battle between themselves, that is to say the White-gentiles and the Black-gentiles; namely Bard and [Halfdan], Ronald's son. And there Ronald's son fell, and many with him. Bard was wounded there, and he was lame ever afterwards. And after that, the Black-gentiles were driven out of Ireland; and they went to Scotland, and gained a battle against the men of Scotland; and there fell Constantine, Kenneth's son, sovereign of Scotland, and a great company along with him. That was the occasion when the earth gave way under the men of Scotland" (*ra maid in talam*).

[1] With epact of 876, and marginal note "bissextile."

[2] Similarly in C.S., 164, Hennessy's year 876.

[3] Maelsechlaind, king of Ireland, died in 862, according to A.U., i, 370-372, s.a. 861 = 862, on Tuesday, November 30th: but November 30th was Tuesday in 863. Previously in the same year-section, the accession of Aed, Niall's son, has been recorded. The date is usually reckoned as 862 by the Irish annalists. If 863 were the true year, Constantine's accession would have been after 30th November, 862.

For Aed, Niall's son, see years 856, 889.

[4] I.e., January 1st to March 17th. According to this account, Olaf invaded Pictland two years after Maelsechlaind's death, and remained there till March of next year; but his invasion is dated 866 by the Irish annals: therefore Maelsechlaind's death is placed by the Chronicle of the Kings in 863.

[5] *tercio iterum anno Amlaib, trahens centum, a Constantino occisus est.* I.e., "at the head of a hundred ships"? The text is perhaps corrupt. Read possibly *censum:* "drawing tribute"?

[6] It is implied that this was Olaf, Godfrey's son.

Constantine's third year would have been 864; but there was more than

A little while afterwards, a battle was fought by him in his fourteenth year, at Dollar, between Danes and Scots; and the Scots were slain, [and driven] to Achcochlam.[1]

The Northmen passed a whole year in Pictland.[2]

862-877

Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, version D; Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 151

Constantine, Kenneth's son, reigned for fifteen years; and he was slain by the Norwegians in the battle of Inverdovat,[3] and was buried in the island of Iona.[4]

"a little while" between his third and his 14th year. Either something has been omitted, or the text is otherwise corrupt; possibly we should read "13th" for "3rd," i.e. 874.

Olaf, Godfrey's son, left Ireland hurriedly in 871 to support his father; it seems improbable that Olaf should have invaded Scotland on his way from Ireland for this purpose; therefore he must rather be supposed to have fallen after his return (probably 873×).

[1] *occisi sunt Scoti co Achcochlam.* Read *ad Athfotlam* "to Athole"? This war is clearly the same as that recorded by A.U. in 875 (above), between Black-foreigners and Picts; this is therefore not an invasion by the Northmen from Ireland or the Hebrides.

[2] Probably 877-878, because this must refer to the invasion that caused Constantine's death. The Wars (above) say that this also was an invasion of Black-foreigners; the Verse Chronicle says that Constantine was killed by Danes. But the Chronicles of the Kings are more to be trusted than they. Fordun may be right in assuming that this was a combined invasion.

[3] *in bello de Merdo fatha*, D; *in bello Inverdofacta*, F; *in Werdo fata*, G; *in Inverdufatha*, I. According to Skene, this place is "now Inverdovet, in the parish of Forgan," in the north-east corner of Fife: but this is doubtful. Fordun following the Verse Chronicle translates the name "Black Cave."

[4] Similarly in versions F (ibid., 174), G (301), I (288), and (omitting the place of Constantine's death) in N (305): but FGI read "16 years"; 20 years, N. For other readings see above, p. cxxxvii, note.

K reads (ibid., 204): "Constantine, Kenneth's son, [reigned for] sixteen years; and he was killed by the Norwegians in battle."

The Duan Albanach, in P. & S., 62: "Thirty years, with his vigour, had the warrior [*don churadh*], Constantine."

Duan Albanach, ibid., 58: "The last king of [the Picts] was the bold warrior [*an cur calma*], Constantine." Cf. year 820, note. From the word (*cur*) used in reference to him, I take this to have been meant for the same Constantine who died in 877.

Fordun, Chronica, IV, 15 (i, 157-158): "In the year of the Lord 858

862-877

Prose and Verse Chronicle inserted in the Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 18, 224, s.a. 863[1]

Donald, king of the Scots, died.

"After him, Constantine became king, for 15 years[2]; he was the son of king Kenneth. Fighting in battle, he fell by the arms of the Danes. The place where the battle was fought is called Black Cave."[3]

862-877

Berchan's Prophecy, stanzas 125-128; Skene's Picts and Scots, pp. 85-86

Another young king[4] will take [sovereignty]; welcome [to those] who pray for it! The cow-herd of the byre of the cows of the Picts,[5] the fair, tall one, the lavish giver of wine.[6]

[Donald] was succeeded by his nephew Constantine, the son of his brother, Kenneth the Great; . . . and he reigned as king for sixteen years. In his time, and in the whole of the time of his predecessors, that is, of his father and uncle, a great fleet of pagans from the east—Danes, Norwegians, and Frisians—appeared, and infested the whole British and Belgian sea: . . . and constantly for many days they molested with many injuries both kingdoms of Scotland and England, bursting in suddenly now here, now there, as they were carried by the wind.

"In [Constantine's] second year it began to freeze, through almost the whole of Europe, on the second day before the Kalends of December [November 30th], and ceased on the Nones of April [April 5th]. . . ."

Fordun IV, 16 says that "a second fleet of pagans, greater and more cruel, came from the Danube, and joined the former one"; and that the death of Constantine was brought about by connivance of barbarian Picts.

[1] Also in P. & S., 178 (MS. B).

[2] For 15 (*quinque ter*), B reads *bis terni annis*, confusedly.

[3] *Nigra Specus.* The paragraph in inverted commas is in verse.

A cave on the shore near Balcomie, outside the "Danes' Dike" at the East Neuk of Fife, is called Constantine's Cave. Cf. C. Rogers, Register of Crail (1877), 3. But this cannot be the place named by the Chronicles of the Kings and Berchan; that was near a river mouth, and there is no river near Constantine's Cave.

[4] This is the second king named in the Prophecy after Kenneth, Alpin's son; therefore presumably Constantine, Kenneth's son.

[5] I.e., the protector of the Picts against invasion.

[6] *an finn-fada an finn-shoichleach;* read *fín-shoichleach.*

There will be hazard (?) through which three battles will be gained,[1] over the Gentiles of pure colour; a fourth battle, the battle of Luaire, against the king of the Britons, of green mantles.

Welcome to Scotland, of which he will take possession; but short the time he will enjoy her. The king will have five years and a half (a pure space[2]) as king of Scotland.

. . . [3] [He will fall] on Thursday, in pools of blood, on the shore of Inber-Dub-róda.[4]

878

Annales Cambriae, Y Cymmrodor, vol. ix, p. 167, s.a. [877]

Rotri and his son, Guriat, were killed by the Saxons.[5]

[1] *Gnúis trés mébhsad tri catha. Gnúis* "hazard," O'Reilly, Skene. O'Connell, in MS. *b*, suggests *gonais.*

[2] *láthair ghlain*, a cheville.

[3] Two lines seem to have been omitted here. The stanza is incomplete.

[4] *for tráigh inbhir dubh ród*$^{-}$, rhyming with *fola.* This may be the place that is named by the Chronicles of the Kings (DFGI) as the place of Constantine's death.

[5] Similarly in B.S. in M.A., 655, s.a. 877; but the reading there is "Rotri and Guriat, his brother." So also in B.T. in R.B.H., 260; and in B.T. in M.A., 688, s.a. 873, which says that they were killed by the English in the battle of Diu Sul, in Món (cf. A.C., s.a. [876]).

There is a Welsh inscription ascribed to the 8th or 9th century, near Ramsey in the Isle of Man, *Crux Guriat* "cross of Guriat." See the Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie, i, 49, 52, 53. There is nothing, however, to connect this monument with the Guriat who was killed in 878: the name was not an uncommon one.

Asser, De Rebus Gestis Ælfredi, cc. 80-81, Stevenson's ed., pp. 66-67 (M.B.H., 488): "At that time" [884 A.D., 36th of Alfred; ibid. p. 49; =885 in F.W., S.D., the Annals of St Neots, and A.S.C., ABDEF (886 C); the next year-section in Asser is numbered 886 A.D.] "and for long before, all the districts of the southern part of Wales [*Britanniae*] pertained to king Alfred; and they still pertain to him. Hemeid" [king of Dyfed] "with all the inhabitants of the district of Demetia, compelled by the force of six sons of Rotri, submitted themselves to the royal empire; Higuel [*Houil*] also, Ris's son, the king of Gleguising, and Brochmail and Fernmail, Mouric's sons, kings of Guent, compelled by the force and tyranny of earl Æthered and the Mercians, voluntarily [*suapte*] besought the same king that they might have from him dominion and defence from their enemies. Helised also, Teudubr's son, king of Brecheniauc, compelled by the force of the same sons of Rotri, voluntarily [*suapte*] asked

878

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, pp. 392-394, s.a. 877 = 878[1]

Rotri, Mermin's son,[2] king of the Britons, was killed by Saxons.

Aed, Kenneth's son,[2] king of the Picts, was slain by his confederates. . . .

Columcille's shrine, and also his relics, came to Ireland, in flight from the Foreigners.[3]

for the dominion of the aforesaid king. Anaraut also, Rotri's son, with his brothers, at the last abandoning his friendship with the Northumbrians—from which he had had no good, but only loss—, and eagerly requesting the king's friendship, went to his presence ; and when he had been honourably received by the king, and accepted as a son of confirmation at the bishop's hands, and presented with very great gifts, submitted himself to the king's dominion with all his subjects, upon the same condition, that he should be as obedient to the king's will in all things as was Æthered with [his] Mercians.

[c. 81] "And all these did not acquire the king's friendship in vain. For those who desired increase of earthly power obtained it ; those [who desired] money, [obtained] money ; those [who desired] friendship [obtained] friendship. Those [who desired] both, [obtained] both. But they all received love, and protection, and defence, in all respects as the king was able to defend himself and all his subjects." Cf. below, year 890, note.

Rotri, king of Wales, the son of Mermin (see year 844), had divided the kingdom among his three sons, giving Cardigan to Catell († 909 ; A.C.), Gwynedd to Anaraut († 916 ; below), Powys to Mermin († 903 ; A.C.). Note on triad no. 128 ; see B.T. in M.A., 688, s.a. 873. Cf. Loth's Mabinogion, ii, note on triad no. 128 ; and Skene's F.A.B.W., i, 95. Anaraut appears to have had superiority over his brothers' kingdoms.

A Welsh triad says (M.A., 405 ; Loth's Mabinogion, ii, triad no. 128) : "Three kings with the diadem of the island of Britain : Catell, king of Dinevwr ; Anaraut, king of Aberffraw ; Mermin, king of Mathraval. They are called the three princes of the diadem." Cf. also M.A., 411 (126) ; Loth's Mabinogion, ii, triad no. 153.

[1] The year 878 is indicated by its epact, and also by the statements that the moon was eclipsed on October 15th, "about the third watch of the fourth day of the week," and that the sun was eclipsed on the 29th October, "about the seventh hour of the day [12-1 p.m.], the fourth day of the week." According to L'Art de Vérifier les Dates, the moon was eclipsed in 878, on October 15th (a Wednesday) at 4½ a.m. ; and the sun, on October 29th, at 1½ p.m., Paris time.

[2] In verses quoted ibid., these are spoken of as "Rotri of Man (diadem of brightness), Aed from the territories of Kintyre."

[3] The last paragraph is also in C.S., 166, Hennessy's year 878.

877-878

Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, version A; Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 9

Aed held the same [kingdom of Scotland] for one year. Also the shortness of his reign has bequeathed nothing memorable to history: but he was slain in the city of Nrurim.

878

Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, version D; Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 151

Aed, Kenneth's son, reigned for one year; and he was killed in the battle of Strathallan,[1] by Giric, Dungal's son; and was buried in the island of Iona.[2]

877-878

Prose and Verse Chronicles inserted in the Chronicle of Melrose, p. 224, s.a. 878[3]

Constantine, king of the Scots, was slain.[4] Aed, his brother, [became] king of the Scots.

"His brother, Aed White-foot,[5] reigned; and he perished,

[1] *Strathalun*, DI; *Strathallen*, F; *Strathalin*, G.

[2] Similarly in versions F (ibid., 174), G (301), I (288). Omitted by N. K reads (ibid., 204): "Aed, Kenneth's son, [reigned] for one year. He was killed by Giric [*Tirg*], Dungal's son."

The Duan Albanach, in Skene's P. & S., 62: "Two years (ignoble was his colour) had [Constantine's] brother, Aed Findscothach" (i.e., "the flowery").

Fordun, Chronica, IV, 16 (i, 158-159): "[Constantine] was succeeded by his brother Aed the Wing-footed [*Hethus alipes*], also the son of Kenneth the Great, in the year of the Lord 874; and he reigned for one year. . . .

"But according to the kingdom's laws, he should have been preceded by Gregory, Dungal's son; therefore the princes of the kingdom were divided between them, and a battle was fought at Strathallan; and there the king was wounded with a mortal wound in the first encounter, and after two months he died. A few of the leaders of both sides in the battle were killed. And [Aed] was buried in the island of Iona, beside his father."

[3] Also in P. & S., 178 (MS. B). The C.M. version seems to connect the note of Constantine's death with the year-section of 878.

[4] See year 877.

[5] *Albipes Aedhus.* Aed is spelled *Hed*, above.

wounded by the sword of Giric, Donald's son. After he had completed his first year on the throne, [Aed] ended his life by a wound, in Strathallan."[1]

877-878

Berchan's Prophecy, stanzas 129-131; Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 86

Another king will take [sovereignty]; small is the profit that he does not divide. Alas for Scotland thenceforward. His name will be the Furious.[2]

He will be but a short time over Scotland. There will be no . . .[3] unplundered. Alas for Scotland, through the youth; alas for their books, alas for their bequests (?).[4]

He will be nine years in the kingdom. I shall tell you[5]—it will be a tale of truth—he dies without bell, without communion, at evening, in a fatal pass.[6]

880

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 396, s.a. 879=880[7]

Feradach, Cormac's son, abbot of Iona, reposed.[8]

[1] *Stratalun.* The paragraph in inverted commas is in verse in the original.

[2] *in dísachtach.* This king is placed third after Kenneth Alpin's son; therefore he should be Aed, Kenneth's son.

[3] *déighrius*, MS. *a*; *deighrius*, MS. *b*. Skene reads *deighruis* and translates "highway" (cf. O'Reilly, s.v. *rúis*). O'Connell in MS. *b* suggests *dunius.*

[4] *Maircc Alba laisin n-geille*, | *mairg a lliubhra, maircc a n-íomna.* The end-words ought to rhyme. MS. *b* has *lais a n-gellidh*, and *a niomna*, for which O'Connell suggests *ttiomna.* Read *n-gille*, *dtiomna?* But the second line has a syllable too many, and the last word a syllable too few.

[5] *dióibh; dibh*, in MS. *b;* read *dúibh.* So also in stanza 140 (year 900, below).

[6] *fesgul a m-bealach bodhbha.* Read *fesgur?*

[7] With epact of 880.

[8] So also in C.S., 166, Hennessy's year 880.

A.I., 31, O'Conor's year 866=880 (6 years after 874, 18 years before 908; 874 and 908 are indicated by f.n. and e. For the f.n. of 874, in text iii, read ui, as in the MS.): "The repose of Feradach, abbot of Iona of Columcille."

The Martyrology of Oengus (1880 ed., p. lvii; 1905 ed., p. 83), under March 23rd, reads: "The daughter of Feradach, who is highest, died with

883-884

Eyrbyggia Saga, cc. 2-3, pp. 4-7

Biorn, son of Ketil Flatnose, remained in Iamtaland until earl Kiallak died. He married Giaflaug, the earl's daughter; and then went from the east over the Ridge, and came first to Trondhjem, and then south along the land. And he took under himself the possessions that his father had had: he drove out the stewards whom king Harold had set over them.

King Harold was in the Vik when he heard this, and he took the inland road north to Trondhjem. And when he reached Trondhjem he gathered an assembly of eight folklands, and in this assembly made Biorn Ketil's son an outlaw from Norway, and made him slayable or takable wherever he should be found. After this, he sent Hauk Há-brók and others of his champions to kill him if they could find him.

But when they came south of Stad, Biorn's friends became aware of their journey, and gave him information of it. Then Biorn sprang into a skiff that he had, with his household and movable property; and he sailed down south along the land, because that was in the depth of winter, and he dared not hold out to sea.

Biorn went on till he came to the island which is called Moster,[1] and which lies off South Hordaland[2]; and there he was received by the man who was called Hrólf, the son of Ornolf Fiskreki. Biorn was there for the winter, in hiding.

The king's men turned back when they had put Biorn's property in order, and had set men over it.

[c. 3] Hrólf was a great lord, and a man of the greatest state. He had charge of Thor's temple there in the island, and was a great friend of Thor; and therefore he was called Thorolf. He was a big man and strong, fair to look on, and he had a great beard; therefore he was called Moster's-beard. He was the noblest man in the island [of Moster].

a vast host." The Lebar Brecc gives these glosses: "Her name was Ciannait"; and, on Feradach, "still [another] abbot of Iona" (1880 Oengus, p. lxiv).

[1] Now Bömmelö (containing Mosterhavn), at the mouth of Hardangerfiord (Gering).

[2] Söndhordland, between Hardangerfiord and Aakrefiord (Gering).

In spring, Thorolf gave to Biorn a good long-ship, manned with good lads, and his son Hallstein to accompany him; and they proceeded to the west beyond the sea, to Biorn's relatives.

But when king Harold learned that Thorolf Moster's-beard had sheltered Biorn Ketil's son, his outlaw, then he sent men to him and banished him from the land, and bade him go an outlaw like Biorn, his friend, unless he should come to the king and put his case entirely into [the king's] power.

That was ten winters after Ingolf Orn's son had gone to inhabit Iceland[1]; and this expedition had become a famous one [to make], because the men who came from Iceland said that there was good choice of land there.[2]

ca. 874 - ca. 884

Landnámabók, c. 72, pp. 30-31

Biorn was the name of a son of Ketil Flatnose, and of Yngvild, daughter of Ketil Wether, lord of Hringa-riki. [Biorn] sat after his own father, when Ketil sailed to the Hebrides. But when Ketil kept the taxes from king Harold Fairhair, then the king drove [Ketil's] son Biorn from his possessions, and took them in his own hand. Then Biorn sailed west beyond the sea,[3] and would not abide there; nor would he accept Christianity like the other children of Ketil; therefore he was called Biorn the Eastern. He [had] married Giaflaug, Kiallak's daughter, the sister of Biorn the Strong.

ca. 884-886

Eyrbyggia Saga, cc. 5-6, pp. 13-14

Now it is to be said of Biorn, son of Ketil Flatnose, that he sailed to the west beyond the sea, when he parted with Thorolf Moster's-beard, as has been said above. He proceeded to the Hebrides.

[1] I.e. 10 years after 874. Therefore Biorn went to the Hebrides in 884, if Eyrbyggia is right.

[2] Thorolf Moster's-beard went from Norway to Iceland; Eyrbyggia, c. 4, pp. 7-13.

[3] In 884, after Ketil's death, according to Eyrbyggia Saga. Biorn may have come over soon after Ketil's death, to claim inheritance. His fighting in Norway might have had the same motive (see Eyrbyggia Saga).

And when he came west beyond the sea, his father Ketil was dead; but he found there his brother Helgi and his sisters, and they offered him good terms with them.[1]

Biorn became aware that they had another religion; and he thought it a paltry thing that they should have forsaken the old faith, to which their kindred had clung. And he was not at ease there, and would take there no fixed abode. But he passed the winter with his sister Aud and Thorstein, her son.[2]

And when they found that he would not come round to his kinsmen's way of thinking, they called him Biorn the Eastern. And they were ill-pleased that he would not settle there.

[c. 6] Biorn was two winters in the Hebrides before he prepared his journey to Iceland.

With him in the expedition was Hallstein, Thorolf's son.[3] They came to land in Breidafiordr; and Biorn took land out from Staf-river, between there and Hraunsfiordr. He was the greatest nobleman. Hallstein, Thorolf's son, thought it mean to be provided with land by his father: and he went west over Breidafiordr, and took land there, and dwelt in Hallsteins-nes.

[1] *buðu thau honum góða kosti með sér.* This must imply that they were willing to share the inheritance with him.

[2] Therefore Thorstein had succeeded Ketil in the Hebrides, and was not in Caithness in the winter 884-885. But it does not necessarily follow that Thorstein's campaign in Scotland was later than 885: Laxdœla Saga implies that Thorstein invaded Scotland soon after Ketil came to the Hebrides; and while probably Eyrbyggia has more authority than Laxdœla Saga, they are not necessarily opposed here.

[3] Landnámabók, c. 95, p. 42: "Hallstein, the son of Thorolf Moster's-beard, took Thorska-fiordr shore, and lived at Hallstein's-ness. . . . Hallstein had plundered in Scotland, and taken there the slaves that he brought out with him." According to Sturla's version (c. 123, p. 165) he sent these slaves to the salt-works in Svefn-ey. The Hauksbók version goes on (u.s.): "Hallstein had married Osk, the daughter of Thorstein Red. Their son was Thorstein [Surtr], who invented the summer-eke" (i.e. the intercalary week, added every seven years, to correct the calendar: see Islendingabók, c. 4, pp. 5-6).

Cf. Gull-Thori's Saga, c. 1, p. 3 (Samfund 26; Copenhagen, 1898).

Landnámabók, c. 73, p. 32: "The son of Thorolf Moster's-beard was Hallstein, baron-priest of Thorskafiordr, father of Thorstein Surtr the Wise. Osk, daughter of Thorstein Red, was the mother of Thorstein Surtr.

"Another son of Thorolf [Moster's-beard] was Thorstein Cod-biter. He married Thora, daughter of Olaf Feilan, and sister of Thord Yeller. Their son was Thorgrim, the father of Snorri Godi; and Bork the Stout, the father of Sam, whom Asgeir slew."

884×918

Eyrbyggia Saga, c. 7, p. 17

Thorolf Moster's-beard married in his old age, [in Iceland], and got as his wife the woman that was called Unn. Some say that she was the daughter of Thorstein Red, but Ari Thorgils' son, the Wise, does not reckon her among his children. Thorolf and Unn had a son, who was called Stein. Thorolf gave this lad to his friend Thor, and called him Thor-stein: and this boy was very precocious.

Hallstein Thorolf's son married Osk, Thorstein Red's daughter. Their son was called Thorstein; Thorolf fostered him and called him Thorstein Surtr[1]; and [Thorolf] called his own son Thorstein Cod-biter.[2]

ca. 918 - ca. 938

Eyrbyggia Saga, c. 9, pp. 19-20

Thorolf Moster's-beard died at Hof-stadir[3]; then Thorstein Cod-biter took his heritage. He proceeded to marry Thora, the daughter of Olaf Feilan[4] and sister of Thord Yeller, who lived at that time in Hvamm. Thorolf was buried in Haugs-nes, seaward from Hof-stadir.

At this time the pride of the Kialleklingar[5] was so great that they thought themselves above the other men in the district; there were also so many of Biorn's kinsmen, that no kindred was so numerous in Breidafiordr. . . .

[1] Probably = "the Black." His birth would seem to have been 886×918.

[2] Niál's Saga, c. 114: "Snorri [Godi's] father was called Thorgrim, and was the son of Thorstein Cod-biter, the son of Thorolf Moster's-beard, the son of Ornolf Fiskreki; but Ari the Learned says that he was a son of Thorgils Reydarsída. . . . And Snorri Godi's mother was called Thordis, Súr's daughter, sister of Gísli."

Niál's Saga says (erroneously) that Osk married Thorolf Moster's-beard (c. 114).

[3] Thorolf Moster's-beard died in 918, according to the Icelandic Annals (CDA). The same annals place in this year also the birth of Thorstein Cod-biter; and in 938 the birth of [Thorstein's son] Thorgrim, father of Snorri Godi.

[4] Cf. Niál's Saga, c. 114 (ed. F. Jónsson, pp. 260-261).

[5] Eyrbyggia, c. 7, p. 16: "From the children of Kiallak [the Old] are descended a great kindred; and they are called Kialleklingar." They were descendants of earl Kiallak of Iamtaland.

886×

Landnámabók, c. 72, p. 31

Biorn the Eastern sailed to Iceland, and took land between Hraunsfiordr and Staf's-river. And he lived at Biorn's-haven in Borgarholt, and he had a hill-pasture up in Sel, and he lived in great state. He died in Biorn's-haven, and was buried at Borgarlœk.[1]

A son of this Biorn and Giaflaug was Kiallak the Old, who lived in Biorn's-haven after his father; and Ottar, father of Biorn, father of Vigfús in Drapu-hlíd, whom Snorri Godi caused to be slain. Another son of Ottar was Helgi. He harried in Scotland, and got there, in the spoil, Nidbiorg, the daughter of king Biólan and of Kadlin, the daughter of Going-Hrólf.[2] [Helgi] married [Nidbiorg], and Osvif the Wise was their son, and Einar Skalaglam, who was drowned on Einar's-skerry in Selar-sund; and his shield came ashore at Skialdey,[3] and his cloak at Felldar-hólmr.[4] . . .

Vilgeir was a son of Biorn the Eastern.[5] . . .

878-889

Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, version A; Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 9

And Eochaid, son of Run, the king of the Britons [of Strathclyde, and] grandson of Kenneth by his daughter, reigned for eleven years; although others say that Giric,[6]

[1] "Because he was the one unbaptized child of Ketil Flatnose," adds Sturla's version, c. 84, p. 152.

Cf. Eyrbyggia Saga, c. 7, p. 15: "Biorn the Eastern was the first of these settlers to die" in Breidafiordr; "and he was buried beside the Borgarlœk. He left behind two sons. . . ."

[2] See below, p. 373, note. This Biólan, king of some district in Scotland, may possibly have been a predecessor of Thorstein the Red.

[3] I.e., "Shield-island."

[4] I.e., "Cloak-island."

[5] For Biorn's family, cf. Eyrbyggia Saga, c. 7, pp. 15-16; and Laxdœla Saga, c. 3, pp. 4-5. Cf. Origines Islandicae, i, 246.

[6] *Ciricium.* This Latin form of Giric's name is perhaps identical with the name given to St Cyricus below (genitive case *Cirici*). Cf. the name Maelgiricc "devotee of St Cyricus" in A.U., s.a. 931=932; and the name of "Gyric, the mass-priest," who died in 963, according to A.S.C., A.

the son of another, reigned at this time, because he became Eochaid's foster-father and guardian.[1]

And in [Eochaid's] second year, Aed, Niall's son, died[2]; and in his ninth year, on the very day of [St] Cyricus, an eclipse of the sun occurred.[3] Eochaid with his foster-father was now expelled from the kingdom.

878-889

Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, version D; Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 151

Giric, Dungal's son, reigned for twelve years; and he died in Dundurn, and was buried in the island of Iona. He subdued

[1] *eo quod alumpnus ordinatorque Eochodio fiebat.* This would more naturally mean "Eochaid's pupil and steward"; but the context seems to forbid this interpretation. *Alumnus* "tutor" is here used in the primary sense of the Old-Irish *aite* (modern Gaelic *oide*) "foster-father" or "teacher."

[2] Eochaid's 9th year was 885 (below), therefore his 2nd year should have been 878.

Aed Niall's son's death is placed on the 20th of November, 878=879, in A.U., i, 394, 432; in C.S., 166, Hennessy's year 879 (while the accession of Fland is placed in the previous year), on Friday, the 20th November. This was Friday in 879. The year is confirmed by A.I., which record Aed's death under O'Conor's year 865=879. A.C. place it in [878]. See also below, year 916, note.

Eochaid became king in 878 before, or in 877 after, the 20th November.

[3] The day of St Cyricus (St Cyr), or Quiricus, is the 16th June (Giry; L'Art. Cf. A.S.C., i, 190-191, s.a. 916; 1905 Oengus, 140). According to the previous calculation, Eochaid's ninth year would have been 886-887. But L'Art de Vérifier les Dates records a total eclipse at 10 a.m. (Paris time) on 16th June, 885. If this was in Eochaid's ninth year, he would have become king before 16th June, 877.

The importance of this eclipse seems to indicate that St Cyricus was regarded as Giric's patron saint. The church of St Cyricus is said to have been founded in this reign, at the place anciently called Ecclesgreig, now St Cyrus, in the Mearns (the older pronunciation of the present name was St Ciriss, perhaps for Ciric's). Charters of king William show that a church was in existence there in his time (*ecclesiam sancti Cirici de Eglesgirg*); St Andrews, 218, 229; it is mentioned also in a charter of 1200; ibid., 166. A church was dedicated there in the year 1242, August 7th, by David, bishop of St Andrews (ibid., 348; *ecclesia sancti Cyrici martyris de Eglisgirg*). The church pertained to the priory of St Andrews.

Cf. the "St Englacius, abbot, patron at Cerues in the diocese of Aberdeen," commemorated in the Breviary of Aberdeen, ii, 8, 146, cxlvi, under November 3rd.

to himself all Ireland, and nearly [all] England; and he was the first to give liberty to the Scottish church, which was in servitude up to that time, after the custom[1] and fashion of the Picts.[2]

[1] *ex consuetudine*, DG; *ex constitutione*, F ("constitution"); *ex constitucione*, I; *dez lays as vsages de Picys*, K ("in servitude to the civil [authorities], according to the custom of the Picts").

[2] This paragraph appears similarly in versions F (ibid., 174), G (301), I (288), and somewhat similarly in K (204); but version I reads *Berniciam* for *Hiberniam:* "all Bernicia, and nearly [all] England." This is undoubtedly the correct reading, whatever may be its relation to fact. By "England" the territories of the Angles are meant.

N reads (ibid., 305): "Giric, Dungal's son, [reigned] for 15 years. He subdued to himself Ireland and Northumbria, and gave liberty to the Scottish church, and was buried in the island of Iona."

Cf. Fordun, IV, 17.

The authority of the king in ecclesiastical affairs has been seen in the year 717; it appears also later, in the year 906 (see p. 445). Here, perhaps, civil taxation is referred to. Giric had a recent English precedent for the relaxation of taxes to religious houses, in the concession of tithes by Æthelwulf to the English church; Asser, ed. Stevenson, 8-9 (M.H.B., 470): "In the same year [855], Æthelwulf, the venerable king aforesaid, freed the tenth part of his whole realm from all royal service and tribute; and in perpetual grant upon Christ's cross he bestowed it upon God, one and threefold, for the redemption of his soul, and of [the souls of] his predecessors. And in the same year he went with great honour to Rome. . . ." (Compare A.S.C., ABDE s.a. 855, CF s.a. 856: "and in the same year king Æthelwulf gave by charter [*gebocude*, A] the tenth part of his land throughout all his kingdom, for God's praise, and to promote his own salvation.")

S.C.S., i, 332-333, would identify the alleged subjugation of Bernicia with the affair related in the Historia de S. Cuthberto; see E.C., 62-64: cf. Fordun, IV, 27. It is possible that the Scots should have taken advantage of the confused state of Northumbria at this time. According to S.D., ii, 114-115, the main body of Danes had left Northumbria, and had lost its leaders, Halfdan and Inguar: "The army which, with king Halfdan as leader, had invaded Northumbria, had remained without a leader when by God's judgement that tyrant perished; Halfdan himself having been killed, as I have said, and Inguar, with [the crews of] twenty-three ships, in Devon, by king Alfred's thanes. Now it subdued to itself the natives of the land, assumed dominion, and prepared to remain there, and to inhabit the Northumbrian provinces which it had wasted.

"Then St Cuthbert came to abbot Eadred (who was called Lulisc, because he lived in Carlisle), and in a vision ordered him to tell the bishop and the whole army of English and Danes to give a price, and

889

Berchan's Prophecy, stanzas 132-141, in Skene's Picts and Scots, pp. 87-89

After that,[1] the king will take [sovereignty] whose name will be the Tuilti.[2] Alas! in the west and in the east, a Briton is placed over the Gaels!

The Briton from Clyde will take [sovereignty]. The son of the woman from Dun-Guaire; [he will be] for thirteen years (in fortresses of deeds of valour) in the sovereignty of Scotland: until the Son of Fortune[3] shall come, who will reign (?) over

ransom Guthred, Harthacnut's son, whom the Danes had sold as a slave to a certain widow at Whittingham; and, ransomed, to raise him up as king. And he reigned over York, while Ecgbeorht reigned over the Northumbrians. This took place in the thirteenth year of king Alfred" [∴ 865-866]. For Ecgbeorht, see above, p. 297.

If a king Ecgbeorht reigned at this time in Northumbria, he is not mentioned in the Historia de S. Cuthberto; but his land was defended by Guthred. Simeon's account of the deaths of Inguar and Halfdan in 877 is quite erroneous (see p. 300); but Halfdan did die in 877 (q.v.).

The Historia de S. Cuthberto with version D of the Chronicle of the Kings seems to prove that there was a Scottish invasion of Northumbria between 883 and 889.

Giric seems to have acquired legendary fame. Cf. Fordun, MSS. BE, i, 112, note: ". . . as the Greeks extol their Alexander, the Romans their Octavian, the French their Charles, the Scots their Gregory, the English their Richard, so do the Welsh proclaim their Arthur. . . ."

Giric's successor, Donald, Constantine's son, died in 900; Donald's successor, Constantine, Aed's son, died in 952. But the primary source of version L of the Chronicle of the Kings omits these two reigns, and reads instead (P. & S., 295): "To Giric, Donald's son, succeeded his brother, Constantine, who reigned for two years. . . ." With this reading, Skene compares Berchan's Prophecy, where a three years' reign is inserted between Giric and Donald II. But version L seems to be confused here (see above, p. cxxxvii, note); and the years 878 and 900 are approximately fixed by Irish annals. Between these dates version A of the Chronicle of the Kings places two reigns of eleven years each; but there is not room for a three-years' reign.

[1] I.e., after the death of Aed.

[2] *diamba h-ainim in tuilti;* perhaps *t-uilti.* The line seems to lack one syllable. Skene's translation ("the floods") is impossible.

This king is placed 4th after Kenneth, and should therefore be Eochaid, Run's son.

[3] *an mac ra[i]th.* According to Skene, this was king Giric.

Scotland as sole lord.[1] The Britons will be low in his time; high will be Scotland of melodious boats.[2]

Pleasant to my heart and my body is what my spirit tells me: the rule of the Son of Fortune in his land in the east will cast misery from Scotland.

Seventeen years (in fortresses of valour) [he will be] in the sovereignty of Scotland. He will have in bondage[3] in his house Saxons, Foreigners, and Britons.

By him will be attacked the strong house: alas! in the country of Earn,[4] red blood will be about his head; he will fall by the men of Fortriu.

Scotland will suffer because of it; my prophecy shall come to them, after the Son of Fortune (with fortresses of clans[5]) who will fall by the men of Fortriu.

Afterwards the king from the centre of Dundurn (of yellow hue[6]) will take [the sovereignty]; the feeble one[7] over Dundurn renowned in song. Although he is fortunate, he has not many victories.

He will have three years in the kingdom; I shall tell you (it will be a tale of truth), his grave will be in Troch, between Leitir and Cloen-loch.[8]

[1] *Shuaithfes for Albain d' aón-fhlaith.* Read *shuidhfes?* "He shall sit" Skene. Possibly "who shall knead Scotland into one kingdom"?

[2] *Alba eathar-bhinn*, MS. *a* ("of melodious boats"); *Albain cathair-bhinn*, MS. *b* ("of melodious cities"). If we follow MS. *b* we must read *chathair-bhinn;* but cf. stanza 160, year 962, below. The western Scot still preserves an ancient custom of singing at the oars.

[3] *daóra.*

[4] *ar bhrughaibh Eirenn.*

[5] *ráthaibh clann*, a meaningless cheville.

[6] *drech-bhúidhe;* but *Drech-bhi* ("of living appearance"), in MS. *b:* rhyming with *rí.* The line in MS. *a* has a syllable too many, and *b*'s reading is to be preferred.

[7] This would be the 6th king after Kenneth; but he is not mentioned elsewhere, unless he is the Constantine, Giric's brother, placed after Giric in version L of the Chronicle of the Kings.

Perhaps instead of *in báoth* ("the feeble one") MS. *a* reads *in bháoth* ("the feeble woman"); if so, probably in error.

This king's reign is deducted in the Prophecy from the length of Donald's reign, which follows. Donald may not have got the whole kingdom at first; but the evidence is weak.

[8] *is ann bhias a leacht an troch | idir leitir, is claón-loch.* Perhaps "between hill-slope and crooked lake"?

878-889

Prose and Verse Chronicles inserted in the Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 22, 224, s.a. 879[1]

Aed,[2] king of the Scots, was slain. And after him, "Giric, wielding his own authority,[3] became king for eighteen years[4]; in Dundurn the upright man[5] was taken by death. He gave liberties to the Scottish church, which had been laid under the Pictish law. All England was attached to his empire,[6] which propitious Fate gave him, crushing wars."[7]

890

Brut y Tywyssogion, in Myvyrian Archaiology, p. 688, s.a. 890[8]

The men of Strathclyde, those that refused to unite with the English, had to depart from their country, and to go to Gwynedd. Anaraut gave them permission to settle in the country that had been taken from him by the English (namely, Maelawr and the Vale of Clwyd, and Rhyfoniawg, and Tegeingl), if they could drive away the English; and that they did energetically. But the English came against Anaraut a second time because of that; and the battle of Cymryd was [fought] there; and the Cymry routed the Saxons, and drove them from the country completely. Thus Gwynedd was freed from the English, through the might of the men of the north.

891

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 408, s.a. 890 or 891 = 891

Fland, Maelduin's son, abbot of Iona, rested in peace.[9]

[1] Also in P. & S., 178 (MS. B).

[2] *Het.* See year 878.

[3] *sua jura gerens.* Cf. below, Verse Chronicle, s.a. 966, *regia jura gerens.*

[4] *deca tetra et octo* in B, which omits "became king," erroneously.

[5] *probus.*

[6] *ad imperium . . . peracta;* B reads *subacta.*

[7] *Quod non leva dedit Sors sibi bella terens.*
The part within inverted commas is in verse in the original.

[8] Cf. Skene's F.A.B.W., i, 181-182.

[9] Fland's death is placed by F.M. (i, 540) under 887=891 (and "the 11th year of Fland" as sovereign of Ireland). The pedigree in the Book of Lecan makes Fland 12th in descent from Conall Gulban. See Reeves, Adamnan, 392.

?? 891

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 408, s.a. 890 or 891 = 891

The sea threw [up] a woman[1] in Scotland. [She was] a hundred and ninety-five feet in height; her hair was seventeen feet long; the finger of her hand was seven feet long, and her nose seven feet. She was all as white as swan's down.[2]

893

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 410, s.a. 892 or 893 = 893

A battle [was fought] against the Black-foreigners by the Saxons; and in it fell innumerable hosts.[3]

Great confusion [arose] among the Foreigners of Dublin, and they separated; one part going with Ivar's son, and the other part with earl Sigfrith.[4]

[1] *banscal.* Cf. Kuno Meyer, Contributions from Irish MSS., iii, 10.

[2] A.I., 33-34, O'Conor's year 892 = 906 (32 years after 874, 2 years before 908): "A woman was cast upon the shore of Scotland [*banscal darala hi tracht n-Alban*] in this year. She was a hundred and ninety-two feet in length; the length of her hair was sixteen feet; the fingers of her hand were six feet long, and her nose was six. Her body was as white as swan's down, or sea foam."

C.S., 176, Hennessy's year 900: "A great woman [*ben mór*] was cast ashore by the sea in Scotland; her length was 192 feet; there were 6 feet between her two breasts; the length of her hair was 15 feet; the length of a finger of her hand was 6 feet; the length of her nose was 7 feet. As white as swan's down or the foam of the wave was every part of her."

F.M., i, 540, s.a. 887=891, agree with A.U., but say that the hair was 18 feet long.

[3] This was in 894, according to A.S.C. (ABCD; but 893 originally in A). The Danes had returned to England from France in 893 (ABCD; 892 EF, and originally in A).

[4] *la Sichfrit n-ierll.* This may possibly have been earl Sigurd of Orkney, for whom see below. "Sigurd" (cf. Old Danish *Sigwarth*) is used in Icelandic as an equivalent of "Sigfrid" (Old Danish *Sigfrith*, rendered in Old Norse *Sigfröðr*), from which it is etymologically distinct. The Irish forms of Scandinavian names frequently approach more closely to the Danish than to the Icelandic spellings.

PART XIII

Thorstein the Red becomes master of Caithness and Sutherland. Turf-Einar in the Orkneys

889 × ca. 892

Heimskringla, Harold Fairhair's Saga, c. 22 [1]

Then [2] Thorstein Red, the son of Olaf White and Aud the Wealthy, came into an alliance with [Sigurd]. They plundered in Scotland, and acquired Caithness and all Sutherland, as far as Ekkialsbakki.[3]

Earl Sigurd slew Maelbrigte Tooth, the Scottish earl [4]; and he bound [Maelbrigte's] head to his saddle-straps, and grazed the calf of his leg upon the tooth, which projected from the head; swelling [5] arose there, and he got his death from it. And he is buried at Ekkialsbakki.[6]

[1] Similarly in Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 95 (F.S., i, 194-195).

[2] After Harold Fairhair's return from his alleged earlier expedition to Scotland (see year 874).

For Thorstein's share in the invasion and its date, see below, p. 378 ff.

[3] I.e. "Ekkiall's bank"; a bank of a river, or ridge. So also in Fr., 50. "As far as Ekkiall" (*alt til Ekkjals*) in Olaf's Saga, which reads erroneously "Elfinnar-bakki" below (possibly attracted to *elfarinnar bakki* "the river's bank." But MSS. BCF have *Ekkjals*, which is doubtless the correct reading).

This place has been identified with Oykell in Kincardine parish (Laing's Heimskringla, i, 369); see Professor Watson's Place-names of Ross and Cromarty, pp. 17-18. To the south of Strathoykell, hills make a formidable barrier. This identification is historically probable; but the saga-tellers imagined that the place was farther south. There is also phonetic difficulty in equating Oykell and Ekkiall. Why should the Pictish cognate of Welsh *uchel* "high" (from which "Ochil" is derived) not have become *okel* in Old Norse? The surviving name, Oykell, may have been derived from an intermediate Norse form; Ekkiall, from an earlier form of the same word, accented on the second syllable.

[4] ". . . a certain Scottish earl, who was called Maelbrigte Tooth" Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga.

[5] *blástr;* here evidently "blood-poisoning."

[6] Sigurd died in 892, or soon afterwards.

Then Guthorm ruled the lands for one winter, and died childless.[1] After that many vikings settled in the lands, [both] Danes and Norwegians.

×874-893×

Orkneyinga Saga, c. 5; vol. i, p. 5[2]

Earl Sigurd became a great chief; and he made fellowship with Thorstein Red, the son of Olaf the White, and of Aud the Deep-minded[3]; and they won all Caithness and much more of Scotland, Moray, and Ross. [Sigurd] had a castle built there, in the south of Moray.

Sigurd and Maelbrigte Tooth, an earl of the Scots, made the agreement between them that they should meet and settle their dispute in an appointed place, each with forty men. And when the day named arrived, Sigurd imagined that the Scots were faithless. He caused eighty men to mount on forty horses. And when Maelbrigte saw it, he said to his men: "Now are we betrayed by Sigurd, because I see two men's feet on each horse's side, and the men must be by many more than their steeds. Let us now brace ourselves, and endeavour each to have a man before him ere we die." And after that they made ready.

And when Sigurd saw their design, he spoke to his men: "Now must half of our force dismount, and come upon them in the rear when the companies meet together; while we shall ride at them as hard as we can, and break up their ranks."[4]

And so it happened; and a hard conflict took place there; but it was not long till Maelbrigte fell, and his company. And Sigurd had their heads fastened to the saddle-straps, for his glory. And then they rode home and boasted of their victory. And when they had come on the way, then Sigurd wished to spur his horse with his foot; and his calf chanced to hit against the tooth which projected from Maelbrigte's head, and

[1] "A son of earl Sigurd was called Guthorm; he ruled the lands after his father . . ." Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga. Guthorm sat one winter; i.e., 892-893, or soon afterwards.

[2] Similarly in Fl., i, 221-222.

[3] "the Wealthy" in Fl. See note on p. 311, above.

[4] By meeting the Scots on equal terms, Sigurd wished to draw them from the position they were preparing to hold.

it was grazed; and pain and swelling arose in that wound, and brought him to his death. And Sigurd the Mighty is buried at Ekkialsbakki.[1]

Guthorm was the name of Sigurd's son; he ruled the lands for one winter,[2] and died childless.

890 × ca. 894

Heimskringla, Harold Fairhair's Saga, c. 27[3]

Ronald, earl of Mærr, learned the fall of Sigurd, his brother; and also that vikings sat in those lands[4]: so he sent his son Hallad west, and [Hallad] took the name of earl[5]; and he had a great army with him. And when he came to the Orkneys, he settled there in the land; but both in autumn and in winter and spring[6] vikings sailed about the islands, took plunder on the headlands, and killed cattle on the shores.[7] Then earl Hallad became weary of sitting in the isles, so he gave up the earldom, and took free-man's rank; after that he went east to Norway.

? 890 × 894

Orkneyinga Saga, cc. 5-6; vol. i, p. 6[8]

And when Ronald, earl of Mærr, learned the death of the father and son, he sent his son Hallad west; and king Harold gave him the name of earl. And when Hallad came west he settled in Hrossey. But vikings sailed about the isles and over in [Caith]ness, and slew men, and plundered. And when the farmers brought their injuries before earl Hallad, he thought it too troublesome to right their lot; and he was weary of the

[1] Sigurd is supposed to have been buried at Cyder Hall or Sydero (*Sigurdar haugr*), above the north shore of Dornoch Firth, which is the estuary of the Oykell. See Hjaltalin and Goudie, O.S., 107, note.

[2] Ca. 892-893, or soon after.

[3] Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 96 (F.S., i, 195). Cf. Fr., 53.

[4] "Both in Shetland and in the Orkneys" Olaf's Saga, u.s.

[5] "And king Harold gave him the name of earl" Olaf's Saga.

[6] I.e. Hallad sat for one winter, ca. 893-894 or soon after. But Olaf's Saga reads (*male*): "both in the autumns and in the spring-times," implying that Hallad sat for two winters or more.

[7] *námu nesnám ok hjoggu strandhögg.*

[8] Similarly in Fl., i, 222.

honour. He abdicated the earldom and took free-man's rank, and sailed after that to Norway; and his action was thought most ridiculous.

[c. 6] Two Danish vikings settled in the land; the one was called Thori Tree-beard, the other Kalf Skurfa. And when earl Ronald learned this, he thought it very bad; and he summoned to him his sons Thori and Hrollaug. Hrólf was then on warfare.[1] . . .

891 × ca. 894

Landnámabók, c. 270, pp. 96-97

Ronald, earl of Mærr, was a son of Eystein Glumra, son of Ivar earl of the Uplanders, son of Halfdan the Old. Ronald married Ragnhild, daughter of Hrólf Nefia. Their son was Ivar, who fell in the Hebrides while supporting king Harold the Fair-haired.[2] The second son was Going-Hrólf, who won Normandy.[3] From him are descended the earls of Rouen,

[1] Hrólf was in France. It is noteworthy that Danes were endeavouring to take the Orkneys from the Norwegians.

[2] See above, p. 334.

[3] *Gongu-Rolfr.*

Heimskringla, Hårold Fairhair's Saga, c. 24: "Hrólf was a great viking. He had grown to be so big a man that no horse could carry him, and he walked wherever he went: he was called Going-Hrólf." (Cf. O.S., c. 4; Fl., i, 221.) See Historia Norwegiae, Storm's Monumenta, 90-92. Cf. Snorri's St Olaf's Saga, 23-24.

After having been outlawed by Harold Fairhair for a "strand-slaying" (*strandhögg*) in the Vik, "Going-Hrólf went then west beyond the sea to the Hebrides; and then he sailed west to France [*Valland*], and plundered there, and acquired a great earldom. . . ." H., Harold Fairhair, c. 24. Cf. ibid., St Olaf, c. 19.

Going-Hrólf left a daughter, Kadlin (Kathleen), in the west. She married a king, Biólan, who ruled some district in Scotland. See above, p. 363.

There is an unhistorical Saga of Going-Hrólf; cf. Rafn's Antiquités Russes, 230-233.

According to Bugge, Ronald's sons plundered in Orkney, and got the earldom there. Going-Hrólf went from Orkney to Scotland and Ireland; his daughter Kathleen married king Biólan; their daughter Nidbiorg was captured by Icelanders about 930-940, and became the ancestress of a powerful family in Iceland (Historisk Tidskrift, 1911, p. 194). Then Going-Hrólf went to the Loire, and followed Hasting to England and

and the kings of England.[1] The third was earl Thori the Silent, who married Alof the Season-bettering, daughter of king Harold Fairhair. And their daughter was Bergliót, the mother of earl Hakon the Mighty.

Ronald had three bastard sons: one was called Hrollaug, a second Einar, a third Hallad, who gave up the earldom of the Orkneys.[2] And when earl Ronald heard of that, he called his sons together, and asked which of them wished to go to the Orkneys. And Thori bade [Ronald] arrange for his journey. The earl said that [Thori] should take dominion there [in Mærr], after his father. Then Hrólf stepped forward, and offered to go. Ronald said that it fitted him well, because of his strength and valour; but he said that he thought there was too much overbearingness in his temper for him yet to

northern France; became the leader of the Norwegians, and took Normandy.

Annales Rotomagenses, in M.G.H., Scriptores, xxvi, 496, s.a. 876; "In this year, Rollo with his followers penetrated Normandy, on the fifteenth before the Kalends of December" (November 17th). This is copied by the Annales Uticenses, s.a. 876 (Le Prevost's Ordericus, v, 153); and by the Annals of St Neots, s.a. 876 (Stevenson's Asser, 134), where it is followed by the vision of Rollo (134-135).

A.S.C., F, s.a. 876: "In this year Rollo passed through Normandy with his army; and he reigned for fifty years." The Icelandic Annals place Hrólf's acquisition of Normandy in 898 (KBODE; 897, A; cf. 887, AI): Freeman dated it in 912. According to William of Poitiers (H.N.S., 191-192), Dudo of St Quentin (Mores et Acta, II, 28; ed. Lair, 169), and O.V., ii, 360, Hrólf married Gisla, daughter of king Charles the Simple, and received with her the province of Normandy, which he had already conquered. His marriage with Gisla took place in 914, according to the Annales Uticenses (Le Prevost, O.V., v, 154).

Hrólf died in 917, according to the Annales Uticenses (u.s., 155). His death is implied to have taken place in 925, in Flodoard's Annales (s.a. 925; cf. aa. 926, 927), and Richer's Historia; M.G.H., Scriptores, iii, 375, 583: but Richer falsely calls him the son of Ketil (ibid. 578).

The traditional Norman account of Hrólf (Rollo) differs markedly from the Scandinavian account. See Dudo of St Quentin, De Moribus et Actis Primorum Normanniae Ducum, ed. Lair, 141-174.

[1] This sentence must have been written after the death of William the Conqueror, and probably the whole passage, as it stands, was not written by Ari. See below.

[2] ". . . Hallad, another Einar, a third Hrollaug. These were full-grown men, when their brothers born in wedlock were born." Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 95 (F.S., i, 193).

lead the counsels of a state. Then Hrollaug stood forth, and asked if he wished him to go. Ronald said that he should not be an earl: "Thou hast no warlike disposition; thy ways lie to Iceland, and thou shalt be held in honour there, and shalt have noble children in that land. Thy destiny is not here."[1]

Then Einar stood forth, and spoke: "Let me go to the Orkneys, and I will promise thee therefore the best that can be thought, that I shall never come again into thy sight."

The earl said, "It pleases me well that thou go forth; for I have little hope of thee, because thy mother's kindred are all slave-born."

After that, Einar sailed west, and subdued the Orkneys to himself, as is said in his saga.[2]

[1] Hrollaug did go to Iceland. He took land in Eyiafiordr (Ari, Islendingabók, c. 2), in the eastern quarter; Landnámabók, c. 270, p. 97. Cf. Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 214 (F.S., ii, 190-191). His grandson visited the Orkneys.

Brandkrossa Thättr, c. 1; Jakobsen's Austfirðinga Sögur, pp. 183-184 (also in Origines, ii, 533-534): "A man was called Hrafnkel; he was the son of Hrafn. He came out to Iceland late in the settling time" [870-930]. (So in Landnámabók, c. 244, p. 90.) ". . . And he went to Hrafnkel's-dale, and peopled all the dale with his men—nearly twenty farm-steads. But he himself lived at Steinrœdar-stadir.

"Hrafnkel's sons were called Asbiorn and Thori. And when Hrafnkel died, his sons took inheritance after him in equal shares. Thori got the dwelling that his father had had, and Asbiorn dwelt in the farm-stead that was called At Lok-hillar, but is now called At Hrafnkels-stadir; and he managed the farm-stead well.

"Then Asbiorn married a woman who was called Hallbera; she was the daughter of Hrollaug, son of Ronald, earl of Mærr. They had a son called Helgi. . . .

"Asbiorn did not grow old. When he died, Helgi took inheritance after him, and lived some winters at Lok-hillar. After that, Helgi broke up his household, and sold [the land] to Hrafnkel, Thori's son, his first cousin; and went abroad, and was many winters in warfare, both in the Orkneys and in Norway, with his relatives. Helgi was also for some winters in piracy, and was the most valiant man, but no hero in strength and skill in arms. After that, Helgi went to Iceland, and was high both in wealth and in honour. . . ."

[2] This story (present also in Sturla's version) is perhaps not attributable to Ari: it appears in an earlier form in the Orkneyinga Saga, c. 6 (and Fl., i, 222-223).

In Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga and the Heimskringla (below), which have

891 × ca. 894

Heimskringla, Harold Fairhair's Saga, c. 27 [1]

But when earl Ronald learned this,[2] he was ill-pleased with Hallad's expedition, and said that his sons would be unlike their ancestors.

Then Einar answered: "I get little esteem from thee; I have little love to part with.[3] I will go west to the islands, if thou wilt give me some support. I will promise therefore what will be very welcome to thee, that I shall never come again to Norway."

Ronald said that he was well pleased that he should not come again, "because I have little expectation that thy relatives will be honoured in thee, since thy mother's kindred are all slave-born."

Ronald gave Einar one long-ship, and manned it for his use.[4]

the nucleus of the story, Einar alone offers to go to Orkney; in the Orkneyinga Saga, Thori, Hrollaug, and Einar, offer in turn to go, but Hrólf is absent; in Landnámabók, the story has been completed by bringing in Hrólf also. This is a typical instance of the growth of stories.

Landnámabók's version is abbreviated in Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 214 (F.S., ii, 189-190).

[1] Cf. Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 96 (F.S., i, 195-196). Fr., 53-54.

[2] I.e., Hallad's abdication.

[3] In Olaf's Saga, u.s., "Einar answered his father: 'I have little affection from thee; and I have grown up here with such esteem as I think very little of losing: nowhere else can I have fewer prospects than here. Now will I go west to the islands.' . . ."

[4] Olaf's Saga, u.s.: "Earl Einar got one long-ship, sufficiently well manned. . . ."

Orkneyinga Saga, c. 6; i, 7: "Ronald gave Einar a twenty-benched ship, and king Harold gave him the name of earl."

Vatnsdœla Saga, c. 9 (Fornsögur, 17): ". . . Then [Ronald] sent his son, Turf-Einar, and declared that he expected that he would hold the kingdom. . . ."

Munch (Det Norske Folks Historie) places the voyage of Turf-Einar to Orkney about the year 875; but Sigurd was earl in 874, and lived till after 889. After Sigurd, Guthorm was earl for one winter, and Hallad for one winter. Therefore Turf-Einar became earl after 891, and before 894 (about which date earl Ronald died).

891 × ca. 894

Orkneyinga Saga, c. 7; vol. i, p. 7[1]

Einar sailed west to Shetland,[2] and gathered to himself an army. After that, he sailed south to the Orkneys, and went on at once to meet with Kalf [and Thori]. A battle took place there, and both the vikings fell. Then this was sung: "He gave Tree-beard to the trolls; Turf-Einar slew Skurfa."[3]

After that, he laid the lands under him, and made himself the chief lord.

891 × ca. 894

Heimskringla, Harold Fairhair's Saga, c. 27

Einar sailed west beyond the sea in autumn; but when he came to the Orkneys, there were vikings lying in wait for him in two ships, Thori Tree-beard, and Kalf Skurfa. Einar immediately fought with them, and had the victory, and they both fell. Then this was said: "Then he gave Tree-beard to trolls; Turf-Einar slew Skurfa."

He was called Turf-Einar for this reason, because he had turf cut, and used it for fuel; since there was no wood in the Orkneys.[4]

Then Einar became earl over the islands, and he was a powerful man. He was an ugly man, and one-eyed, and yet the sharpest-sighted of men.[5]

[1] So also in Fl., i, 223.

[2] Landnámabók, c. 202, p. 80: " . . . Ketil Brimill was a great viking; he sailed to Shetland with Turf-Einar . . ." on his way to Iceland. Ketil was the son of Ornolf, son of Biornolf, son of Grim Shaggy-cheek.

[3] Cf. J.S., i, A 177, B 167.

[4] "He was the first of men to find how to cut turf from the earth for fuel, in Torfnes in Scotland; because they were ill-off for wood in the islands" O.S., c. 7; i, 7 (Fl., i, 223). Torfnes is said to have been south of Moray Firth; O.S., c. 22, i, 33. But the Flatey-book version reads *Bæfjörð* (scarcely Banff-Firth, as Vigfusson conjectured) instead of *Breiðafiorðr* (Moray Firth).

[5] The whole passage stands very similarly in O.S., c. 7. The account in Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 96, is shorter; it concludes thus: "[Einar] became a great lord, and powerful."

Einar was visited in Orkney for one winter by Bui, Andrid's son, from Iceland; Kialnesinga Saga, c. 12 (Islendinga Sögur, ii, 431).

889 × 900

Landnámabók, c. 82, p. 36[1]

Thorstein [the Red] became a war-king, and went upon a campaign[2] with earl [Sigurd] the Mighty, son of Eystein Glumra. They won Caithness and Sutherland, Ross and Moray, and more than half of Scotland.[3] Thorstein was king over [these lands] until the Scots deceived him, and he fell there in battle.[4]

874 × 900

Laxdœla Saga, cc. 4-5, pp. 6-8

Ketil Flatnose came in his ship to Scotland, and was received well by the men of rank, because he was a famous man and of high lineage. And they offered him there any position[5] he would have.

Ketil settled there, and the others of his kindred; excepting Thorstein, his daughter's son. [Thorstein] set out immediately[6] upon warfare, and plundered widely about Scotland, and

[1] Cf. Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 132, 122 (F.S., i, 246); Fl., i, 265.

[2] *redzt til lids.* For Sigurd's part in the campaign (889 × ca. 892) see above, pp. 370, 371.

[3] Olaf's Saga, Heimskringla, and Laxdœla Saga, imply that Thorstein's campaign in Scotland began not long after Harold's western expedition of 874. But Eyrbyggia Saga implies that Thorstein was in the Hebrides when Biorn went from there to Iceland, in 886; and Thorstein's great invasion, with Sigurd, appears to have occurred in the reign of Donald, Constantine's son, therefore not before 889. See the Chronicle of the Kings, version A; below, year 900.

Thorstein died, according to Eyrbyggia Saga, some winters after 886 (probably 889 × ca. 895). Then Aud went to Orkney, and did not leave it till after the marriage there of Thorstein's daughter. It is possible that Landnámabók has telescoped the stages of Aud's departure from Scotland, but there is no evidence to prove this. Turf-Einar must have become earl in Orkney before Aud went there; and she must have left Orkney before Harold's expedition to the west (∴ 889 × 900), but not certainly before Halfdan's. The period between Halfdan's death in Orkney and the retributive campaign of Harold, while everyone knew that Harold was preparing an expedition to the islands, was the period during which we should imagine there would have been the greatest emigration from the islands to Iceland.

[4] This passage is copied in Eric the Red's Saga, c. 1, pp. 3-4.

[5] *ráðakost* "way of living," "condition."

[6] I.e. in or soon after 874.

always had the victory. Then he made peace with the Scots, and took possession of half of Scotland, and became king over it. He married Thurid, the daughter of Eyvind and sister of Helgi the Lean. The Scots did not hold the treaty long; for they betrayed him in time of truce. Thus says Ari Thorgils' son, the Wise, regarding the death of Thorstein.

Aud[1] the Deep-minded was in Caithness when her son Thorstein fell. And when she heard that Thorstein was killed, and that her father was dead,[2] then she thought that she should get no reparation there. After that she had a ship made in a wood secretly; and when the ship was completed, she prepared the ship and took wealth of treasure. She took away with her all her relatives that were alive; and men remarked that hardly [another] instance could be found of a woman's having escaped from such warfare with so much treasure and so great a company. It may be observed from this that she was much the superior of [all] other women.

Aud had also with her many men that were of great worth and of high family.

A man was named Koll, who was the most worthy of Aud's company: his birth had most to do with this, because he was a chief by title.[3]

The man also that was called Hord was in the voyage with Aud. He was a high-born man, and of much worth.

Aud sailed with the ship to the Orkneys, as soon as she was ready. There she abode a little while. There she gave in marriage Gro, daughter of Thorstein Red. [Gro] was the mother of Grelod, who was married to earl Thorfinn, the son of earl Turf-Einar, the son of Ronald earl of Mærr. Their son was Hlodve, father of earl Sigurd, father of earl Thorfinn; and thence has come the kindred of all the earls of the Orkneymen.

After that, Aud proceeded with her ship to the Faroes, and stayed there too some time. There she gave in marriage another daughter of Thorstein; she was called Alof. From

[1] *Unnr* throughout Laxdœla Saga.

[2] Thorstein's death is therefore made nearly contemporaneous with Ketil's (×884). But it occurred some winters after 886, according to the more trustworthy account in Eyrbyggia Saga.

[3] *hersir at nafni:* a rank higher than that of baron.

[Alof] are descended the principal kindred in that land, whom they call Gotuskeggiar.[1]

[c. 5] Now Aud prepared to set out from the Faroes, and announced to her ship's company that she intended [to go] to Iceland. She had with her Olaf Feilan, son of Thorstein Red, and those of his sisters that were unmarried. After that she put to sea, and had a good voyage, and came with her ship from the south to land at Vikrarskeid. There they broke their ship to splinters. All the men and treasure were saved. . . .

889 × 900

Landnámabók, cc. 82-83, pp. 36-37 [2]

Aud was in Caithness when she learned the death of Thorstein. She had a [merchant-] ship made in a wood, secretly; and when it was ready she sailed out to the Orkneys.[3] There she gave in marriage Gro, daughter of Thorstein Red.[4] [Gro] was the mother of Grelod, whom Thorfinn Skull-cleaver married.

After that, Aud sailed out for Iceland. She had with her in the ship twenty free men.[5]

Aud passed over first to the Faroes, and gave in marriage there Alof, daughter of Thorstein Red. From Alof are descended the Gotuskeggiar.[6]

Then Aud sailed for Iceland, and came to Vikarsskeid, and was wrecked there. She went to Kialarnes, to her brother Helgi Bióla; he asked her [to remain] there with half of her suite. But she thought that was a poor offer, and said that he was surely long [in growing out of being] a niggard. Then she went west to Breidafiordr, to her brother Biorn. He went

[1] Literally "road-dwellers"; i.e., the people of Nordregöte in Strömö, Faroes (Kålund).

[2] Cf. Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 122 (F.S., i, 246-247); Fl., i, 265.

[3] This must have been before Harold's expedition to the islands, therefore some years before 900.

[4] This must have been at least 35 years after Thorstein's birth.

[5] So far, this passage is copied in Eric the Red's Saga, c. 1, p. 4.

[6] Cf. Olaf's Saga, c. 177 (F.S., ii, 89; Fl., i, 265). Cf. also Fl., i, 122. Færeyinga Saga (Rafn; 1832) pp. 1-2: "Aud the Deeply-wealthy went to Iceland, and came to the Faroes; and gave there in marriage Alof, Thorstein Red's daughter. And thence are descended the Faroe people's greatest family, whom they call Gotuskeggiar, and who lived in Austrey."

to meet her with his retainers,[1] declaring that he knew his sister's loftiness; and he invited her with all her men. She accepted.

Afterwards in spring Aud went with her followers to Breidafiordr. . . . Then they went inland by Eyar-sund. . . . Aud took all the Dales-lands.[2]

[1] *huskarla.*

[2] Ari, Islendingabók, c. 2: "Aud, daughter of Ketil Flatnose, a Norwegian chief, settled in the west in Breidafiordr; from her the Breidfirdingar are descended."

Sturla's version of Landnámabók, cc. 97-110, pp. 158-160, describes the settlement in Iceland of persons who went with Aud from the British Islands. "Aud took all the Dales-lands inside the Firths, from Dogurdar-á to Skramu-hlaup. She lived in Hvamm near Aurrida-river-mouth; the name of the place is Audartoptir" ("Aud's homesteads"). "She had her chapel (*Bœnahalld*) at Cross-mounds; there she had crosses put up, because she was baptized and a good believer.

"Her kindred had afterwards great veneration for these mounds; a cairn (*haurg*) was put up, and they sacrificed to them. They believed that they should die into the mounds. And there Thord Yeller was conducted before he took his rank, as is said in his saga.

[c. 98] "Aud gave land to her ship-men and freedmen. Ketil was the name of a man to whom she gave land from Skraumu-hlaup to Haurda-dale-river. He lived at Ketil's-stead. He was the father of Vestlidi and of Einar, the father of Kleppiarn and of Thorbiorn whom [Viga]-Styr slew, and of Thordis, mother of Thorgest.

[c. 99] "Hord was the name of a shipmate of Aud. To him she gave Haurdadalr. His son was Asbiorn. . . .

[c. 100] "Vifil was a freedman of Aud. He asked Aud why she gave him no dwelling-place, like the others. She said it was not needed [*that eigi skipta*], [and] said that he would seem to be a gentleman wherever he should be. To him she gave Vifil's-dale. There he dwelt, and was at feud with Hord. A son of Vifil was Thorbiorn, father of Gudrid, whom Thorstein, Eric the Red's son, married. . . . Another son of Vifil was Thorgeir, who married Arnora, the daughter of Lon-Einar; their daughter was Yngvild, whom Thorstein, son of Snorri Godi, married." (Cf. Melabók version, c. 27, p. 239.)

[c. 101] "Hundi was the name of a freedman of Aud, [and] a Scot. To him she gave Hundi's-dale; there he lived long.

[c. 102] "Saudkolf was the name of a freedman of Aud. To him she gave Saudkolf's-dale. He lived at Breidabólstadr, and many men are descended from him. . . ."

Cf. Laxdœla Saga, cc. 5-6, pp. 8-11. Grants of land are there recorded to Hord, Erp, Saudkolf, Hundi, Vifil.

Eric the Red's Saga, c. 1, p. 4 (Hauksbók, ii, 426) says: "With her came many noble men, who had been taken prisoners in west-viking, and

[c. 83] A man was named Koll, the son of Wether-Grim, the son of Asi, a chief. He had control of Aud's affairs, and was most highly esteemed by her. Koll married[1] Thorgerd, daughter of Thorstein Red.[2]

were called enslaved [*ánauðgr*]. One of these was Vifil. He was a man of great family, and had been taken prisoner to the west of the sea, and was called enslaved until Aud released him. . . ." (Here Eric's Saga abridges from Sturla, but concludes thus: "[Thorgeir and Thorbiorn] were promising men, and they grew up with their father.")

[1] *átti*, perhaps "had married."

[2] Olaf's Saga: "Aud gave to Koll all Lax-river-dale. He became the greatest nobleman; he was called Dales-Koll."

Cf. Laxdœla Saga, c. 5, p. 9: "The same spring that Aud set up house at Hvamm" (i.e., the spring after her arrival in Iceland) "Koll married Thorgerd, the daughter of Thorstein Red. Aud paid the expenses of that wedding-feast; she let follow Thorgerd from home all Lax-river-dale, and [Koll] set up house there south of Lax-river. Koll was the most notable man. Their son was Hauskuld." Cf. Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 123; F.S., i, 249 (Fl., i, 266).

Aud had given Gro in marriage in Orkney, Alof in the Faroes, Thorgerd to Koll. Laxdœla Saga, c. 6, p. 11: "Osk was the name of the fourth daughter of Thorstein Red: she was the mother of Thorstein Surtr the Wise, who invented the summer-eke.

"Thorhild was the fifth daughter of Thorstein; she was the mother of Alf of Dales. Many men trace their descent from him. His daughter was Thorgerd, the wife of Ari Má's son at Reykia-nes, the son of Atli, the son of Ulf the Squinter and of Biorg, the daughter of Eyvind and sister of Helgi the Lean. From [Thorgerd and Ari] are descended the men of Reykianes.

"Vigdis was the name of the sixth daughter of Thorstein. From her are descended the men of Hofdi, in Eyiafiordr.

[c. 7] "Olaf Feilan was the youngest of Thorstein's children. . . ."

Cf. Sturla's version of Landnámabók, c. 105, p. 159: ". . . [Koll and Thorgerd's] children were Hauskuld, and Gro whom Veleif the Old married, and Thorkatla whom Thorgeir Godi married.

"Hauskuld married Hallfrid, the daughter of Thorbiorn of Vatn. Thorleik was their son. He married Thurid, the daughter of Arnbiorn, Slettu-Biorn's son. Their son was Bolli.

"Hauskuld bought Melkorka, daughter of Myrkiartan [Muirchertach?], king of the Irish. Olaf Peacock was their son, and Helgi. Hauskuld's daughters were Thurid and Thorgerd and Hallgerd Snuinbrók.

"Olaf [Peacock] married Thorgerd, the daughter of Egil Skallagrim's son. . . ."

Cf. Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, cc. 123, 156 (F.S., i, 249; ii, 19). (Fl., i, 266, 308.)

See Nial's Saga, c. 70.

For the (unhistorical) story of Melkorka see Laxdœla Saga, cc. 12-13, pp. 23-29; see also cc. 16, 20-22. Myrkiartan's reign had not ended in the time of Harold Greycloak (960-976). The names Melkorka, Myrkiartan, Kiartan (Olaf's son; see Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, cc. 156, 159, 164, 169, 174; Laxdœla Saga, c. 28: etc.), may be Norricized Irish. Melkorka is said in Laxdœla Saga to have been taken from Ireland at the age of fifteen, and to have pretended to be deaf and dumb until Hauskuld surprised her talking to her son; and yet she seems to have been able to talk Norse: but she taught Olaf to speak Irish.

Melkorka was buried in a barrow in Lax-river-dale (Laxdœla Saga, c. 38).

Egil's Saga, c. 78, p. 255: "Olaf was the name of a man, the son of Hauskuld, Dale-Koll's son; and the son of Melkorka, daughter of Myrkiartan, the Irish king. Olaf lived in Hiardarholt, in Lax-river-dale, west in Breidafiord-dales. Olaf was very rich in treasure; he was the most handsome in appearance of the men who were then in Iceland; he was a great leader."

Olaf Peacock, Melkorka's son, is a prominent figure in the sagas (Laxdœla Saga, Niál's Saga).

Olaf's son Kiartan visited Norway after earl Hakon had been succeeded by king Olaf Tryggvi's son (995), when king Olaf was christianizing Trondhjem (in 998; Icelandic Annals, CDA). See Laxdœla Saga, c. 40. Kiartan was baptized, and was at king Olaf's Christmas feast. See H., Olaf Tryggvi's son, cc. 88-89. Olaf's Saga, c. 233; F.S., ii, 253-258.

Sturla's version of Landnámabók, cc. 106-108, pp. 159-160: "Heriolf, son of Eyvind Fire, married later [Thorgerd], the daughter of Thorstein Red. Hrut was their son. . . .

[c. 107] "Aud gave Thorhild, the daughter of Thorstein Red, to Eystein Mein-fret, son of Alf of Osta. Their son was Thord, father of Kolbein, father of Thord Skáld; and Alf of Dales, who married Halldis, daughter of Erp. . . .

[c. 108] "Aud gave Osk, Thorstein's daughter, to Hallstein the baron-priest. Their son was Thorstein Surtr.

"Aud gave Vigdis, Thorstein's daughter, to Kampa-Grim. Their daughter [was] Arnbiorg. . . ."

For Thorgerd and her marriage to Heriolf in Norway cf. Laxdœla Saga, c. 7, pp. 15-17.

For Thorgerd's sons Hauskuld and Hrut, and Hauskuld's daughter Hallgerd, see the beginning of Niál's Saga; Laxdœla Saga, cc. 8 ff. Hallgerd's foster-father was Thiostolf, a Hebridean (Niál's Saga, c. 9).

Hrut was "Auzur's brother's son"; and he flourished in the reign of Harold Greycloak [960-976], according to Niál's Saga, c. 3.

Laxdœla Saga, c. 8, p. 16: "Hrut [Heriolf and Thorgerd's son] was of all men the fairest to look on, just as had been Thorstein his mother's father, or Ketil Flatnose. He was the most capable man in all respects."

Laxdœla Saga, c. 19, pp. 44-45: "Hrut was one of the bodyguard of king Harold, Gunnhild's son; and he had with him great esteem. That

Erp was the name of a freedman of Aud. He was a son of Maelduin, an earl in Scotland, who had been killed by earl Sigurd the Mighty. Erp's mother was Myrgiol, the daughter of Gliomal, king of the Irish. Earl Sigurd had taken them in the spoils of war, and made them slaves. Myrgiol was the bondwoman of the earl's wife, and served her faithfully. She knew many things. She preserved her mistress's unborn child while she was in the bath. After that Aud bought her for a high price, and promised her freedom if she served Thurid, the wife of Thorstein the Red, as she had served her mistress. Then Myrgiol and her son Erp sailed with Aud to Iceland.[1]

889 × 900

Eyrbyggia Saga, c. 6, p. 14

Some winters afterwards[2] Aud the Deep-minded came out [to Iceland]; and she was the first winter with Biorn, her

was principally because he was the best in all manly risks. But queen Gunnhild liked him so well that she held none in the bodyguard to be his equal either in words or in other respects. . . ." Cf. Niál's Saga, c. 3.

According to Laxdœla Saga, cc. 8-9, Thorgerd died when Hakon, Æthelstan's foster-son, was king in Norway (935 × 961).

[1] Cf. Sturla's version, c. 103, p. 158: "To Erp, the son of earl Maelduin (as has been said before), Aud gave his freedom and the land of Saudafell. From him the Erplingar are descended. A son of Erp was called Orm. Another [was] Gunbiorn, the father of Arnora, whom Kolbein Thord's son married. A third [was] Asgeir, the father of Thororna, whom Sumarlidi, Hrapp's son, married. A daughter of Erp was Halldis, whom Alf in the Dales married. Donald was a son of Erp; [he was] the father of Thorkel, father of Hialti, father of Beinir. Skati was a son of Erp; [he was] the father of Thord, the father of Gisli, the father of Thorgerd."

Laxdœla Saga, c. 6, p. 10: "Aud spoke to her men: 'Now shall you take the reward of your labours; also we have now no lack of means to pay you for your work and your good-will. And it is known to you that I have given freedom to the man who is called Erp, the son of earl Maelduin; it was far from me that I should wish so high-born a man to bear the name of thrall.' Then Aud gave him Saudafell's-lands, between Tungu-river and Mid-river. His children were Orm, and Asgeir, Gunnbiorn, and Halldis, who was married to Dales-Alf."

[2] I.e., some winters after 886, in which year Biorn sailed from the Hebrides to Iceland. But Aud sailed out and settled in Iceland some little time after Thorstein's death (889 × 900).

It must be considered whether the Catol who appears in 904 (below) was Ketil Flatnose; and whether the Scandinavian invasion of 903-904,

brother. Afterwards she took all the Dale-lands in Breidafiordr, between Skraumuhlaup-river and Dogurd-river; and she dwelt in Hvamm. In these times all Breidafiordr was settled, but we need not here tell of the settlements of the men that do not come into this story. . . .

889×932

Gretti's Saga, c. 10, pp. 24-25

Onund [Wooden-leg] was so valiant a man that few could match him though they were whole. He was also renowned through all the land, because of his ancestry.

Next arose the strife between Ofeig Grettir and Thorbiorn Earl's-champion; and it ended thus, that Ofeig fell before Thorbiorn in Grettisgeil, by Hiæll.[1] There was a great gathering to Ofeig's sons for the blood-suit. Onund Wooden-leg was sent for, and he rode south in spring and abode at Hvamm with Aud the Deep-minded. She received him well, because he had been with her in the west beyond the sea.

Olaf Feilan was then fully-grown: Aud was then much worn by age. She requested of Onund that he would get a wife for Olaf, his relative; and wished him to ask for Alfdis the Barra-woman. She was the first-cousin[2] of Æsa, whom Onund had married. Onund thought this promising, and Olaf rode south with him. And when Onund met his friends and kinsmen-in-law, they invited him to [dwell with] them.

Then the [blood-] suits were discussed; and they were left to the Kialarnes assembly, because then still a general assembly had not been established.[3] Then the suits were put to

which was crushed in Strathearn, was Thorstein's. These events would then have happened after the later expedition from Norway; and the sagas' chronology and connection of the events would be entirely erroneous, as possibly in the case of Egil's Saga and the battle of Vín-heath (below, Part XV). In this case, the sagas are of a more historical character; they describe events that occurred nearer home; and the evidence that opposes them is weak. It is uncertain that Catol invaded Pictland; and the invaders of Strathearn probably came from Ireland.

[1] Cf. above, p. 329, note.

[2] Alfdis and Æsa were second cousins, according to Gretti's Saga. c. 3, p. 6.

[3] Ari says in the beginning of the Islendingabók (cc. 2-3) that "when Iceland had been widely settled, then an eastern man, who was called

Ulfliót, first brought laws out hither from Norway (so said Teit to us); and they were called Ulfliót's Laws. . . . And they were established mostly in accordance with what the Gula-thing's laws were then; the counsels of Thorleif the Wise, Horda-Kari's son, were [followed] also, where they should add or reject, or establish a different way. . . .

"The Althing was established, by counsel of Ulfliót and all the men of the land, in the place where it now is [ca. 1030]; but formerly there was at Kialarnes the Thing that Thorstein, Ingolf the Settler's son, father of the law-speaker Thorkel Moon, had had there, and such lords as came there. . . . Wise men have said too that Iceland was fully settled in 60 winters, so that there was not more [habitable land] after that. About this time Hrafn, son of Hæng the Settler, took the law-speakership, next to Ulfliót, and held it 20 summers. He was from Rang-ár-hverfi. That was 60 winters after the slaying of king Edward, a winter or two before Harold the Fairhaired was dead, according to the account of wise men."

Ari here plainly indicates that Hrafn became Law-speaker in 930, and that Harold died about 931 or 932. Landnámabók (p. 125) gives a list of the inhabitants of Iceland in 930.

Cf. Vigfusson, Corpus Poeticum, ii, 494 ff.

According to the Icelandic Annals, "Ulfliót came with law to Iceland" in 927 (CDAP; 928 L). (So also in the list of law-speakers in Islendinga Sögur (1843), i, 337.)

Hrafn, son of Ketil Hængr, was appointed law-speaker of Iceland in 929 (KBD; 930, CAPL and the list of lawmen u.s.; 928 E. For year-letters *e .l* in A, read *c .i*).

Doubtless the Gula-thing was later a pattern for the Althing; but if Ulfliót formed the Althing in 927-930, the Norwegian Gula-thing must rather have been originally modelled upon the Icelandic Althing, than the other way round. Thorleif Spáki advised Hakon the Good in the setting up of the Gula-thing (935×961); H., Hakon the Good, c. 11; Olaf's Saga, c. 20; F.S., i, 31; cf. Landnámabók, c. 268, p. 95, which supports Islendingabók. A kingless community needed an established legal assembly; the need had been partly served by the Kialarnes assembly, of which the Althing was a generalization. It would not be surprising if the law-assembly had been perfected first in the society that needed it most.

Either this is what happened, and Ari a century later did not know it; or else Ari has confused the dates, and placed the final establishment of the Althing some ten years too soon.

The Althing was held near the Oxar-á (Axe-river). See i.a. the map in K. Kâlund's Bidrag til en historisk-topografisk Beskrivelse af Island, vol. i, pp. 92×93 (Copenhagen, 1877).

The Althing ("general assembly") began on 11th-17th June until 998, but from 999 onwards on 18th-24th June (Ari's Islendingabók, c. 7). It lasted for a fortnight; cf. Grágás (1879), 113; Maurer, Entstehung des Isländischen Staats, (1852) p. 148.

arbitration, and great atonement was awarded for the slaying, and Thorbiorn Earl's-champion was made outlaw.

Thrond invited to his house Onund and Olaf, and so did Thormod Skapti. They supported Olaf's suit, and it was easily won, because men knew how great a lady Aud was; and the matter was settled. When things had been so arranged, Onund and Olaf rode home. Aud thanked Onund for his support to Olaf.

That autumn Olaf Feilan married Alfdis the Barra-woman. Then died Aud the Deep-minded, as is said in Laxdœla Saga.

889 ×

Sturla's version of Landnámabók, c. 109, p. 160

Aud fostered Olaf Feilan, son of Thorstein the Red.[1] [Olaf] married Alfdis[2] of Barra, the daughter of Konal, son of Steinmod, son of Olvi Barnakarl.[3] The son of Konal was Steinmod, father of Halldora, whom Eilif, son of Ketil One-handed, married. [Olaf and Alfdis's] children [were] Thord Yeller and Thora, the mother of Thorgrim, the father of Snorri Godi; she was also the mother of Bork the Stout, and Má, Hallvard's son. Ingiald and Grani were Olaf Feilan's sons. Vigdis was the name of a daughter of Olaf Feilan. . . .[4] Helga was the name of a third daughter of Olaf. . . . Thurid[5] was the name of a fourth daughter of Olaf Feilan.[6] . . .

[1] Cf. Laxdœla Saga, c. 7, p. 11: "Olaf Feilan was the youngest of Thorstein's children. He was a big man, and strong, fair to look at, and a man of the greatest [physical] accomplishments. Aud thought more of him than of all [other] men, and declared before men that she intended for Olaf all her property in Hvamm after her day. Aud was becoming much worn by old age"; she suggested that Olaf should marry at the end of the summer. In autumn Olaf married Alfdis. Aud died in the first night of the feast; the wedding-feast was also Aud's funeral feast (pp. 11-13). "Olaf became a powerful man and a great lord; he lived at Hvamm till he was old" (pp. 13-14).

Cf. Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 122 (F.S., i, 248). Cf. Fl., i, 265-266.

[2] The MS. has "Asdis," erroneously; read *Aldis*.

[3] See above, p. 319.

[4] Blank space in MS.

[5] Read "Thordis" (Jónsson).

[6] Laxdœla Saga, c. 7, p. 14: "The children of Olaf and Alfdis were Thord Yeller, who married Hrodny, daughter of Midfiord-Skeggi; . . . a daughter of Olaf Feilan was Thora, who was married to Thorstein Cod-

[c. 110] Aud was a tall stately dame.[1] When she was outworn with age, she invited to her her kinsmen and kinsmen-in-law, and prepared a rich banquet. And when the banquet had gone on for three nights, she chose gifts for her friends, and gave them good counsel. She said that the banquet should go on for other three nights; she said that this should be her funeral feast. The night after, she died: and she was buried on the ebb-shore,[2] as she had said before, because she wished not to lie in unconsecrated ground, since she was baptized.[3]

After that the faith of her relatives deteriorated.

ca. 894

Heimskringla, Harold Fairhair's Saga, c. 30[4]

The burning of Ronald, earl of Mærr.

When king Harold was forty years of age,[5] many of his sons

biter, son of Thorolf Moster's-beard. . . . Helga was the name of another daughter of Olaf; she was married to Gunnar Hlíf's son. . . . Thorunn was another daughter of his; she was married to Herstein, son of Thorkel, Blund-Ketil's son. Thordis was the name of the third daughter of Olaf; she was married to Thorarin, the lawman, Ragi's brother." (Cf. Sturla's version of Landnámabók, c. 35, p. 140.)

For Thord Yeller, see Islendingabók, c. 5; Landnámabók, cc. 73, 355 (where he is said to have flourished in 930); H., Olaf Tryggvi's son, c. 37. Cf. also Laxdœla Saga, and Hœnsa-Thori's Saga.

For Má, Hallvard's son, cf. Eyrbyggia Saga, cc. 11, 15; pp. 27, 38-39.

[1] *vegs kona mikil.* Cf. Laxdœla Saga, c. 7, p. 13: "Men said that Aud had been both tall and strong."

[2] *i flœdar máli.*

[3] Laxdœla Saga, c. 7, p. 13: "And on the last day of the wedding Aud was carried to the barrow which had been prepared for her. She was laid in a ship in the barrow, and much treasure was laid in the barrow with her. After that the barrow was closed over her" (*aptr kastaðr*).

[4] Cf. the somewhat differing versions of O.S., c. 8, i, 7-9; Fl., i, 223: and Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 97; F.S., i, 196. Cf. Fr., 54-55.

[5] Harold was probably born in 854 (see above, p. 323).

Icelandic Annals KBODE, which place his birth in 852 (because they accept Landnámabók's date of his accession, 862), say that Harold divided his kingdom among his sons in 892, that is to say, when he was forty years old; but CA, placing his birth in 848, put the division of the kingdom in 898, i.e., when he had reigned for forty years. The Annals seem to have got the number 40 from this passage of Heimskringla.

Heimskringla clearly implies that Ronald died soon after Harold was forty years old (i.e. 894 × 904), if not in the same year (894).

had grown up well; they were all early mature.[1] It came about that they were ill-content because the king gave them no dominions, but set an earl over every county; and they thought these earls less well-born than themselves. Then one spring they set out, Halfdan Longleg and Godfrey Liómi,[2] with a great company of men, and came unexpectedly upon Ronald, earl of Mærr, and took the house above him, and burnt him in it with sixty men.

Then Halfdan took three long-ships,[3] and made ready and sailed to west beyond the sea; but Godfrey settled there in the lands which Ronald, earl of Mærr, had had before.

But when king Harold learned this, he went immediately with a great army against Godfrey; and Godfrey saw that he had no other choice but to give himself up into king Harold's power. And the king sent him east to Agdir; but the king set up earl Ronald's son Thori there as earl over Mærr, and gave to him in marriage his daughter Alof, who was called the Season-bettering. So earl Thori the Silent had dominion just as his father, earl Ronald, had had.

ca. 894

Heimskringla, Harold Fairhair's Saga, c. 31 [4]

The death of Halfdan Longleg.

Halfdan Longleg came west to the Orkneys, and very unexpectedly: and earl Einar fled at once from the islands, over to [Caith]ness[5]; and he returned immediately the same autumn, and so came unexpectedly upon Halfdan. They fought, and there was a disgraceful battle, and Halfdan fled.[6]

[1] Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 2: "King Harold had many wives and many children: he had twenty sons, or more." Cf. H., Harold Fairhair, c. 21. Cf. also the Upphaf, F.S., x, 194.

Orkneyinga Saga and Olaf's Saga do not mention a year, but imply that Harold's sons had recently come to full growth.

[2] *Ljómi*, "Gleam" Morris and Magnusson; perhaps "the Ardent."

These were Harold's sons by Snæfrid, according to Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga and O.S.; cf. H., Harold Fairhair, c. 25.

[3] "Two long-ships" MS. A of Olaf's Saga, u.s.

[4] Cf. Fr., 55; O.S., i, 7-10, c. 8. F., 296-298. A shorter version is in Fl., i, 224.

[5] "Halfdan laid the islands under him, and made himself king over them" O.S.

[6] "And Halfdan leapt overboard in the dark, in the evening" O.S.

Since it was on the verge of night-fall, Einar and his men lay tentless that night; but when the morning began to lighten, they sought the fugitives among the islands, and every one was cut down where he stood.

Then earl Einar spoke: "I do not know" said he, "what I see out in Rinansey,[1] a man or a bird; sometimes it rises, sometimes it lies down."

Then they went thither, and found there Halfdan Longleg, and they took him captive. . . .[2] Then earl Einar went to Halfdan. He carved on him an eagle on the back, in such a manner that he cut with his sword along his back-bone to the inwards, and cut all the ribs right down to his loins, and drew out there the lungs; that was the death of Halfdan.[3] . . .[4]

Then earl Einar settled in the Orkneys, as he had had them before. But when these tidings were known in Norway, Halfdan's brothers took it very ill, and they said that it must be avenged, and many others agreed to that.[5] . . .[6]

894 ×

Heimskringla, Harold Fairhair's Saga, c. 32[7]

The peace between king Harold and earl Einar.

King Harold brought out his army, and collected a great

[1] North Ronaldshay.

[2] Eight lines of verse follow, in which Einar expresses his desire to avenge his father (cf. O.S.; F.).

[3] Orkneyinga Saga: "And Einar caused an eagle to be carved upon [Halfdan's] back with a sword, cutting all the ribs from his back-bone and drawing the lungs out there; and he gave him to Odin for his victory." Similarly in Fl., i, 222 (reading: "a blood-eagle"). This seems to have been a heathen ritual of torture.

For the blood-eagle, see Sögu-brot af Norna-Gesti, c. 6, Rafn's Fornaldar Sögur, i, 328-329; Thättr af Ragnars Sonum, c. 3, ibid., 354. (Fortids Sagaer, i, 304, 327.)

[4] In 8 lines of verse Einar boasts at the burial of Halfdan. Other 8 lines precede this in O.S. Cf. F.

[5] Orkneyinga Saga, c. 8; i, 9: " . . . Then his brothers were very angry about it, and they vowed that they would go to the Orkneys and avenge him. But king Harold delayed it." (Cf. Fl., i, 224.)

[6] Einar defies them in 8 lines of verse (also in Fr.; cf. O.S.). For Turf-Einar's verses, see J.S., i, A, 31-32; B, 27-28. (Cf. Corpus Poeticum Boreale, i, 371-372.)

[7] Cf. Fr., 56; O.S., i, 10, c. 8 (Fl., i, 224); Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 97 (F.S., i, 196-197).

host; and then sailed west to the Orkneys.[1] And when earl Einar knew that king Harold had come from the east, he went over to [Caith]ness. . . .[2]

Then men and messengers went between the king and the earl, and it came about that a meeting was arranged; and they met in person, and the earl put everything to the king's judgement. King Harold judged that earl Einar and all the Orkneymen should pay a fine of sixty marks of gold.

The farmers thought the fine excessive; so the earl offered them that he would pay the fine alone, and that he should then possess all the odal lands[3] in the islands. To this they agreed, principally because the poor [farmers] had small lands,[4] but the rich thought they would redeem their odal lands as soon as they wished.

The earl paid all the fine to the king; and the king went east afterwards, in autumn. It was the case for a long time afterwards in the Orkneys that the earls had all the odal lands, down to the time when Sigurd Hlodve's son gave back the odal lands.[5]

[1] "Some time later, king Harold went west beyond the sea, and came to the islands" Fl. Harold came "a little after" the death of Halfdan, according to Olaf's Saga, u.s.

[2] Eight lines of verse are here attributed to Einar. These stand earlier in O.S., i, 8-9.

[3] *óðul öll:* hereditary free-holds. For Harold's policy in regard to them, see H., Harold Fairhair, c. 6.

[4] See year 995.

[5] "And the farmers agreed to this, because the rich ones thought they could redeem their lands, and the poor ones had no money to pay with" Fl.

PART XIV

Harold Fairhair's Invasion. Reign of Constantine II

ca. 874-894 × 900

Heimskringla, St Olaf's Saga, c. 96[1]

The earls' saga.

It is said that in the days of Harold the Fairhaired, king of Norway, the Orkneys were peopled; but before that they were a vikings' lair.

Sigurd was the name of the first earl of the Orkneys; he was the son of Eystein Glumra, and brother of Ronald, earl of Mærr. And after Sigurd, his son Guthorm, for one winter. After him, Turf-Einar, the son of earl Ronald, took the earldom, and was earl for a long time, and a powerful man.

Halfdan Longleg, Harold Fairhair's son, went against Turf-Einar and drove him out of the Orkneys. Then Einar came afterwards, and slew Halfdan in Rinansey.

After that, king Harold went with an army to the Orkneys. Then Einar fled up into Scotland. King Harold caused the Orkneymen to swear to him all their hereditary lands.[2] Afterwards the king and earl made peace there, and the earl became [Harold's] liege-man, and took the lands in fief from the king; but he was to pay no tribute for them, because they were much exposed to war. The earl paid the king [a fine of] sixty marks of gold.[3]

Then king Harold plundered in Scotland, as is told in Glymdrapa.[4]

[1] Similarly in St Olaf's Saga, in F.S., iv, 212.

[2] *öll óðul sín.* Snorri's St Olaf's Saga reads: "King Harold caused the Orkneymen to swear to him all the odal [lands] in the Orkneys, for the killing of Halfdan" (91; F.S., iv, 212).

[3] Cf. with this account the speech of king Olaf in Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 98 (Fornmanna Sögur, i, 201); Fl. version, c. 187.

[4] Hornklofi's Glymdrápa has already been quoted in Heimskringla's earlier version of Iarla Saga (Harold Fairhair, c. 22), in connection with

894 × 900

Orkneyinga Saga, c. 8; vol. i, p. 10[1]

King Harold sailed to Norway after that.[2] And earl Einar ruled over the Orkneys for a long time, and died of sickness. He had three sons: one was called Arnkel; another, Erlend; the third, Thorfinn the Skull-cleaver.[3]

894 × 932

Heimskringla, Harold Fairhair's Saga, c. 34[4]

To Thorgils and Frodi[5] king Harold gave warships[6]; and they went upon western piracy, and plundered in Scotland,

Harold's alleged earlier expedition to the west, in 874. Hornklofi's poem, as it is preserved (cf. J.S., i, B, 22-26), describes only one expedition. This is another point of difference between Heimskringla's two versions of Iarla Saga: the first understanding Hornklofi to speak of the earlier expedition, the second understanding him to speak of the later. Here, as elsewhere, preference is to be given to the second version. It is practically certain that Harold did not invade the Hebrides in 874, although about that time the family of Ronald earl of Mærr made an expedition to Orkney, and Ketil Flatnose and his family made an expedition to the Hebrides.

Neither expedition is mentioned in the Chronicles of the Kings, unless the storming of Dunnottar (889 × 900) was an episode of the later expedition, as it may very well have been. Harold had delayed his retaliation against Turf-Einar in order to prepare an expedition capable of resisting any army the king of Scotland might bring against him.

Evidence of Harold's power over the Scottish islands in the beginning of the tenth century appears in the romance of Mousa Broch; see below.

[1] From Fl., i, 224. Similarly in Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga. c. 97 (F.S., i, 197).

[2] I.e., after Harold's sons' vow to avenge Halfdan.

[3] Landnámabók, c. 221, p. 85: "Earl Turf-Einar got a daughter in his youth. She was called Thordis. Earl Ronald brought her up, and gave her to Thorgeir Klaufi. Their son was Einar. He sailed to the Orkneys to find his relatives; they would not receive him in kinship. Then [Einar] sailed to Iceland with two brothers, Vestmann and Vemund. . . ." For Turf-Einar's daughter Hlíf, see Origines Islandicae, i, 247.

[4] Similarly in Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 2; F.S., i, 7-8; and in Fl., i, 42.

[5] Thorgils and Frodi were Harold's sons by Svanhild, earl Eystein's daughter; F.S., i, 5 (Fl., i, 41, 575). Their expedition is mentioned in the Upphaf Rikis Haraldar Harfagra; F.S., x, 196-197. It probably occurred soon after 894.

[6] "a warship" Olaf's Saga.

Wales, and Ireland. They were the first of the Norwegians to possess Dublin in Ireland.[1]

[1] This is incorrect. The Norwegians built a castle in Dublin in 841, twenty years after their first recorded invasion of the district (Annals of Ulster).

Snorri's St Olaf's Saga, p. 5: "[Harold's son's] Frodi and Thorgils were established in Dublin in Ireland" (*settuz*; read *létust* "had died in," as in F.S., iv, 9).

Tuirgeis († ca. 845; see above, p. 277) was perhaps the first Scandinavian to invade, if not to occupy, Dublin. It is possible, but not likely, that the sagas have confused him with Thorgils, Harold's son.

An interesting story which shows Harold's power in the west about the beginning of the 10th century is the following romance of Mousa Broch.

Egil's Saga, cc. 32-33; pp. 98-102: "Biorn was the name of a powerful chief in Sogn; he lived in Aurland. His son was Bryniolf, who took the whole inheritance after his father. Bryniolf's sons were Biorn and Thord. . . . Biorn was a great traveller; he was sometimes in piracy, sometimes on merchant-voyages. . . ." He carried off to his father's house Thora Lace-hand, sister of baron [*hersir*; "chieftain"] Thori, Hróald's son; but Thori and Bryniolf forbade their marriage. [F. Jónsson dates this in 898, in his table of the saga.] "And so the winter passed. But when spring began, [899, according to Jónsson] one day Bryniolf and Biorn discussed their plans. Bryniolf asked what [Biorn] intended to do; Biorn said it was most likely that he should go away out of the land. 'It is most to my mind' said he, 'that thou shouldest give me a long-ship and a company, and I should go on piracy.' 'There is no hope' said Bryniolf, 'that I should give thee a warship and a large company, because I know not whether thou mightest not then go there where I least wish; enough trouble already has come of thee. I shall give thee a merchant ship and a cargo; then go thou south to Dublin; that is now the most famous voyage. I will give thee a good company.'" But when Biorn got the ship, Thora went with him to sea. They kept clear of Norway's coasts. "One day they sailed from the east to Shetland in a sharp storm, and they injured their ship in landing at Mousa [*Mósey*]; they took off their freight, and so went to the castle [*borg*] that was there, and carried all their goods there, and they raised up their ship and mended it where it was broken.

"A little before winter a ship came north from the Orkneys: they brought this news, that a long-ship had come about autumn to the islands, and those were messengers of king Harold with the message to earl Sigurd, that the king wished to have Biorn Bryniolf's son slain wherever he should be met; and similar instructions he sent to the Hebrides, and even to Dublin. Biorn heard these tidings, and this too, that he was made outlaw in Norway. But as soon as he had come to Shetland he married Thora. They remained during the winter in Mousa castle.

"But as soon as it was spring, when the sea began to fall, Biorn put out his ship, and prepared as quickly as possible. And when he was ready and

It is said that poison was given to Frodi; but Thorgils was long king over Dublin, and was at last betrayed by the Irish, and fell there.

900

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 414, s.a. 899 or 900=900

Donald, Constantine's son, king of Scotland, died.[1]

889-900

Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, version A; Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 9

Donald, Constantine's son, held the kingdom for eleven years. The Northmen wasted Pictland at that time.[2]

had a fair wind he sailed out to sea. They had a great wind and were a short while out, and came north to Iceland. . . ." They came to Skallagrim, and remained with him three winters [900-903, according to Jónsson]; through him Biorn was atoned with Thori. Biorn and Thora returned to Aurland.

Their daughter, Asgerd, born in Iceland, was left with Skallagrim for fosterage. She married Thorolf, Skallagrim's son (c. 42), who fell at Vín-heath; then she was under protection of Arinbiorn, her kinsman. She married again Egil, Skallagrim's son (c. 56). Egil quarrelled with Eric Bloodaxe in claiming Asgerd's inheritance: he killed her step-sister's husband, Berg-Onund, and his brother Hadd, sons of Thorgeir Thornfoot; and Frodi, king Eric's relative and foster-son; with 15 or 16 of their followers. Then he killed king Eric's son Ronald, with 12 followers. Egil set up a rune-staff with a horse's head, cursing Eric and Gunnhild, and the *genii loci* until they should drive the king and queen from Norway (cc. 56-57) [this was in 934, acccording to Jónsson].

[1] A.I., 33, O'Conor's year 886=900 (6 years after 894): "Death of Donald, king of Scotland."

C.S., 176, Hennessy's year 900: "Repose of Donald, Constantine's son, king of Scotland."

The title "king of Scotland" (*rí Alban*) was frequently applied by Irish writers to kings of Dalriata; here Dalriata and Pictland are both included. Nevertheless, a king of Pictland is said to have died in 904. Perhaps some part of Pictland was not included in Donald's kingdom.

Donald's successor, Constantine, Aed's son, became king after 13th September, 900. See year 942, note.

[2] This was probably the invasion of Sigurd and Thorstein. See above, p. 378.

In his reign a battle occurred [at] Innisibsolian between Danes and Scots; the Scots had the victory.

Dunnottar was destroyed by the gentiles.[1]

889-900

Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, version D; Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 151

Donald, Constantine's son, reigned for eleven years; and he died in Forres, and was buried in the island of Iona.[2]

[1] *Opidum Fother occisum est a gentibus.* Possibly read *apud oppidum . . . occisus* "he was killed at Dunnottar"; cf. P. & S., p. cxxxix; but this would not agree with the other accounts, and perhaps the text may stand. This may possibly have been the battle fought in Scotland by Harold Fairhair (895×). See above, p. 392. The army that attacked Dunnottar must have been large; no ordinary pirates would have attempted to attack so strong a position.

[2] Similarly in versions FGI (174, 301, 288); but G reads "2 years." See above, p. cxxxvii, note.

The late version K (204) reads (erroneously): "Donald, Constantine's son, [reigned for] 2 years. Edmund, Æthelstan's brother, granted to this Donald, king of Scotland, all Cumberland, which the Scots had claimed, as far as the Rere-cross of Stanemore [*al Reir croiz de Staynmore*]. But since then this gift has been often conquered and released, in many makings of peace."

N reads (ibid., 305): "Donald, Constantine's son, [reigned for] 11 years, and he was killed because of his daughter."

The Duan Albanach, in Skene's P. & S., 62: "Donald, son of the fair Constantine, passed a year four times [in the kingdom.]"

Fordun (IV, 20) says that Donald, like Gregory, refused to enter into alliance with the pagan Danes against the English: but that an alliance had been formed by Gregory with Guthorm ("Gurmund"), after his baptism, in the time of king Alfred; and after Guthorm's death, this alliance was renewed by Donald with Guthorm's successors, "his son Ronald and his kinsman Sigtrygg."

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records the baptism of king Guthorm (with the baptismal name of Æthelstan) and thirty of his noblest followers, at Aller, opposite Athelney, in 878 (ABDEF; 879, C. In the next year is entered the eclipse of 880). A king Ronald appears in hostility to Constantine, in ?915; in treaty (beside Constantine) with Edward, in ?921. A Sigtrygg appears in A.S.C. as king, 921-926. (E.C., 65-66.)

Fordun, speaking of the later treaty, probably means that of ?921; the earlier treaty must have been made, if at all, between 878 and 901, when Alfred died. Fordun adapts his records of events to make them agree with his own theory of the Scottish kings' reigns.

889-900

Prose and Verse Chronicles inserted in the Chronicle of Melrose, p. 225, s.a. 897[1]

Giric, king of the Scots, died.[2] Donald, Constantine's son, [became] king of the Scots.

"After this,[3] king Donald reigned in Scotland; he was the son of Constantine. This king is said to have perished in the village of Forres,[4] during the course of the eleventh year of his kingship."[5]

889-900

Berchan's Prophecy, stanzas 141-147, in Skene's Picts and Scots, pp. 89-91

Afterwards[6] the rough one[7] will take [the sovereignty], who will think relics and psalms of little worth. Scotland will march under him[8]; he will not give up the truth to neglect.

Forays will be abundant in his time, in the kingdom of the rough one (although it is he); he will disturb Scotland for his ends, he will be a . . . who will strike blows.[9]

He will oppress the white [-skinned] Gaels; he will lay waste their estuaries. They will weep, they will be crushed and dead, under the rule of the mighty, the rough one.

He will have nine years as king,[10] making the circuit of their

[1] Also in P. & S., 178 (MS. B).

[2] See year 889.

[3] "After him" in B.

[4] *in villa . . . Forensi.*

[5] The passage within inverted commas is in verse in the original.

[6] After the "feeble one" from Dundurn: see year 889.

[7] *in garbh.* This (the 7th king mentioned after Kenneth) appears to be Donald II, Constantine's son.

[8] *bidh aistrech Albain lais.* This line lacks a syllable: possibly we should read *Albannaig* (Scots) for *Albain* (Scotland).

[9] *mescfaid[h] Albain ima chenn | bidh fuisfe bhenfas béimhenn.* If *bidh* is right, *fuisfe* should be a noun; but the text is probably corrupt.

[10] It is noteworthy that the Prophecy has deducted the reign of the Feeble (889-891?) from the reign of Donald II. But the reign-lengths mentioned in the Prophecy are very inaccurate.

boundaries,[1] one after another, in every place, against Foreigners and against Gaels.

The Gaels will turn against him secretly on the path above Dunnottar.[2] He is on the brow of the mighty wave,[3] in the east, in his broad gory bed.

Afterwards a king[4] will take [sovereignty] (I shall not conceal it)—I will not[5] sing of him, though I speak of him—; half the day he will take [sovereignty] (a small matter); he will come before night[6] to nothing.

Not many will be killed in the east in battle: there is not violent slaughter, there is not man-slaying. The place whence he comes, thither they go. Alas! it is a false apparition.

904

Chronicon Scotorum, p. 180, Hennessy's year 904[7]

Ead, king of Pictland,[8] fell [fighting] against the two grandsons of Ivar, and against Catol,[9] with five hundred men.[10]

[1] *ag imthecht a ccóigrí[ch]*.

[2] *Saoífid gaoidhil fris a rún | air in luircc os Fóther-dhún.* Read *lurg*. MS. *b* has *Ar an Lurg*, which might mean "following them."

Fóther-dhún has been identified with Fordoun; but Fordoun is not near the sea, and Fother- became Fetter- in the Mearns. *Fother-dhún* is a poetical inversion of *Dún-Fother*.

[3] *for bra tuinne tinne dho.* (Cf. stanza 157; year 954.) MS. *b* reads *for bhra tuinne*, with O'Connell's conjecture *for bhru Tuimni*.

[4] Here (above the line) MS. *a* has the gloss "i.e., Manannan, son of Ler." MS. *b* has in the margin: "Here [is] Manannan, son of Ler, of the Síde!"

Whether history is here touched by myth, or whether a king's name had some resemblance to that of the mythical Manannan, cannot be known. Glosses which give the names of the Irish kings in MS. *a* were probably part of the original work; but the Scottish kings are not glossed, except Aidan and this king. Possibly he was Aed, Constantine's father.

[5] Reading *ní* for *no* (so O'Connell and Skene).

[6] The original reading of MS. *a* was *ria n-uadch˜*: this has been changed to *ria n-aidhche* in blacker ink by a different hand, resembling O'Connell's.

[7] The year-section corresponds to that in A.U. for 904.

[8] *Ead rí Cruithentuaithe*: according to S.C.S., i, 339, note, "probably a king of one of the provinces slain in the previous attack." Ead may have been the ruler of some part of Pictland; perhaps a predecessor of Constantine, or appointed by him to guard a frontier province. But there is a suspicious resemblance between his name and the name given by Irish annals (below, year 913) to Æthelweald, king of Northumbria, who died in 905, in a battle with the Danes. Probably there is some confusion in the text.

[9] *fri Catol:* probably Ketil, and a Norwegian invader of Britain. If

904

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 418, s.a. 903 or 904=904[1]

The profanation of Kells by Fland, Maelsechlaind's son, against Duncan, [Fland's] own son; and many others were beheaded, around the oratory.[2] . . .

Ivar, Ivar's grandson, was killed by the men of Fortriu, and great slaughter [was made] about him.[3]

906[4]

907

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, MSS. BC; vol. i, pp. 182, 183, s.a. 907

In this year Chester was restored.

909

Annales Cambriae; Y Cymmrodor, vol. ix, p. 167, s.a. [909][5]

King Catell died.[6]

this were Ketil Flatnose, the sagas' chronology would here be at fault, since they place his death some fifteen years earlier. See above, pp. 384-385.

[10] The text reads erroneously "with 500 hundred men."

The Chronicle of the Kings (A) implies that the invasion of 904 had begun in the previous year (see year 943). It seems to have been led by Scandinavians from Ireland.

[1] With marginal note "bissextile."

[2] So also in C.S., 178, Hennessy's year 904.

[3] The Chronicle of the Kings (below, year 943) says that "the Northmen were slain in Strathearn," in king Constantine's fourth year (903-904); and that they had plundered Dunkeld in the previous year.

In 902, the Gentiles had been expelled from Dublin (A.U.).

[4] For the ecclesiastical congress at Scone in 906, see below, year 943 (Chronicle of the Kings, version A).

[5] Placed 5 years after the "460th year" after 444.

[6] MSS. B and C add, "Rotri's son" (Ab Ithel, 16). See year 878.

B.T. in R.B.H., 260 (9 years after 900, 1 year before 910): "And Catell, Rotri's son, [died]." Cf. B.T. in M.A., 689, s.a. 900; B.S. in M.A. 656, s.a. 907.

D.M.F., III, 224 (in the year of the death of Cerball, son of Muirecan [†909]): "Catell, Rotri's son, king of Wales, . . . died." In the same year-section it is stated that he was succeeded by his son (ibid., 226); i.e. by Clitauc (†919). But Anaraut seems to have ruled in South Wales also, from Catell's death until his own (†916).

Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 144, s.a. 901: "Rotri's son [*mcRwaragh*], king of Britons, died."

911

Duald Mac-Firbis, Fragment III, p. 242-244[1]

Maelbrigte, Tornan's son, successor of Patrick and Columcille, [went] with many priests of Ireland into Munster, in order to ask the nobles of Munster to give him treasure with which to release the captives of the Britons.[2] And he obtained it; and he took these miserable captives with him, after their ships had been sunk and they had been cast ashore, and had fallen into the power of[3] the Danes and Scandinavians.[4]

911

Annales Cambriae; Y Cymmrodor, vol. ix, p. 168, s.a. [913][5]

Otter came.[6]

911

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, MSS. BC; vol. i, pp. 184, 185, s.a. 911

In this year the [Danish] army in Northumbria broke the peace, and despised every right[7] that king Edward and his council offered them, and ravaged the Mercians' land. And the king had gathered some hundred ships, and was then in Kent; and the ships went south-east along the sea[-coast] towards him. Then the [Danish] army imagined that the great part of his supporters were in these ships, and that they could go unopposed wherever they would.

When the king learned that they had gone out plundering, he sent out his yeomanry[8] both of West Saxons and of Mercians; and they overtook the [Danish] army from behind,

[1] Placed two year-sections after the "31st year of Fland," Maelsechlaind's son; i.e., in 911.

[2] *i fuaslagadh braide Breton;* i.e., of the Welsh.

[3] *ar ionngabháil.*

[4] *Danar 7 Lochlann.*

[5] Placed 9 years after the "460th year" after 444.

[6] MSS. BC add "to Britain"; Ab Ithel's ed., 16.

B.T. in R.B.H., 260: "910 years was the age of Christ when Oter came to the island of Britain." This was doubtless the Ottar who invaded Mercia in 911. He is called *Other* in B.S. in M.A., 656, s.a. 909; *Uthyr* in B.T. in M.A., 689, s.a. 906, where he is said to have devastated Mynyw [? St Davids] along with Hróald the Red.

[7] In MS. A "peace."

[8] *fird*, A (*fyrd*, BD).

when it was returning homewards; and they fought with it, and routed the army, and slew many thousands in it; and there king Eowils was slain,[1] and king Halfdan, and earl Ottar,[2] and earl Scurfa, and hold Othulf,[3] and hold Benesing, and Olaf the Black, and hold Thurfrith, and Osfrith Hlytte, and hold Godfrey, and hold Agmund, and Godfrey.[4]

Then in the next year [912] died Æthered, lord of Mercia.[5]

?911-?918

Duald Mac-Firbis, Fragment III, pp. 244-246[6]

Great hosts of Black-foreigners and White-foreigners came again[7] in this year against the English, after making Sigtrygg, Ivar's grandson, king. They proclaimed battle against the English; and the English did not hesitate to accept it, but came at once against the pagans. A fierce, active battle was fought between them, and great was the vigour and fury and determination on both sides. Much blood of the sons of nobles was poured out in that battle; but the English got victory and triumph, after making great slaughter of the pagans; because [Sigtrygg] the king of the pagans was attacked by a disease,

[1] Eowils (for Eadgils) appears to be the same name as Icelandic *Audgisl* (Irish *Auisle*), Old Danish *Athisl*. See Noreen, Altnordische Grammatik (1903), i, 147. The Irish form points to an original *Audgisli*.

Down to this point, the passage is in MS. A also. Here the version in MS. A stops.

[2] Anglo-Saxon *Ohter*, Irish *Oitir*, Simeon's *Oter;* apparently for old Danish *Ottar*, Icelandic *Ottarr*, *Ottærr;* cf. Lind, Norsk-isländska Dopnamn, 824; Noreen, u.s., 190.

This Ottar seems to have survived until 918 (q.v.).

[3] *Athulf* in MS. D; perhaps Anglo-Saxon Eadulf, in a Danish form. To this point the same account is in MS. D: of the remainder, MS. D gives only "and hold Agmund." For the title *hold*, see Thorpe, A.S.C, ii, 76, note; also Bosworth-Toller, and Cleasby-Vigfusson, s.v.

[4] Thurfrith and Godfrey (here *Thurferth*, *Guthferth*) are Danish names; Osfrith (here *Osferth*) is probably Anglo-Saxon.

[5] These events are placed under years 910 and 911 in the Annals of St Neots (Stevenson's Asser, 144-145).

[6] Placed 3 years after the "31st year of Fland," i.e. in 912; after the death of Etalbh (see below, year 913), and the succession of Flaithbertach, king of Cashel [in 914; see C.S., Hennessy's year 913].

[7] The previous attack referred to was that made upon the English in Chester, in [909]. Ibid., 230-236.

and he was carried from the battle to a wood which was near them; and he died there.

And when Ottar, the earl who made most noise in the battle, saw that slaughter was being made of his people by the English, this is what he did; he fled into the woods, and such as were left of his people with him. Immense numbers of the English came after him, and they surrounded the wood. And the queen [Æthelflaed] set them on to cut down all the wood with their swords and their axes; and this they did. The wood was destroyed first, and all the pagans who were in the wood were killed.[1] In this manner the pagans were killed by the queen, and her fame spread on all sides.

[Æthelflæd][2] by her own wisdom made a treaty with the men of Scotland and with the Britons, that whenever the same race [the Scandinavians] should come against her they would rise to assist her: while if [the Scandinavians] came against them, she should rise [to assist] them. While this continued, the Scots and Britons fell upon the towns of the Scandinavians,[3] destroyed and pillaged them.

Afterwards the king [Ronald] of the Scandinavians came, and plundered Strathclyde; that is to say, he

[1] Since it is here implied that Ottar was killed, this battle is probably the same that A.S.C. places in 911.

[2] *Edeldrida.* Æthelflæd was king Edward's sister, and Lady of Mercia. Probably this refers to a time after her husband Æthered's death in 912. She built fortresses at Bramsbury (910); Sarrat and Bridgenorth (912); Tamworth, Stafford, Eddesbury, Warwick, Chirbury, Wardbury, and Runcorn (913); and took in battle Brecknock (916), and Derby (917) (A.S.C.). She gained Leicester in 918, and died on 12th June, 918 (A.S.C., BCD; †918, E; † 12 June, 922, A).

After her death, her conquests were taken over by her brother, Edward the Elder, Alfred's son, king of the English; the kings of Wales (Higuel, Clitauc, and Iutgual) submitted to him; and he occupied Nottingham (A.S.C., A). In ?920, he erected a castle at Thelwall in Cheshire, and sent a levy of Mercians to fortify and occupy "Manchester in Northumbria" (A.S.C., A, s.a. 923). In ?921, he built another castle at Nottingham, on the south side of the river, and built a bridge between them over the Trent; and erected castles at Bakewell in Peakland (A.S.C., A, s.a. 924) and at Clwyd mouth (*Cledemutha;* A.S.C., CD, s.a. 921). Then the Northumbrians and Scots came to terms with him. See year 921.

[3] *fo bailibh na Lochlonn.*

plundered the land, but the enemy could do nothing against Strathclyde.[1]

?913

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, pp. 424-426, s.a. 912 or 913=913[2]

. . . Maelmuire, daughter of Kenneth, Alpin's son, [and] Eadulf,[3] king of the Saxons of the north, died.[4] . . .

A victory [was gained] by gentiles over the crew of a ship-fleet from Ulster, on the coast of England[5]; and there many fell, including Cumuscach, son of Maelmochergi, king of Lecale.[6]

[1] *acht ní ro cumaing namaid* [*ní*] *do Sraith cluaide;* "but the enemy was not able to take" Strathclyde, according to O'Donovan.

Here Duald's Fragment III ends.

According to S.D., ii, 93, "King Ronald and earl Ottar and Oswulf Cracabam broke into and pillaged Dunbline" in 912. This place was understood by Skene to have been Dunblane; by Arnold, to have been Dublin. The Scandinavians had been driven out of Dublin in 902 (A.U.; C.S., Hennessy's year 902); they returned to it in 917; and killed king Niall Black-knee, Aed's son, there, on Wednesday, 15th September, 919 (A.U.). S.D.'s dates are at this time somewhat in arrear. He probably refers to the occupation in 917.

[2] The previous year-section concludes thus: "A rainy and dark year. A comet appeared." There was a comet in 912: Pingré, i, 353. Cf. e.g. Annales Quedlinburgenses, M.G.H., Scriptores, iii, 912; Herimannus Augiensis, ibid., v, 112. The words *tenebrosus annus* in Irish annals mean that there was an eclipse in the course of the year; and in 912 there were eclipses of both moon and sun (L'Art).

[3] In text *Etulb* "Eadulf": *Etalbh* in D.M.F. Æthelweald, king of Northumbria, died in 905 (A.S.C., ABCD); the present annal may refer to his death, with mistaken name and date. Cf. above, year 904, note. A.S.C. places the appearance of the comet of 905 at the end of the annal that contains his death.

Eadulf's death stands similarly in D.M.F., III, 244, under [913].

[4] Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 145, s.a. 905: "Maelmuire [*Moilmarie*], daughter of king Kenneth, Alpin's son, king of Scotland, died." S.C.S., i, 313-314, says that Maelmuire was the wife of Aed Findliath, king of Ireland. According to Duald's Fragment, 156, 178, 192, Aed Findliath's wife was Fland, daughter of Dungal ("Dunlaing"), king of Ossory; the sister of king Cerball. She had previously married Maelsechlaind, and was king Fland's mother. She was also the mother of Cendétig, Gaithin's son, king of Leix.

[5] *for fairinn no-choblaigh de Ultaibh i n-airiur Saxan.*

[6] *mac righ leithi Cathail.* "Maelmochergi, Indrechtach's son, one of two kings of Ulster, was killed by his confederates" in 896; A.U., i, 412, s.a. 895 or 896=896. His son, king of Lecale, was killed in 897; ibid., i, 414.

914

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 428, s.a. 913 or 914=914

A sea-fight [took place] at Man[1] between Bard, Ottar's son, and Ronald, grandson of Ivar; and there Bard was destroyed, with almost all his army.[2]

A large fleet of gentiles at Waterford.[3]

916

Annales Cambriae; Y Cymmrodor, vol. ix, p. 168, s.a. [915][4]

King Anaraut died.[5]

877-917

Wars of the Irish with the Foreigners, c. 26, pp. 26-28

The men of Ireland had some rest for forty years, without ravaging of the Foreigners, from the time of Maelsechlaind,

[1] *oc Manainn;* probably Man, not Anglesey; cf. year 987 (below). Cf. B.T., R.S. **17**, 20 (s.a. 914 in MS. D). In 900, however, "the pagans came into the island of Món" (B.S. in M.A., 656; cf. B.T. ibid., 689; and see A.C., s.a. [902]). Cf. year ?919, note.

[2] This seems to have been a defeat of Norwegians by Danes.

[3] *Loch-da-caech*, i.e. Waterford Harbour. These seem to have been Scandinavians returning from Britain, perhaps from Galloway. See p. 405, note.

C.S., 186, Hennessy's year 913=914: "Foreigners came into Ireland, in Port-lairge" (Waterford).

[4] Placed one year after the "470th year" after 444.

[5] B.T. in R.B.H., 261 (1 year after 910): 'And Anaraut, Rotri's son, king of the Britons, died." His death is placed under 913 in B.T. in M.A., 688; B.S. in M.A., 656.

Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 145, s.a. 910=915 and 916: "Anaraut, Rotri's son [*Anoroit mcRwaragh*], king of Britain, died."

According to Skene (F.A.B.W., i, 95), Anaraut was Rotri's eldest son, and was succeeded in North Wales by his son, Iutgual; and he, by Higuel Da (see year 950).

C.S., 188, Hennessy's year 915=916: "Fland, Maelsechlaind's son, king of all Ireland, died at Cend-eich of the monks [*muintire*] of Cluain [? Cloyne, Co. Cork], on the eighth before the Kalends of June, the seventh day of the week, in the thirty-seventh year of his reign . . .": i.e., upon Saturday, 25th May, 916. A.U., s.a. 915=916, adds: "about the seventh hour of the day" (12-1 p.m.), and says that Fland reigned for 36 years, 6 months, and 5 days; reckoning from 20th November, 879, the day of Aed Niall's son's death (A.U.; see above, p. 364).

Maelruanaid's son, to the year before the death of Fland, Maelsechlaind's son, and until Niall Black-knee took the kingdom.[1] Then Ireland was filled again with the fleets of the Foreigners. Then came a fleet with Hakon and with Cossa-Nara, and they landed in Waterford Harbour; and Munster was plundered by them.

But the [men of] Kerry gained a battle against them, and there fell Thomas Cind-Crete.

The Ui-Fathaig and the Ui-Oengusa defeated them in another battle. And the men of Connaught won another battle against the fleet of Limerick. The [men of] Kerry and Corco-baiscin defeated them in another battle at Lemain; and there fell Rolt[2] Pudarill, and three hundred with him, and Muraill.

918

Wars of the Irish with the Foreigners, Book of Leinster's version; Rolls Series, no. 48, p. 235

[The Foreigners of Waterford] went [from Ireland] to Scotland after that,[3] and the men of Scotland gave them battle; and they were slain there, namely Ronald[4] and Ottar.[5]

[1] So far, also in the Book of Leinster's version, ibid., 232-233.

Maelsechlaind died in 862, Fland in 916.

The period of partial cessation of wars between the Irish and the Norwegians was in reality from 877 (q.v.) to 914 (q.v.). Many Norwegians seem to have left Ireland in 877; and since the period begins with their killing of Constantine, the king of Scotland, and their settling for a year in Pictland, it might be argued that some of them at least had settled in some part of Scotland. This may in fact have been the time of the Norwegian settlements in Galloway. Others went to Iceland.

[2] I.e., Hróald?; cf. the "Hróald the Red" of B.T. in M.A. (above, year 911, note). But the names in L.L. (Wars, 233) are Ascalt Putrall, and Smurull. A.S.C. places the death of an earl Hróald, with the death of earl Ottar's brother, in Herefordshire, after an invasion of Wales, in 915 (BCD; 918, A).

[3] After the Norwegians of Waterford's campaign in Munster. Cf. A.U., s.a. 916-917.

[4] "Son of Ivar" ibid., 234. This may perhaps have been the "Ronald, Ivar's grandson," who survived until 921.

[5] "The earl" ibid., 234.

The late version of the Wars seems to misplace the same invasion of Scotland, in a synchronistic section (c. 27) where it is omitted by the L.L. version. P. 28:—"Four years afterwards, the Foreigners left Ireland, and went to Scotland, along with Sigtrygg Ivar's son" (read "grandson"?).

918

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 436, s.a. 917 or 918=918[1]

The Foreigners of Waterford left Irèland, namely Ronald, king of the Black-foreigners, and the two earls, Ottar and Graggabai[2]; and they went afterwards to the men of Scotland.

And the men of Scotland came to meet them, and they met upon the banks of the Tyne, in the north of England.[3] The

This ought probably to mean that the invasion occurred 4 years after the Scandinavians' defeat at Lemain; or after their return to Ireland, and settlement at Waterford. But the previous passage includes: "Afterwards the huge royal fleet of the children of Ivar came to Dublin [?917], and the greater part of all Ireland was plundered by them; and they pillaged Armagh: and a battle was gained against Fland, Maelsechlaind's son [888]; and there Aed, Conchobar's son, fell [888]. . . . This is the year in which Maelsechlaind was killed [read "died," with L.L.; †862], and Lismore was plundered and burned by Ivar's son; and Cloyne [Co. Cork] was plundered. . . . Moreover in this year Duncan, Dubdabairend's son, king of Cashel, was killed [888]; and Sigtrygg [read, with L.L., "Sigfrith, Ivar's son"; †888] king of the Foreigners. And they made many other attacks upon the men of Leinster in this year" ["did great evils about Ireland" L.L.].

This would appear to place an invasion of Scotland in 892. There is evident confusion. Possibly the writer, misled by the similarity of names, thought that Sigtrygg's invasion of Scotland must have occurred before the death of Sigfrith Ivar's son. But whatever the source of the error may be, this is no evidence of an earlier invasion than the one of 918.

After this digression, and the dating of the invasion of Scotland, the Wars describe Ronald and Ottar's occupation of Waterford.

The 14th-century text, c. 29, (ibid., 34) reads (after the death of Audgisl [867] and the battle of Cell-ua-nDaigri [868], 6 years after the death of Maelsechlaind [862]): "[The White-gentiles] were driven out of Munster after that, and went to Scotland; and they gave battle to Constantine, Aed's son; and they were slain there together, Ronald and Ottar; and slaughter [was made] of their people with them." This is the invasion of 918, misplaced, possibly through confusion of the Eowils who fell in 911 with the Auisle who was killed in 867.

[1] The next year-section contains data that fix it as 919.

[2] Probably for Icelandic *Kraka-bein* "Crow-foot"; a name given later to Olaf Tryggvi's son. Cf. Adam of Bremen, M.G.H., Scriptores, vii, 320. This earl is called Oswulf Cracabam by S.D. (above, p. 403).

[3] *la Saxanu tuaiscirt* "with the Saxons of the north." The English, however, are not said to have taken part in the battle.

This was the battle of Tynemoor, fought in [918], according to the Chronicle of the Kings (see year 943). This may have been fought near the Haddingtonshire Tyne. Cf. the devastation of Tynningham, in 941.

gentiles put themselves into four companies: a company under Godfrey, grandson of Ivar; a company under the two earls; a company under the young lords[1]; and a company that the Scots did not see, in ambush, under Ronald. The Scots routed the three companies that they saw, and made great slaughter of the gentiles, including Ottar and Graggabai. And Ronald afterwards attacked the Scots in the rear, and inflicted slaughter upon them; but neither king nor mormaer was lost from among them. Night stopped the battle.[2]

918

Duald Mac-Firbis, Fragment III, pp. 228-230[3]

Almost in the same days,[4] the men of Fortriu and the Scandinavians fought a battle. But the men of Scotland fought this battle hardily, because Columcille assisted them; for they prayed to him fervently, since he was their apostle, and through him they had received the faith.

Because on another occasion,[5] when Ivar Conung was a young lad, and had come to plunder Scotland, with three large companies, this is what the men of Scotland did, both clergy and laymen: they continued till morning fasting, and praying to God and to Columcille, and shouting loudly to the Lord; and they gave many charities of food and clothing to the churches and to the poor; and they took the Lord's body from

[1] *lasna h-óctigerna.*

[2] F.M., ii, 592, s.a. 916=918 (and the "2nd year of Niall" Glundub as sovereign of Ireland): "Ottar and the Foreigners went from Waterford to Scotland, and Constantine, Aed's son, gave them battle; and Ottar was killed, and slaughter [was made] of the Foreigners there along with him."

"Ronald, grandson of Ivar, king of the White-foreigners and the Black-foreigners" in Ireland, died in 921: A.U., i, 440, s.a. 920 or 921=921.

[3] Also in Reeves's Adamnan, 332 f.

[4] I.e., in 909. This stands after the deaths of Cerball and Catell [† 909]; and before the death of Æthered [† 912]. It is immediately preceded and succeeded by an account of how Scandinavians, expelled from Ireland, after receiving land near Chester from Æthelflæd, attempted [in 909] to obtain the city of Chester, which was occupied by the English. (Ibid., 228; 230-236.) But there is little doubt that it refers to the warfare of 918.

[5] See above, year 904.

the hands of their priests, and they promised to do every good thing according to the best instructions of their priests, and that Columcille's staff should be their standard in front of every battle. [This staff] was therefore called *Cathbuaid*[1] from that time onwards; and it was a fitting name, because they often gained victory in battles through it: even as they did then on that occasion, when they placed their trust in Columcille.

They did the same on this occasion. Thereupon the battle was fought hardily and actively; the Scots got victory and triumph, and the Scandinavians, routed, were slain in great numbers, and their king was killed there, Ottar, Iargna's[2] son. It was long after this before the Danes or Scandinavians [again] attacked them; and [the Scots] had peace and quiet.

919

Annales Cambriae; Y Cymmrodor, vol. ix, p. 168, s.a. [919][3]

King Clitauc was killed.[4]

920

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 440, s.a. 919 or 920=920

The church[5] of Kells was destroyed by the gentiles, with a company of martyrs inside.[6]

[1] "Victory in battle."

[2] *Iarngna* in the text; cf. the *Iercne* who died in 852 (above). Possibly for *Iárn-kné*, a possible Norse name, "Iron-knee"? Cf. the *Glun-iaraind* (Irish, "Iron-knee") who led Scandinavians from Dublin, and plundered Armagh, in 895 (A.U., i, 412); and the *Glun-iairn* king of the Scandinavians in Ireland, Olaf Cuaran's son, who died in 989 (A.U., i, 496).

[3] Placed 5 years after the "470th year" after 444.

[4] Clitauc was a son of Catell; see year 909.

B.T. in R.B.H., 261 (3 years before 920): "Clitauc, Catell's son, was killed by his brother, Meuruc." His death is placed by B.S. in M.A., 656, under 917; by B.T. in M.A., 680, under 914, in the same annal with a devastation of Món by the men of Ireland.

[5] *doimliac.*

[6] C.S., 190-192, Hennessy's year 919=920 (after the battle in which Muirchertach, Tigernan's son, was killed by Fland, Maelsechlaind's grandson): "Kells was plundered by the foreigners after that, and the church [*doimliag*] destroyed."

921

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 27

In the year 921, the king of the Scots with his whole nation, and Ronald, king of the Danes inhabiting Northumbria, and king Sigtrygg, did homage to king Edward.[1]

926

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 28

In the year 926, king Sigtrygg died; and Æthelstan added his kingdom to his own empire, after driving out Godfrey, [Sigtrygg's] son. He conquered in battle and put to flight the king of the Britons also, Higuel; and Constantine, king of the Scots; and Owen,[2] king of Gwent. And they asked peace from him, and made a treaty with him, confirmed by an oath.[3]

[1] This is derived from F.W. See E.C., 65. Cf. the Annals of Chichester, in A.N.G., 88, s.a. 923.

This submission was the culmination of the events of the previous ten years. See p. 402, note.

King Edward the Elder died in 925 (A.S.C., AF) or 924 (BCDE). If the reign-lengths of his successors are correctly given in A.S.C., the later year is more probably correct. See year 939, note.

[2] *Wuer*; *Uwen* in A.S.C.: i.e. Welsh *Ouein.*

[3] This is derived from F.W. See E.C., 66-67.

Cf. B.S. in R.B.H., 387: "[Æthelstan] conquered the men of Denmark, and the Gaels, and the Scots. He expelled Iutgual, the king of the Welsh, and Constantine, the king of Scotland, from their kingdoms. . . . 926 . . . And he raised the son of Constantine, king of Scotland, from the font."

King Æthelstan of Mercia (king Edward the Elder's son and successor) had in the previous year given his sister in marriage to Sigtrygg, king of Northumbria (A.S.C., D, s.a. 925). Sigtrygg is said to have killed his brother "Niel" (i.e., Niall, an Irish name) (A.S.C., EF, s.a. 921; S.D., s.a. 914); this was probably in reality Niall Glundub, Aed's son, who was killed at Dublin on 15th September, 919 (A.U.).

The English accounts of these affairs imply that several battles were fought; not necessarily all in one year (but 926×). Egil's Saga would place here a battle that may in reality have been the battle of Brunanburh.

PART XV

Battle of Vín-heath

?926

Egil's Saga, cc. 50-55; pp. 144-160[1]

At this time king Æthelstan took the kingdom in England, after his father.[2] There were several brothers, sons of Edward. But when Æthelstan had taken the kingdom the chiefs who had formerly lost dominion through his predecessors rose in opposition: they thought it would be easiest to make their claims while a young king ruled over the realm. These were Welsh, and Scots, and Irish. But king Æthelstan collected an army, and gave wages to all the men, both foreigners and natives, who were willing to get spoils for themselves.

The brothers Thorolf and Egil [Skallagrim's sons] proceeded south[3] past Saxony and Flemingland; then they learned that the king of England was thought to need an army, and that there was hope of much spoil. Then they decided to go there with their army. So they went in autumn, till they came to

[1] This part of Egil's Saga is untrustworthy.

[2] Edward died in 925/924. See years 921, 939, notes.

[3] After their victory over queen Gunnhild's brother, Eyvind Skreyia, son of Ozur Toti. F. Jónsson's table of dates of Egil's Saga places that victory, and Egil's coming to England, in 924; i.e. in the year (more probably 925) of Æthelstan's succession.

The saga places the battle of Vín-heath soon after Æthelstan's accession (in ?925; but it cannot have been earlier than 926: see year 926 above); and at least 4 winters before Harold Fairhair's death (in ?934). The first and last of these data would place the battle between 925 and 930. It may belong to the warfare of 926 (above). If it is the battle of Brunanburh, the saga's chronology is far astray. According to Jónsson's table of the saga's chronology, the battle of Vín-heath was fought in 925: and Egil returned to England in 936, and passed the winter with king Æthelstan. It is possible that the battle of Brunanburh took place during Egil's second visit. To assume that the saga-writer has transferred the battle from Egil's second visit to his first, is to upset the whole continuity of the saga's story And according to my reading of the evidence, Egil's second visit would have been in 938-939.

king Æthelstan; he received them well, and thought that their support would be a great assistance. It entered at once into the king of England's plans to call them to him, in order that they should receive wages and join his land-force. They arranged it between them that they became Æthelstan's vassals.

England was, and had long been, baptized, when these things occurred; king Æthelstan was a good Christian. He was called Æthelstan the Faithful. The king asked Thorolf, and his brother [Egil] with his followers, to let themselves be prime-signed; because that was then a great custom both with merchants and with those men who went for hire among Christian men, since those men that had been prime-signed had full intercourse with Christian men and heathens also, and kept that as their religion which they liked best. Thorolf and Egil did this at the king's request, and both let themselves be prime-signed. They had there three hundred and sixty followers who took wages from the king.

[c. 51] Olaf the Red was the name of a king in Scotland.[1]

[1] There might have been a king called Olaf ruling at this time over the Norwegians of Dumfriesshire and Galloway; but the saga implies that Olaf was the king of all Scotland, which is certainly incorrect. It is also said that he was killed in the battle. In Egil's verses (which are quoted in the saga) Olaf is called *Áleifr* (pp. 148, 159), a king (148), and young (159). The saga seems to have blundered over the name and fate of the Scottish king; and if it has, its authority for the events of this period cannot be very high.

Cf. the Annals of Clonmacnoise, 150, s.a. 931: "The Danes of Lough Ree arrived at Dublin. Olaf [Godfrey's son] with all the Danes of Dublin and [the] north part of Ireland departed and went over-seas. The Danes that departed from Dublin arrived in England, and by the help of the Danes of that kingdom they gave battle to the Saxons on the plains of Othlyn, where there was a great slaughter of Northmen and Danes, among which these ensuing captains were slain, viz. Sigfrith and Audgisl [*Sithfrey & Oisle*], the two sons of Sigtrygg; Galey Olaf Ffroit" (*Fivit*, according to O'Donovan, F.M., ii, 633; cf. *Fiuit* in the Book of Leinster, facsimile, 172 a 7, the equivalent of Icelandic *Hvítr* "white"; Stokes, Transactions of the Philological Society, 1890, p. 420); "and Maelmuire, the son of Cosse Warce; Maelissa; Gebeachan, king of the Islands; Cellach, prince of Scotland; with 30,000, together with 800 captives, including Olaf, Godfrey's son. And [the] abbot of Arick, Brith's son; Iloa Deck; Ivar, the king of Denmark's own son, with 4,000 soldiers in his guard, were all slain."

This is an account of the battle of Brunanburh. It is possible that the

He was a Scot by his father's kindred, but a Dane by his mother's kindred, and he had come of the race of Ragnar Lodbrok. He was a powerful man. Scotland was called a third part of the realm, in comparison with England; Northumberland was called a fifth part of England, and that is farthest north and close to Scotland on the east: Danish kings had had it before. York is the chief town there.

Æthelstan had the dominion [of Northumberland], and had set over it two earls: the one was called Alfgeir, and the other Godrek.[1] They sat there as land-defence both against the Scots and against the Danes or Norwegians, who plundered much in the land, and thought they had a great claim there to the land: because the only men in Northumberland (those of any importance) had Danish descent on the father's side or on the mother's side; and there were many of both.

Two brothers, Hring and Adils,[2] ruled over Wales, and were tribute-payers to king Æthelstan; and it followed that they and their army must be in the van of the host before the king's standard, when they were in battle on the king's side. These brothers were the greatest warriors, and not very young men.

Alfred the Mighty had reduced all the tributary kings from their [royal] title and rank. They were then called earls, who had before been kings or kings' sons. That continued during his life, and that of Edward, his son; but Æthelstan came young to the kingdom, and he was held in less awe. Then many became untrustworthy who had before been loyal.

[c. 52] Olaf, king of the Scots, drew together a great army, and sailed then south to England. And when he came to

saga's Olaf king of Scotland was in fact Olaf king of Dublin; and that the Saga's Adils, ruler of Wales, was Audgisl, Sigtrygg's son. Since these are said to have fallen in the battle of Vín-heath, there is some small ground for the presumption that Vín-heath was Brunanburh. It is also possible that the Annals of Clonmacnoise have confused two battles (fought in 926 and 937). If we accept the saga's evidence at all for the battle, we must accept also its date of the battle; i.e., soon after 925.

[1] *Guðrekr;* below, *Goðrekr.* This is probably the Anglo-Saxon name Godric (the Danish *Götrek* is *Gautrekr* in Icelandic). *Alfgeirr* probably stands for Danish *Alvger.*

[2] *Hringr . . . Aðils.* This latter name is an Icelandic form of Old Danish Athils (West-Scandinavian *Audgísl;* Irish *Auisle*).

Northumberland he harried everywhere: but when the earls [Alfgeir and Godrek] who had ruled there before heard this, they called together an army, and went against the king. And when they met, a great battle took place there; and it ended so, that king Olaf had the victory, and earl Godrek fell, but earl Alfgeir fled away with the greater part of the army which had followed them and had escaped from the battle. Since Alfgeir could make no resistance, Olaf laid all Northumberland under him.

Alfgeir went to king Æthelstan and told him of his disaster. And as soon as king Æthelstan heard that so great an army had come into his land, he immediately sent out men and summoned to him an army, and sent word to his earls and other nobles. The king went at once along with the army that he got, and advanced against the Scots.

But when it was known that the Scottish king Olaf had got the victory and had subdued to himself a great part of England, and had a much greater army than Æthelstan, he was joined by many nobles.

And when Hring and Adils (who had drawn together a large army) learned that, they betook themselves to king Olaf's army; then [his followers] had an immense force.

But when king Æthelstan learned all this, he summoned to him his lords and councillors, and inquired what was most expedient. Then he told all the people plainly what he had found out concerning the Scottish king's doings, and his great numbers. They all said the one thing about it, that earl Alfgeir had had the worst part in it, and they thought it fitting to take from him his rank. And this counsel was adopted, that king Æthelstan should go back to the south of England, and should call out his forces [from south] to north, from the whole land; because they saw that otherwise a great force would be slow to assemble, as many as were needed, if the king did not call them to service himself.

But over the army that had come together there the king placed Egil and Thorolf [Skallagrim's sons] as commanders. They were to rule the army that the vikings had brought there to the king; but Alfgeir himself had still command of his forces, and the king appointed leaders of detachments as seemed good to him.

When Egil returned from the assembly to his companions, they asked what tidings he could tell them of the Scottish king. He said: "Olaf vehemently drove the warrior [Alfgeir] into flight; and he slew the other. That king I hear is stubborn in the assembly of battle. Godrek has lost his way for the last time upon the moor.[1] The destroyer of the English has subdued to himself the half of Alfgeir's[2] land."[3]

Then they sent messengers to king Olaf, and gave this as their errand, that king Æthelstan wished to challenge him to a pitched battle,[4] and to offer him a battle-place at Vín-heath beside Vín-wood[5]; and he wished that they would not plunder in his land; but the one of them who got the victory in the battle should rule the kingdom in England. He appointed their meeting after a week, and that whoever came first should wait another week. It was then the custom that, as soon as a king had been challenged to the lists, he could not plunder at all without dishonour until the battle had ended. King Olaf did restrain his army, and did not plunder, but waited till the appointed day. Then he moved his army to Vín-heath.

One castle stood to the north of the heath; king Olaf took up his position there in the castle, and brought there the greater part of his army, because extending from there were wide plains, and he thought it was better there for the bringing up of the supplies that the army needed to have. And he sent his men up upon the heath, which had been appointed as the battle-field; they were to take there tent-places, and to encamp there, till the army came. And when these men came into the place where the lists were set, there had been put up hazel-poles to mark out the place where the battle was to be.

[1] Literally: "has trod enough wrong ways."

[2] *Alfgeirs;* for which the editors would read *Alsteins* "Æthelstan's," since it has been stated in the saga that Olaf had subdued "all Northumberland." But equally the saga says that Northumberland was a fifth, not a half, of England. Probably the verse passage has an earlier and truer account of Olaf's conquests.

[3] See J.S., i, A 50, B 44.

[4] Literally: "to hazel a field for him," i.e. to challenge him to fight within lists.

[5] *á Vínheiði við Vínuskóga.* This may have been Brunanburh; but the saga's account of the battle cannot stand against that of the English chronicles.

The place ought to be selected so that it shall be level, in order that a large army can be drawn up. So too it was, where the battle-field was to be: there was a level heath, and on the one hand ran a river, while on the other hand was a great wood. And where the shortest distance was between the wood and the river (and that was a good long way), there Æthelstan's men had pitched their tents: their tents stood right across from the wood to the river. They had so pitched their tents that there were no men in one tent in every three, and but few in the second. But when king Olaf's men came to them, they had placed a great number in front of all their tents, and they [Olaf's men] were not allowed to go in [to the lists]; Æthelstan's men said that their tents were all full of men, so that their army had nothing like room enough there. And the tents stood so high that it could not be seen over them from below, whether they stood many or few in depth. [Their opponents] thought that a very large army must be there. King Olaf's men [therefore] encamped outside the lists to the north, in which direction all the ground sloped downwards somewhat.

Æthelstan's men said too from one day to another that their king would then come or would have come into the castle which was to the south, below the heath. Forces collected to them both day and night.

But when the term that had been appointed had passed, Æthelstan's men sent messengers to king Olaf with these words, that king Æthelstan was ready for the battle, and had a very great army: but he sent king Olaf these words, that he wished not that they should make so great man-slaughter as was likely to result; bade him rather go back to Scotland, and Æthelstan would give him as a friendly gift a silver penny [1] for every plough in all his kingdom; and wished that they should establish friendship between them.

And when the messengers came to king Olaf he was beginning to prepare his army, and was intending to attack. But when the messengers delivered their errand, the king stopped his advance for that day: he sat in council, and the lords of his army with him. There men advised quite differently: some were very anxious that he should take this offer, and said that this had been the most glorious expedition,

[1] *skilling silfrs.*

that they should return after taking so great tribute from Æthelstan; some spoke dissuasively, and said that Æthelstan would offer much more the second time, if this were not accepted. And the latter counsel was adopted.

Then the messengers bade king Olaf take time, that they would yet go to king Æthelstan and see whether he were willing to pay still more tribute, in order that there might be peace; they asked for truce for one day, to ride back, and another day to consider, and the third day to come back again: and the king granted them this.

The messengers went back, and returned on the third day, as had been arranged. They told king Olaf that Æthelstan would give everything, just as he had offered before; and in addition, as spoil divided among king Olaf's army, a penny[1] to every free-born man; a mark to every leader of a detachment, who had twelve men or more under him; a mark of gold to every commander, and five marks of gold to every earl. Then king Olaf caused this to be laid before his army. Yet it was as before, that some opposed and some supported it. But finally the king made his decision and said that he would accept this offer if this was added, that king Æthelstan would let him have all Northumberland, with the taxes and dues that come from it. The messengers asked delay for three days more; and this besides, that king Olaf should send his men to hear king Æthelstan's words, whether he would agree to this offer or not. They said that they thought king Æthelstan would let few things stand in the way of accepting peace. King Olaf agreed to this, and sent his men to king Æthelstan.

The messengers rode all together, and found king Æthelstan in the castle that was nearest to the heath, upon the south. King Olaf's messengers laid their errand and offer of terms before king Æthelstan. King Æthelstan's men told also with what offers they had gone to king Olaf; and this also, that this had been the counsel of the wise men, to put off the battle thus, as long as the king did not come.

But king Æthelstan made a quick decision of this affair, and spoke thus to the messengers: "Bear these my words to king Olaf, that I will give him permission to go back to Scotland with his army, provided that he pays back all the

[1] *skilling*.

treasure that he has wrongfully seized in this land. Then let us establish peace here between our lands, and let neither harry in the other. This too shall be added, that king Olaf shall become my man, and hold Scotland of me, and be my under-king. Go back now," he said, "and tell him how things stand."

The messengers took their way back immediately, in the evening, and came to king Olaf about mid-night. They waked the king up and told him at once king Æthelstan's words. The king had his earls and other leaders called to him instantly, then bade the messengers approach and announce the result of their errand, and king Æthelstan's words. And when this was made known to the army, they had all one thing to say, that it remained for them to prepare for battle.

The messengers said this too, that Æthelstan had a large army, but that he had come to the castle on the same day as the messengers came. Then earl Adils said: "Now will it have appeared, king, as I said, that the English would prove to be dealing craftily with you. We have sat here a long time, and waited till they have drawn to them all their forces. And their king must have been nowhere near, when we came here. They must now have gathered a great army, since we encamped here. Now it is my plan, king, that we two brothers ride forward immediately this night with our army: it may be that they are not on the watch now, since they have learned that their king is near with a great army. If then we make an attack on them, and if they are routed, they will lose some of their army, and will then be less courageous in the conflict with us."

The king considered this plan well thought of. "We must prepare our army as soon as there is light, and join you."

This plan was adopted, and so they closed the conference.

[c. 53] Earl Hring and his brother Adils prepared their army, and went at once, in the night, south to the heath; but when it was light the sentries of Thorolf's men saw where the army was going; then the trumpets were blown: and the men put on their armour, and they began to draw up their forces. And they had two divisions: earl Alfgeir led the one division, and a banner was borne before him; there was in that division the army that had followed him there, and also the army that had been collected there from the country round. It was

by far a greater division than that which followed Thorolf [and Egil].

Thorolf was armed thus: he had a shield, broad and thick; a very strong helmet on his head; he was girt with the sword that he called Long, a great weapon and good; he had a halberd in his hand: its blade was two ells long, and above it was forged on a four-edged spike; the blade was broad above, the socket both long and thick; the shaft was not so long that the hand could not reach the socket [when the butt was on the ground], and was wonderfully thick. An iron wedge was in the socket, and all the shaft was iron-bound. Such spears were called mail-pikes.[1]

Egil had the same equipment as Thorolf. He was girt with the sword that he called Adder; he had taken that sword in Courland; that was the best weapon. Neither of them had a coat of mail.

They raised a banner, and Thorfinn the Strong carried it. All their army had Norwegian shields, and all Norwegian equipment; they were all Norwegian men who were in that division.

Thorolf drew them up near the wood, while Alfgeir's division went along the river.

Earl Adils and his brother saw that they could not take Thorolf and his men by surprise; so they began to arrange their army. They also made two divisions, and had two banners; Adils was arrayed against earl Alfgeir, and Hring against the vikings. Then battle began there. Both sides went forward well. Earl Adils pressed forward hard, until Alfgeir gave ground; then Adils's men pressed on much more daringly. It was not long until Alfgeir fled; and this is to be said of him, that he rode away south over the heath, and a company of men with him; there he rode till he came near the castle where the king sat. Then the earl said: "I have no intention of our going to the castle; we got much reproach last time, when we came to the king after we had been defeated by king Olaf; and he will not think that our case has improved in this expedition. We can now expect no honour where he is."

Then he rode southwards through the country; and this is to be said of his journey, that he rode day and night, until they

[1] *brynthvarar.*

came west to Earl's-ness[1]; the earl got there a passage south over the sea, and escaped to France.[2] There he had one half of his kindred. He came never again to England.

Adils pursued at first, but not far before he turned back to the place where the battle was. Then he made an attack. But when Thorolf saw that, he turned against the earl and bade his standard be carried there; he bade his men follow up, and stand close: "Let us move in the wood," he said, "and let it protect us behind, so that they cannot come upon us from all sides at once."

They did so, and kept close along the wood; a hard battle was fought there. Egil advanced against Adils, and there was a hard contest. The odds were very great, yet more men fell on Adils' side. Then Thorolf became so violent that he flung his shield behind his back, and took his spear in his two hands, and so leapt forward and hewed or thrust with both hands: men sprang away from him on two sides, but he slew many. He so cleared the way before him to the earl Hring's standard, and nothing could withstand him: he slew the man who bore earl Hring's banner, and cut down the banner-pole. Then he thrust his spear against the earl's breast through his mail and body, so that it passed out between his shoulders; and he raised him up above his head upon his halberd, and struck down the spear-butt in the earth; there died the earl on the spear, and all saw it, both [Hring's] men and his enemies also. Then Thorolf drew his sword and hewed to right and left; his men too pressed on; then many Britons and Scots fell, but some turned to flight.

And when earl Adils saw the fall of his brother, and the great slaughter of his [brother's] army, and that some fled, he thought he should suffer for it, so he took to flight and ran for the wood; he fled into the wood with his company; then all the army that had followed him began to flee. Great slaughter was made there of the fugitives. And then the rout spread far and wide over the heath. Earl Adils had cut down his banner, and so none knew where he went, more than other men. Soon the darkness of night began, and Thorolf and Egil turned back to their camp. And immediately king Æthelstan came there with all his army, and they pitched their tents and

[1] *á Jarlsnes.* [2] *á Vallandi.*

encamped. A little later, king Olaf came with his army to the place where their men had tented; king Olaf was told that both his earls Hring and Adils had fallen, and very many others of his men.

[c. 54] King Æthelstan had already the previous night been in the castle, as was said before; and there he learned that there had been a battle on the heath. So he prepared immediately, with all his army, and proceeded northwards to the heath. Then he heard clearly all the news, how the battle had gone. Then the brothers Thorolf and Egil came to the king's presence; he thanked them well for their courage, and the victory that they had won. He promised them his perfect friendship. They all abode together there that night.

King Æthelstan waked up his army in the early morning; he had a conversation with his leaders, and said what the arrangement of his force should be. He drew up his own division first, and set in front those companies that were most vigorous. Then he said that Egil should be [placed] over this army. "But Thorolf" said he, "shall be [placed] with his army and the other army that I set there; this shall be the second division in our army. He shall be the leader of it because the Scots are always in loose battle-order[1]; they leap forward and back, and advance in various places: they are often dangerous, if men are not on their guard, but are out of ranks on the field, when one attacks them."

Egil answered the king: "I will not, that Thorolf and I be parted in the battle; but it seems to me good that we should both be placed where there is greatest need, and where the battle is hardest." Thorolf said: "Let the king decide where he will place us; let us serve the king as he wishes. If thou wilt, I will take the place assigned to thee." Egil said: "This time he and thou shall decide; but I shall often regret this parting."

Then the men went into divisions as the king had divided them, and the banners were raised up. The king's division

[1] *lausir i fylkingu.* With this, Jónsson compares the passage in Niál's Saga, c. 86 (see p. 499). Similar tactics to those followed in this battle by Thorolf were employed by the Northmen of Orkney against the Scottish earl Maelbrigte (in O.S., c. 5; see above, p. 371). These incidents do not illustrate the style of Scottish fighting described here.

spread over the plain towards the river, but Thorolf's division occupied the upper ground beside the wood. Then king Olaf began to array his army when he saw that Æthelstan had arrayed his; he too made two divisions, and he let his banner go with the division that he led himself, opposite to king Æthelstan and his division. They had each there so great an army that there was no difference between them in numbers. King Olaf's second division went near the wood, against the army that Thorolf led: its leaders were Scottish earls; it was mostly composed of Scots, and it was very numerous. Then the divisions engaged, and at once there was a great battle there. Thorolf pressed on hard, and had his standard carried forward along the wood, intending to go so far forward that he should come upon king [Olaf's] army in the rear[1]; they held their shields before them, and the wood was above them on their way; they trusted to its shelter. Thorolf went so far forward that few of his men were before him; and when he expected it least, earl Adils leapt out there from the wood, with the company that followed him; immediately they thrust at Thorolf with many halberds all at once, and he fell there by the wood. But Thorfinn, who carried the banner, ran back where the army was closest; and then Adils pressed on against them, and there was a great battle there.

The Scots raised a shout of victory where they had felled the leader. But when Egil heard that, and saw that Thorolf's standard was in retreat, then he thought he knew that Thorolf himself was not following it. Then he leapt forward thither between the divisions; he soon was aware of what had taken place there, as soon as he reached his men. Then he urged on the army greatly to the attack; he was the foremost in the van. He had the sword Adder in his hand. Then he pressed on, and hewed to right and left, and felled many men. Thorfinn bore the banner close behind him, and the other army followed the banner; there took place the most strenuous battle. Egil went forward till he met earl Adils; they exchanged few strokes before earl Adils fell; and many men [fell] with him: but after his fall the army fled that had followed him. And Egil and his army pursued them, and slew as many as they overtook: therefore it was useless to ask for quarter. And then the

[1] *í opna skjöldu*, "in open shield."

Scottish earls did not stand long; so soon as they saw that others of their fellows were fleeing, they began immediately to run away. But Egil and his followers assembled where king [Olaf's] division was, and came upon them in the rear. And quickly they made great slaughter there. Then that division crumbled away, and melted utterly. Then many of Olaf's men fled, and the vikings raised a shout of victory.

But when king Æthelstan thought he perceived that king Olaf's division began to break up, he urged on his army, and had the banner carried forward; there was then a hard attack so that Olaf's army gave way, and very great slaughter was made. King Olaf fell there, and the greater part of the army that Olaf had had: because those who took to flight were all slain, when they were overtaken. King Æthelstan got there a very great victory.

[c. 55] King Æthelstan left the battle; but his men followed up the pursuit. He rode back to the castle, and took his first night's rest in the castle. But Egil pursued, and followed them far, and slew every man he reached. Then he turned back with his company, and went to the place where the battle had been, and found there his brother Thorolf slain; he took up his body, and washed it, and laid it out after the custom. They dug a grave there, and set Thorolf in it with all his weapons and clothes; then Egil clasped a gold ring on each of his arms, before parting from him; then they piled up stones, and sprinkled earth over him. Then Egil sang these verses: "The earl's slayer, dreading nothing, advanced eagerly in the great clashing of Odin[1]; the strong-minded Thorolf fell. The earth grows green over my renowned brother, near the Vín[2]; it is a deadly loss, but we shall veil our tears."

And still he sang: "I heaped the field in the west with the dead, before the banner-poles. Violent was the steel-storm in which I attacked Adils with the blue Adder. The young Olaf had steel-thunder with the English; Hring fought in the assembly of weapons; the ravens starved not."

Then Egil went with his company to king Æthelstan, and came at once before the king, where he sat at the drinking. There was great noise of merriment. And when the king saw

[1] I.e. "battle."

[2] *Víno nær;* the river of Vín-heath, probably = "Wine."

that Egil had come in, he said that the lower bench should be cleared for them; and said that Egil should sit there in the high-seat, facing the king. Egil sat down there, and cast his shield before his feet. He had a helmet on his head, and he laid his sword upon his knees; and he half drew it now and then, and again drove it back into the scabbard. He sat upright,[1] and was very bowed. Egil was broad-faced and had a broad forehead; bushy brows, a nose not long but extremely thick; bearded lips, broad and long; a chin remarkably broad, and so too his jaws: he was thick necked and large-shouldered, outstandingly beyond other men; of stern appearance, and fierce, when he was angry. He was well made, and taller than every man; [he had] wolf-grey hair, and thick, and grew early bald. . . . Egil was black-eyed and beetle-browed.[2] . . .[3]

[1] I.e., without leaning back.

[2] *skolbrúnn:* "with eyebrows meeting," according to Halldórsson and Jónsson. This description of Egil's appearance may have some ethnological value.

[3] Egil twisted his brows and refused drink. Æthelstan gave him a gold arm-ring: Egil was pleased, and drank. "After that the king had two chests brought in; two men carried each; both were full of silver." Æthelstan gave these to Egil for Skallagrim, in atonement for Thorolf's death: he offered to Egil such honour and rank in England as he should choose. Then Egil became cheerful. He remained that winter with Æthelstan. He composed a eulogy on Æthelstan; "Æthelstan then gave further to Egil as reward for the poem two gold rings, and each weighed a mark; and in addition a costly mantle, which the king himself had formerly worn."

In spring, (promising to return) Egil went to Norway, to look after Thorolf's property and widow, Asgerd, Biorn's daughter. He found her with her kinsman Arinbiorn, who had succeeded his father Thori, Hróald's son. Egil remained with Arinbiorn the next winter [926-927, according to Jónsson], and married Asgerd before the spring. He sailed to Iceland, after 12 winters' absence, and spent the next winter there with his father Skallagrim [927-928, u.s.]; with them at Borg were Thorfinn the Strong, and many others. Thorfinn married Sæunn, Skallagrim's daughter, and settled in Iceland. My estimate of the dates would be one year later than Jónsson's.

When Egil had been at Borg for several winters [927-932, u.s.] he heard that yeoman Biorn had died, and that Berg-Onund, Biorn's son-in-law, with king Eric's support had taken Asgerd's inheritance. Egil went to Norway [933, u.s.] and failed to get justice from Eric; the Thing at which he claimed it broke up in disorder [934, according to Jónsson]; Egil challenged Berg-Onund to battle, and cursed all who should usurp Biorn's property. Egil was outlawed by Eric. This was in the year [?935] of

Eric's campaign in the Vik, the summer after Harold Fairhair's death (cc. 57, 59 ; pp. 181, 183. Cf. H., Harold Fairhair, c. 43 ; Icelandic Annals, CA, s.a. 932, D, s.a. 934).

Egil killed Berg-Onund and Ronald, Eric's son, and several others, and returned to Iceland (c. 58), before Hakon, Æthelstan's foster-son, went to Norway (in ?936 ; see below, p. 427) (c. 59).

Egil did not divide the money Æthelstan had given him, either with Skallagrim or with any one else (cc. 56, 58 ; pp. 167-168, 191) ; he hid it before he died (c. 85, pp. 292-293). Similarly Skallagrim had hidden his money on the night before he died [?935] (c. 58, pp. 191-192) : and Egil buried no money with him (p. 193). The stories told of Egil in the saga represent him as being ambitious in acquiring riches, and perhaps ready to exaggerate his achievements.

PART XVI

End of Constantine's Reign. Reign of Malcolm

927

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 448, s.a. 926 or 927 = 927

Maelbrigte, Tornan's son, successor of Patrick and Columcille, rested in happy old age.[1]

[1] Similarly in C.S., 196; Hennessy's year 926 = 927.

A.I., 37, O'Conor's year 911 = 927 (19 years after 908, 4 years before 931, which years are indicated by epacts and ferial numbers): "The rest of Maelbrigte, son of Toman" (read "Tornan"), "abbot of Armagh, and abbot of Iona of Columcille."

F.M., ii, 616, s.a. 925 = 927 (and "the 8th year of Duncan," king of Ireland): "Maelbrigte, Tornan's son, successor of Patrick, of Columcille, and of Adamnan, head of the religion of all Ireland and of the greater part of Europe, died after attaining distinguished old age, on the 22nd of February. And in commemoration of his death it was said: 'In the twelfth year (not trifling) [after] Fland was buried on the eighth of the Kalends of July [24th June, 913? See A.U., i, 424, s.a. 911 or 912 = 912] Maelbrigte, most distinguished of the valiant Irish, [died] on the eighth of the Kalends of noble March [22nd February]. Since the divine Son of God was born into the world, 925 years [had passed] to the death of Maelbrigte . . . [*iar ní*]. It was not an uneventful year; unripe was the abbot of Armagh, Maelbrigte, the crown of Europe, [and] Cormac, [abbot] of Glendalough."

In the list of Patrick's successors, in L.L., 42 (R.S. 89, ii, 544): "Maelbrigte, Tornan's son, 33 [years; he was] successor of Patrick, and of Columcille, and of Bridget. . . ."

Martyrology of Gorman, p. 40, February 22nd: "Maelbrigte without dangers."

Martyrology of Donegal, p. 54, February 22nd: "Maelbrigte, Dornan's son, successor of Patrick and of Columcille: a man full of the grace of God, and a vessel of the wisdom and of the knowledge of his time."

List of mothers of Irish Saints, in L.L., 372, d: "Saerlaith, daughter of Cuilebath, son of Baethgal: [Saerlaith was] mother of Maelbrigte, Tornan's son." The Book of Lecan makes Maelbrigte 13th in descent from Conall Gulban (Reeves, Adamnan, 392).

934

Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 149, s.a. 928

Æthelstan, king of Saxons, preyed and spoiled the kingdom of Scotland to Edinburgh, and yet the Scottish men compelled him to return without any great victory.

934

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 28

In the year 934, king Æthelstan wasted Scotland as far as Dunnottar and Werter-moors,[1] with a land army; and with a naval army, as far as Caithness: because Constantine broke the bond of the treaty.[2]

934-937

Theoderic, Historia de Antiquitate Regum Norwagiensium, c. 2; Storm's Monumenta, p. 7

To Harold [Fairhair] succeeded his son, Eric by name. . . .

The aforesaid Harold had sent one of his sons, Hakon by name, to Æthelstan, king of the English, to be fostered and taught the manners of the nation; and him the Norwegians recalled, because of the cruelty of his brother [Eric], and [more] especially of [Eric's] wife Gunnhild; and they appointed him king.

And Eric sailed to England, and was honourably received by the king. He died there.

Eric reigned for three years; two of them alone, the third with his brother [Hakon].[3]

[1] *usque Dunfoeder et Wertermore.*

[2] This is derived from English sources. See E.C., 68-69; and cf. Bain, ii, 112; Fordun, IV, 23.

An obscure poem, written to salute king Æthelstan, (926×937; perhaps 926×934) seems to speak of king Constantine as Æthelstan's vassal. See E.H.R., xxvi, 483. These verses seem to mention also Higuel, king of Wales. Cf. year 926.

[3] Cf. Ágrip, c. 5; F.S., x, 380: "Eric Bloodaxe . . . held Norway for 5 winters altogether, including the two winters when he was greeted as king in the land while Harold lived, and three [winters] afterwards."

Ibid., 380-381: "Then wise men called Hakon back to the land secretly, two winters after the death of Harold Fairhair; and he came with two ships from the west, and sat for the winter in such a manner that

he had not the name of king. . . . He was nearly 20 years old when he came to the land. . . ."

For the dates of Harold's reign see above, pp. 322-323. The numbers given are perhaps approximate, and the dates must be accepted as approximate only.

Harold reigned for 70 winters to his death (Ari ; Theoderic ; Ágrip) : for 60 winters as king of all Norway, from the battle of Hafrsfiordr to his death (Ágrip, c. 4 ; F.S., x, 380. Theoderic, p. 6, erroneously implies that "he held alone the kingdom of all Norway for 70 years, and died"). For the last 2 years of his reign, his son Eric was the ruling king.

The sagas, however, give Harold 70 years' reign (80 years of age) before he abdicated in Eric's favour (H., and Snorri's St Olaf's Saga. Egil's Saga, c. 57, p. 180 : "Harold had been 70 winters king when he gave up the kingdom into the hands of his son Eric"). The 3 years during which Eric reigned after Harold's death, they give to Eric after Harold's abdication ; they therefore say that Harold lived for 3 years after his abdication (Olaf's Saga, c. 11 ; H., Olaf Tryggvi's son, c. 45 (Fr., 62-63) ; Egil's Saga, u.s. ; F., 23). Some writers go further, and add these 3 years to Harold's reign (Historia Norwegiae, Storm's Monumenta, 104 ; Olaf's Saga, c. 2, F.S., i, 5 ; F., 23 ; Konungatal, Fl., i, 583). In consequence of this error, 3 years were added to Harold's life (e.g. in Snorri's St Olaf's Saga, c. 6, p. 7) ; and in order to make up Eric's reign to 5 years, the sagas say that he reigned 2 winters after Harold's death, the second winter with Hakon. H. ; Olaf's Saga, c. 15 ; Egil's Saga, 193, c. 59 : F., 25, 26, 31 ; Fl., i, 224 (R.S. 88, i, 10). Similarly Historia Norwegiae, p. 105, and the Konungatal in Fl., i, 583, say that Eric reigned one year. The Icelandic Annals, trying to follow the sagas, say that Hakon came to Norway in 935 (BD ; 934, E ; 933, OCAI), and that Eric was driven from Norway in the following year (936, D ; 934, CAI).

The error that runs through the sagas is a natural one, and we need have no hesitation in rejecting their evidence here in favour of that of Theoderic and the Ágrip.

From these we deduce that Eric reigned 932-934 while Harold lived, 934-937 after Harold's death : that Hakon went to Norway in 936, Eric to Orkney in 937.

Eric was the son of Harold Fairhair and Ragnhild, the wife for whose sake Harold was said to have put away nine wives ; Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 2 (F.S., i, 6) ; H., Harold Fairhair, c. 21.

Eric's nickname Bloodaxe meant, according to Theoderic, "brother's slayer" (Storm's Monumenta, 7). But the Ágrip, F.S., x, 380, says : "He put to death [*reth*] his brother Olaf Thick-leg, and Biorn, and more of his brothers ; he was called Blood-axe because the man was an overbearing man and cruel, and most of all when he followed [Gunnhild's] counsels." F., 30, says that he earned the nickname by his plundering in the British islands.

If Hakon was 19 in 936 ("nearly 20" according to the Ágrip, and F., 26), he must have been born in 917, when his father was 63 years old.

937

Annals of the Four Masters, vol. ii, p. 632, s.a. 935 = 937 [1]

Angus, Muirchertach's son, a scholar, anchorite, and tanist-abbot of Iona, died.[2]

937

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 456, s.a. 936 or 937 = 937

A great battle, lamentable and terrible, was savagely fought between Saxons and Northmen; and in it fell many thousands, which have not been counted, of the Northmen. But their king, Olaf [Godfrey's son], escaped with a few. And on the

This is less unlikely than the Heimskringla's statements that Harold was nearly seventy when his son Hakon the Good was born (u.s., c. 40); and that Hakon was 15 winters old when he was acclaimed as king ("Harold the Fairhaired came again, and grown young a second time"; see H., Hakon the Good, c. 1).

Hakon's birth is placed by the Icelandic Annals in 921 (KBDE; 918, CA).

Egil's Saga, c. 59, p. 193: "King Eric ruled over Norway for one winter [933-934, according to Jónsson] after the death of his father, king Harold, before Hakon . . . came to Norway . . .; and the same summer" (in reality 936?) "Egil Skallagrim's son went to Iceland. Hakon went north to Trondhjem, and was there received as king; Eric and he were both kings in Norway for the winter. But afterwards in spring" (i.e. 937?) "each collected an army. Hakon had by far the greater number of men" (MS. W adds: "because he established laws in the land that every man should own his heritage and odal lands, while before king Harold had oppressed every man, both rich and poor"; similarly MS. K; Samfund **17**, 213). "So Eric saw that he had no other choice but to flee from the land. Then he went away with his wife Gunnhild and their children. Chief Arinbiorn was king Eric's foster-brother, and the fosterer of his child [Harold Grey-cloak]. He was the dearest to the king of all the barons holding lands of the king: the king had placed him as lord over the whole country of Firdir. Arinbiorn went from the land with the king.

"They went first west beyond the sea to the Orkneys. There [Eric] gave his daughter Ragnhild in marriage to earl Arnfinn." (This is probably erroneous; see the Heimskringla, below, p. 465. For Eric's visit to England, see below, pp. 455-459.)

[1] Also the "18th year of Duncan," sovereign of Ireland.

[2] *tanaisi abbaidh Iae.* The abbacy of Iona was held by "Columcille's successor," elected in Ireland, and resident there (cf. years 927, 938). Probably Angus was the chief of the reduced community in Iona.

other side, a multitude of Saxons fell; but Æthelstan, the king of the Saxons, obtained a great victory.[1]

937

Annales Cambriae; Y Cymmrodor, vol. ix, p. 168, s.a. [938][2]

The battle of Brune.[3]

937

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 28

In the year 937, Olaf, the king of Ireland, entered the mouth of the river Humber, with six hundred and fifteen ships; and king Æthelstan and his brother Edmund met him at Brunanburh, and fought a battle. They killed five kinglets and seven earls, and returned with triumph.[4]

[1] F.M., ii, 632, s.a. 935=937: "The Foreigners of Dublin left their fortress, and went to England." Under the next year, A.U. say: "Olaf, Godfrey's son, was in Dublin again"; F.M.: "Olaf, Godfrey's son, came to Dublin again. . . ." Olaf "abandoned Dublin," according to F.M. (ii, 638), in 937=939.

[2] Placed 4 years after the "490th year" after 444.

[3] B.T. in R.B.H., 261: "And there was the war of Brun." This is placed between years 930 and 940; under 935 in MS. D of Ab Ithel's ed., 20. Similarly in B.S. in M.A., 656, s.a. 935. B.S. in M.A. 656, under Æthelstan's reign, s.a. 924: "And the men of Denmark came against [Æthelstan], to seek to conquer the island. He gave them battle; and in that conflict were killed the king of the Scots, and five kings of Denmark, and twelve earls, and their hosts."

[4] This is derived from F.W. (cf. E.C., 69-73). Cf. Fordun, IV, 22-23. See also Ælfric, epilogue to Book of Judges (Grein, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa, i (1872), 265).

The true scene of the battle may have been the Solway Firth and Burnswark. This district is, according to Dr G. Neilson (S.H.R., vii, 37-55), the locality of the battle described in Egil's Saga: see above, year ?926.

This was an attempt made by Scandinavians and Scots to throw off such subjection as had been imposed upon them in 921, 926, and 934; and especially by Sigtrygg's sons, to recover Northumbria, which had been taken from them in 926.

F.W. says that Olaf, "king of the Irish and of many islands," was the son-in-law of king Constantine. The Olaf who was king of Dublin at this time was Olaf Godfrey's son. Godfrey, Ivar's grandson, king of the Northmen [of Dublin?], died in 934 (A.U.).

938

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 456, s.a. 937 or 938=938

Dubthach, the successor of Columcille and of Adamnan, reposed in peace.[1]

939

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 458, s.a. 938 or 939=939

Æthelstan, king of England, summit of the nobility of the western world, died a peaceful death.[2]

[1] F.M., i, 634, s.a. 936=938 (and "the 19th year of Duncan" as sovereign of Ireland): "Dubthach, the successor of Columcille and of Adamnan in Ireland and Scotland, . . . died."

Dubthach was abbot of Iona (probably in Kells) and of Raphoe; cf. Reeves, Adamnan, p. 393. Cf. years 947, 954.

Dubthach's name stands under October 7th in the Martyrology of Gorman, p. 192; see also the Martyrology of Donegal, p. 268, October 7th. He was 14th in descent from Conall Gulban, according to the Book of Lecan; and Duban's son (Reeves, Adamnan, 393).

[2] The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle says that Æthelstan reigned from 925 (AF; 924, BCDE), for 14 winters and 10 weeks (ABCD), to 940 (ABCDEF; 941, W), October 27th (ABCD). He died "about forty winters, but one night, from the time when king Alfred died" (ABCD). Alfred died in 901, October 26th (ABCDEF). Æthelstan's successor, his brother Edmund, reigned for 6½ winters (ABCD) to 946 (ABCD; 948, EF), May 26th (ABCD). These reign-lengths suggest that Æthelstan died in 939.

No charters of Æthelstan dated in 940 have been preserved; but there are several of Edmund dated in that year (Kemble, Codex Diplomaticus ii, 217, ff.). This evidence favours the earlier date; probably Æthelstan died in 939.

Heimskringla's Hakon the Good, c. 4, says that Æthelstan reigned for 14 years, 8 weeks, and 3 days. The Icelandic Annals (CDE) say that "Æthelstan reigned for 14 years" from 921; and "Edmund, Æthelstan's brother, for 6 years, 11 months" from 935 (C; similarly in A).

Under 933, the Annals of Clonmacnoise note (151): "Æthelstan [*Adulston*], king of England, died. The sun for one day appeared like blood until noon the next day. . . ." This is evidently not an eclipse.

A.C., Y Cymmrodor, ix, 168, s.a. [940] (7 years, read 6 years (with Phillimore), after the "490th year" after 444): "Æthelstan died" ("king of the Saxons," add MSS. BC; ed. Ab Ithel, 17). His death is placed in 940 by B.T. in M.A., 689; in 939, by B.S. in M.A., 656, with Edmund's succession under 940.

940

Annals of the Four Masters, vol. i, p. 640, s.a. 938 = 940[1]

Olaf Cuaran went to York; and Blacaire, Godfrey's son, went to Dublin.[2] . . .

A victory [was gained] by [Edmund], the king of England, over Constantine, Aed's son; Anlaf or Olaf, Sigtrygg's son; and the Britons.[3]

940 × 941[4]

Life of Catroe, in Colgan's Acta Sanctorum, pp. 495-497[5]

. . . There was a man of royal blood, of remarkable wealth, Fochertach[6] by name, who had obtained a wife, called Bania,

[1] Also "the 21st year of Duncan" as sovereign of Ireland.

[2] Similarly in the Annals of Clonmacnoise, 152, s.a. 933.

The death of a king of Danes of Northumbria (in 944 or 945) is recorded by the Annals of Clonmacnoise, 154, s.a. 937: "Duncan, king of Ireland, died.

"The king of the Danes was killed by the Saxons at York.

"Congalach, Maelmithid's son, reigned 20 years."

King Duncan's death is placed by A.U. in 943 or 944 = 944, after 25 years' reign (his predecessor Niall died 15th November 919). Congalach died in 956 (A.U., s.a. 955). In the next year-section (s.a. 941) the Annals of Clonmacnoise note the death of Edmund († 946).

[3] In 944, Edmund acquired Northumbria, and drove out its kings—Olaf, Sigtrygg's son, and Ronald, Godfrey's son. In 945 he plundered Cumbria, and drove Olaf over to Ireland: and made an alliance with Malcolm, who was engaged to hold the land, apparently on condition of keeping the Dublin kings out of England.

A.U., vol. i, p. 464, s.a. 944 or 945 = 945: "Blacair abandoned Dublin, and Olaf [was king there] after him."

Annals of Clonmacnoise, p. 154, s.a. 937: "Blacair [*Blacairey*] was banished from Dublin, and Olaf [*Awley*] succeeded him to the government."

In 948, "Blacair, Godfrey's son, king of the Foreigners, was killed by Congalach, Maelmithid's son; and sixteen hundred [Foreigners] were killed or captured" (A.U.).

[4] This is the date of Catroe's final departure from Scotland. He was then about forty years old (below); therefore he was born about the year 900. He died not long after 971.

[5] Under 6th March. Nearly the whole of this passage was republished by Skene, in P. & S., 109-116, (with some additional misprints) from Colgan's Acta Sanctorum. A corrected text is in the Bollandists' Acta Sanctorum (1865), March, i, 474-476 (6th March).

[6] *Faiteach* in Colgan's text and Skene's. According to Colgan (Acta, 502, note 42), the MS. seems to have read *Fothereach;* A.S. has *Fochereach* (u.s., 475).

his equal in riches and nobility. In the flower of her youth, she had had sons by her previous husband; but afterwards she remained barren, in her union with [Fochertach]. And so, after many intercessions of the saints, directed by her to the most gentle ears of almighty God, she approached with her husband the merits of St Columba.[1] And she was not disappointed in her wish; for after they had passed the night in fasting and prayers at his tomb, they had scarcely fallen asleep when they both alike saw themselves each holding a lighted candle; and while they watched these with gladness, they marvelled to see them suddenly united in one light. And behold, a man in splendid raiment appeared, and said: "Woman, thy tears have wetted my stole, and thy prayers have stood in God's sight; and He who granted Samuel to Anna's prayers, and who gave conception to Rebecca at Jacob's asking, has commanded that thou shalt conceive, and bear a son, Catroe[2] by name, a future light of the church; and in accordance with the virtue of his name, as a warrior he shall rise up unconquered in the Lord's camp, resisting like a wall,[3] ready to stand in battle for the house of Israel."

So they awoke from sleep, and blessed the vision,[4] rendering thanks; and returned home in exultation, doubting not the promised mercy. That they were to receive such offspring was a cause of general rejoicing.

Meanwhile the woman conceived, and bore a son, to whom they gave (according to the Lord's command) the name of Catroe. The news of the boy's birth had run through the neighbouring districts; and a crowd of nobles,[5] of both sexes and diverse ages, came in haste, as is the custom of the land, eager to bring up the boy. And the mother, fearing the

[1] *Beati Columbani.* Similarly below.

[2] *Kaddroe.* So again below; but afterwards the name is printed *Cathroe*, because of Colgan's etymology, deriving the name from Irish *cath* "war," and *roe* "battle-field." It is *Kaddroe* throughout in A.S. This form shows that the *d* was unaspirated, and that the first part of the name was Welsh *cat.*

The form of the name is probably Welsh. Cf. the Irish *Cathrue*, in A.U., i, 262, s.a. 785=786.

[3] *bellator in castris Domini invictus ascendet, ex adverso opponens murum.*

[4] *congratulantur visioni* (*congratulabantur*, in A.S.).

[5] *vulgus nobile.*

hostility of so great and powerful nobles, replied that she could not withhold him from the one to whom God should command him to be given. It chanced that she had lain down upon a couch, and sleep had overtaken her among them all; and scarcely had it relaxed her limbs, when it caused her to see as it were that a hawk encircled the house, and after removing all the rest, settled upon the head of a certain matron. Thereupon, awaking, she related to the by-standers what she had seen. Then by the common advice of all, [the child] was given to the matron to be reared. And he was carried to the woman's house, and weaned.

And his father, already in [the child's] tender youth foreseeing his future industry, attempted to educate him in secular matters. But the boy's cousin, Bean[1] by name, who had rejoiced in Christ's service from his earliest age, being very vigilant in prayers and devoted to works of charity, was [Catroe's] preserver; for he, wishing if it could be done to draw all men to Christ, turned to God for the boy's salvation, and applied himself wholly to prayers. And presently God's clemency appeared, and in a vision he commanded the old man

[1] Bean, Catroe's cousin (*patruelis*), belonged to the community of Iona (see below): he was not its abbot, but may have been its ruler under Maelbrigte of Armagh.

The usual form of the name in Catroe's Life is *Beanus*, but once below *Beoanus* occurs.

Kirkbean in Kirkcudbrightshire may have been named after Bean.

A St Beoan from Britain is commemorated at October 25th in the Martyrology of Tallaght; Book of Leinster, 364 f (26th October in the Brussels version; Kelly, xxxvii-xxxviii). Cf. the Martyrology of Oengus October 26th, with notes in Rawlinson B 505 and 512 saying that Beoan was from Britain (1905 Oengus, 228). Cf. Martyrology of Gorman, October 26th. Beoan is called bishop in the Martyrology of Donegal, October 26th. This Beoan is placed also under October 27th in the Martyrology of Tallaght; Book of Leinster, 364; October 28th, in the Brussels version, Kelly, xxxviii. Cf. the Breviary of Aberdeen, ii, 8, 132, October 26th ("St Beanus, bishop and confessor"). Since the Martyrology of Oengus was written ca. 800, this day did not originally belong to the Bean who instructed Catroe; but more probably to Beoan or Beoaid, Mobí's father (cf. L.H., i, 184), ? bishop of Ardcarne († 524; A.U.).

The Bean of the Aberdeen Breviary is the *Beyn* whom Fordun (IV, 40) represents to have been the first bishop of Mortlach; a diocese extending from the Dee to the Spey. He is said to have been appointed by king Malcolm II; but the matter is very much in doubt. See H. & S., ii, 210-211.

to claim the boy from his father, for the schools. The old man [Bean] came, and approached the man [Fochertach] concerning the matter. Fochertach refused, and mocked the old man as a dotard.

Being commanded to take up the matter again, [Bean] went again to the boy's father, revealed the commands laid upon him, and insisted that the boy should be restored to Him who had given him. Then the man replied that he was ill-pleased to be molested with importunity by [Bean, with regard to] things that he refused to concede; that the old man was wandering in his judgement; that he could not lose a son born to him by promise in his mother's old age—the staff of his parents' age, one whom so great a family awaited as their lord.

Thus the old man returned without success; and the Lord visited the boy's mother, and she conceived again, and bore a son, called Matadan[1]; and the Lord also warned the old man again, saying, "Go, say to the boy's father: 'Look thou, I ask the boy from thee again at the command of God, who has given thee the other in his place.' And if he refuse, say that the wrath of God's chastisement threatens him."

Without delay, [Bean] went to the man, to speak to him in the matter. And when he refused, [Bean] said, "Yield, lest the punishment of Heaven's vengeance overtake thee in thy resistance. But in case thou attribute my speaking thus to my own impulse, uncommanded; as a sign of the anger that threatens thee, the best horse that thou hast is dying."

Marvellous [was] the swiftness [of fulfilment]: the words were not yet out of the old man's mouth, when the stable boy announced its death. Terror fell upon the man when he heard this, and he grew stiff, and warmth forsook his bones. Finally he burst into tears; and, although unwillingly, he went with the child's mother to the tomb of St Columba, and brought the child to God who required him; and gave him to the old man aforesaid to foster. So the old man christened the boy whom he had received, and instructed him as well as he could in divine law.

Already [Catroe] had left infancy behind; and, being very near to adolescence, he excelled those of his own age in the keenness of his sharp intelligence. Meanwhile certain men,

[1] *nomine Mattadanum*, a diminutive of *matad* "dog."

moved by a baleful spirit, plundered the foster-parents of the child of former time; and they, having no force to resist, appealed to the young lad, and made complaint of their wretched state. For it is one of the country's customs that, when nobles foster a child, he provides for them aid thenceforward in everything, no less than for his parents. And to incite the youth to their aid, they said: "When we fostered thee, had we [instead] reared[1] sheep or horses we should better have fared from the enemies' violence, being fed by [sheep's] milk and [drawn] in a vehicle of horses; since in thy presence we are the victims of pillage and devastation."

It happened that Bean was absent when the youth was incited to take up arms; and [Catroe] called upon his friends,[2] and planned to pursue the enemy. And already they had reached the bank of a flooded river, beyond which the enemy was; and [Catroe] was seeking out ships to use, when one of the number of his comrades, by rank a priest, who had been appointed the youth's guardian, announced the matter to the old man [Bean], upon his return. Then indeed [Bean] clapped his hands, and broke into tears, saying, "A good guardian of the youth have I left behind in thee!" But when [the priest] made excuse that he had not been able to prevent it, Bean said, "Cease delaying, and compel him to await me." And when [the priest] said that the youth would by no means desist from his undertaking, the old man said, producing the copy that he was accustomed to use, "Take him this Gospel, and call me to witness, that it may be opened."

The priest went in advance, carrying the old man's commands with [this] token; and he compelled [Catroe] to stay upon the bank, though weeping and resisting. Bean followed, and inquired the cause of the young man's anger. And [Catroe] related the affair, and refused to admit as possible for him that he should suffer his fosterers' grief to remain unavenged. But the old man soothed his fierce passions. And when he did not yield, the old man said to him, "Then seek in this the will of Him to whom thou hast promised faith"; and, that he might know it, [Bean] opened the book, which he had got back from [Catroe], and took the first verse that he

[1] *lavassemus.* So also in the Bollandists' text. Read *levassemus.*

[2] *socios.* Cf. below.

found. It was: "If any one take from thee what is thine, seek it not again."[1] And since this did not satisfy [Catroe], he turned up again another verdict, and one against[2] the youth appeared; it was: "All who take the sword shall perish by the sword."[3] And when he turned up a third, this appeared: "Wicked slave, I have pardoned thee all thy debt, because thou didst ask me; oughtest thou not to have pity upon thy fellow-slave, even as I have had pity upon thee?"[4] And since [Catroe] could not oppose these [passages], he returned with the man of God in peace, and more closely applied himself to reading and prayer.

One day, the old man had laid his weary[5] limbs upon a couch, and Catroe with his friends was resting not far off, when there appeared to the man of God, [Bean,] a maiden excelling in the brightness of her countenance the brightness of the sun; so ancient, that one would not have thought her of our day, although she seemed young; and clad in a seven-fold robe, in which was woven everything that can be named or imagined. The old man marvelled at her, and inquired who and whence she was. Then she said, "I am Wisdom; and I dwell in consultations, and am present in learned deliberations. And I have come to adopt this young man." She vanished from the eyes of the watcher, and the youth was seized by the love of learning; one would have thought that he would have died, had he not been passed on to secular studies. The man of God understood what he had seen; and after those things had been prepared which were necessary for the journey and the schools, he sent the youth to Ireland; and [Catroe] closed himself in the mill of training at Armagh,[6] not fearing after divine

[1] Cf. Luke, VI, 30.

[2] For *iucurrit juveni contrarium* reading *incurrit . . . contraria* (as in A.S.).

[3] Matthew XXVI, 52.

[4] For *omne* read *nonne* (as in A.S.); and read *conservi tui* for Skene's *conserventui*. The quotation is from Matthew XVIII.

[5] For *festa* reading *fessa* (as in A.S.).

[6] Colgan's text and Skene's are corrupt. Read with the Bollandists: *adolescentem Hiberniam mittit, qui apud Artmacham in pistrino disciplinarum se reclusit.*

Maelbrigte, abbot of Armagh (888-†927), was also abbot of the community of Iona when he died. He appears to have succeeded in this office the abbot Fland, who died in 891.

doctrines to study mundane literature, so that, being more perfectly versed in this,[1] he might by investigation better extend what he had formerly studied: since he had read that Plato, the gentiles' philosopher, had gone to Egypt, led by the renown of Jeremiah[2]; and conversing with that prophet had learned that above all things was one God, whom he had not previously known. So [Catroe] was instructed, and he explored from end to end the school of Wisdom, she herself conducting him; and he excelled by far his fellows and contemporaries.

In short, all that poet has sung or orator spoken, all that philosopher has imagined, he learned; nothing escaped him. He exhausted everything that has been discovered by any one through number, measure, and weight, through touch[3] and hearing; and lastly, the hidden movements and courses of the stars he described with compasses[4] more learnedly than Eginus, than whom I doubt if any is more distinguished in the hierarchy of the sky.

Having been thus instructed, he crossed the sea again, and returned to Bean. And to his fellow-servants throughout all Scotland he faithfully served out the wheat of wisdom entrusted to him: for the Scots have many thousand teachers,[5] but they have not many fathers. [Catroe] was those [teachers'] father[6] in training in the arts. And so, because his lips instructed very many, he had no associate in affliction[7]; because from the time of his arrival none of the sages had crossed the sea; but they continued to dwell in Ireland.

The old man [Bean] rejoiced in the youth's advance, and in his having no equal in all that he took up.

Meanwhile time was passing, and the man of God prayed

[1] *his lucidius elimatus* (in Skene's text, wrongly, *climatus*).

[2] For *eximiae* reading *Jeremiae*, as in A.S. For Plato's visit to Egypt, cf. Diodorus Siculus, Bibliotheca Historica, I, 96, 98 (1828).

[3] T. A. Archer, in the Dictionary of National Biography, under Cadroe, would read *tractu* for *tactu:* "the sciences of number, measure, weight, motion, hearing, and astronomy."

[4] *radio doctius egino . . . designavit.*

[5] *paedagogorum.*

[6] *hic illos genuit.*

[7] *non sociabatur ei afflicto* (Colgan), "he had no associate in affliction"; *si afflicto* in Skene's text; *non sociabitur ei afflictio* in A.S. ("he shall not be visited with affliction").

that the Lord would direct the youth in the way of salvation. Nor was God's pity far away, wherewith he ever hears those who call upon him in truth. When, wearied with one night's vigils, after the hymns [Bean] had laid his limbs upon a couch—which is often taken to, and is pleasant, in the early morning,—slumber had come upon the old man; but he had not wholly fallen asleep, nor was he altogether awake, but was rapt in a kind of trance. He saw that a gathering of great men was being held; and as he marvelled at these, he hoped that they would do something great. Then one of them, more reverend[1] than the rest, said: "It is fitting that we should increase the eternal king's army, appointed from the ages. Do you enrol from the youths who are resting here certain others, who must leap in the presence of the emperor. And He that came leaping upon the mountains, leaping over hills,[2] has directed it,[3] and commands us to show to this man who beholds us what the youths must jump over." And so Bean was conducted, and saw three caverns dug in the earth; the first and the second of these were[4] of no small extent, while the third was in depth exceedingly dreadful, and of enormous breadth. Its farther bank was full of glory and joy.

The old man delayed not to ask what these things meant, and he was answered that the youths must leap over these [caverns], if they would have the emperor's favour. And to the old man's fears of danger for Catroe, that splendid one said: "Fear[5] not, mortal; for they shall leap across, although unequally: but he shall excel the more successfully, for whom thou art the most in dread. And that thou think not the vision meaningless,[6] learn what the caverns imply. The first is voluntary loss of possessions; the second is departure from one's native land; the third is practice of monastic life. And the shore of that exultation is attainment of eternal life." Thereupon the vision vanished, and the old man started from his bed.[7]

After this, not many days had passed, when the Lord said

[1] Reading *reverendior* for *reverentior*.
[2] Song of Solomon, II, 8.
[3] For *dixerit* reading *direxit*, as in A.S.
[4] For *erunt* reading *erant*, as in A.S.
[5] Colgan's text *paueas*, Skene's *paucas*.
[6] Reading *cassam* for *caussam*.
[7] *excutitur lecto*.

to Catroe himself: "Depart from thy land and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, and come into the land which I shall show thee.[1] And I shall appoint thee a leader of my people, and shall exalt thee above the height of the clouds, and shall feed[2] thee on the heritage of thy father, Jacob."

When the youth awoke, he was seized with the desire for pilgrimage; and he left everything, and entered the way of pilgrimage. Rumour had published the matter, and sorrow and grief came upon all the rich and poor. Every age and every class hastened to him, and the tearful outcry of all [was] as if the ruin and devastation of the whole of Scotland was approaching: "Why dost thou desert us, father; and to whom leavest thou the fruits of thy labour? Wherefore has it pleased thee to go abroad, since we are all strangers in God's sight, and when at thy teaching we lament that our dwelling was prolonged in[3] the habitation of Kedar? We beg thee, consider the result thou canst achieve in teaching men so great, with whom it is necessary to share the wealth of knowledge. Hast thou no regard for the Father's eternal word in the Vision of John, and what it bids thee? It says, 'He who hears, let him say, Come.'"[4]

Moved by these lamentations, [Catroe] dwelt there for a while, and he was divided against himself.

Near by flowed a stream of very rapid current; and beside it, as often happens, had sprung up the great mass of a certain tree. And so he used to go[5] there at nights, God alone being witness; and to put off his clothes and place himself in the horrors of the greatest cold in the river. And not to be carried headlong by the force of the flood, he held in his hand a rope, which he had made fast to the tree. And he stood there so long as was needed to repeat from the 118th Psalm to the 133rd.[6]

[1] Acts, VII, 3; and Genesis, XII, 1.

[2] Colgan's text *cibabo*, Skene's *citabo*. Cf. Isaiah, LVIII, 14.

[3] For *habitatione . . . prolongaris* reading *in habitatione . . . prolongari*. Cf. Psalm CXIX, 5.

[4] Apocalypse, XXII, 17.

[5] *accednes*, Colgan and Skene; read *accedens*, with the Bollandists.

[6] I.e., Psalms CXIX-CXXXIV, in the English version. This is the reading of the Bollandists' text. Colgan's has "down to the 103rd." The 123rd contains the pertinent passage: "perchance the water would have swallowed us" (verse 4; in English version, Psalm CXXIV, 4).

Meanwhile winter passed, and the waves subsided, and he turned anew to the way of his purposed pilgrimage. Then again sorrow and grief filled the whole district; and all hastened to him; and the king that ruled the land, Constantine by name,[1] hastened to hold back the man. Already part of the journey had been performed; and Catroe had entered for prayer the house[2] of the blessed Bridget, when a crowd of nobles and peasants filled the church, having been summoned from different quarters. They all asked the man not to forsake his country. And turning to them, he answered this only to the king and to all; he said, "I shall not forsake you, since wheresoever I am I shall keep you in remembrance." Then an outcry of the people arose; and they placed before him relics of the saints, and adjuring him by them besought him to yield to their wish. But he[3] said: "If you adduce the relics of the saints for this purpose, to restrain me from my design and wish, then seek with me their aid, that they may deign to show whether I have entered the way of salvation. For when Christ began [with promises] to those who forsook father and mother, brothers and sisters, and all their possessions, he added nothing of your advice.[4] It was counted to Abraham also for righteousness that, obeying God, he departed from his land, and from the house of his father."[5]

Since therefore he did not yield to the king, who laboured with the people and made the greatest promises in vain, his parents were angry; and, moved with wrath, they said: "If we cannot prevail with prayers, we shall restrain thee with imprisonment and iron chains." "This is in your power," he

[1] This was the Constantine who died in 952, and reigned probably 900-943.

[2] *aedem*, i.e. "church." The Bollandists (A.S., March, i, 476; February, i, 108-109) followed by Archer (D.N.B., viii, 188) would locate this church at Abernethy, where there was a church dedicated to St Bridget. The story implies that the district was a populous one. It was some distance from the place of Catroe's pious exercise in the river; but Archer conjectures that that river was the Earn.

[3] For *illò* reading *ille*, with the Bollandists.

[4] *cum relinquentibus . . . sua quaeque praeponeret, nihil . . . subintulit*, in Colgan's text and Skene's. *sua praemia proponeret*, in A.S., i.e. "declared the rewards of those who." Cf. Matthew, XIX, 29.

[5] Cf. Genesis, XV, 6.

said; "but so long as I am in chains, I shall by no means drink nor eat."

It happened that with the king had come a certain abbot, called Maelodair.[1] And he, being a just man in counsel, said: "If we cannot prevail to turn this man from his design and wish, let us each as best he can render him help upon the way, that we may be sharers in the reward of his labours." Then all emulously rendered assistance with gold and silver, with raiment and horses; and they sped him with God's blessing; and conducted by the king himself he came to the Cumbrians' land.[2]

King Donald ruled over that people[3]; and because he was a relative of the man [Catroe], he came to meet him with all joy. And after keeping him with him for some time, he conducted him to the city of Leeds,[4] which is the boundary of the Northmen and the Cumbrians. And there he was received by a certain noble man, Gunderic, by whom he was led to king Eric in the town of York,[5] because this king had as wife a relative of the godly Catroe.[6] Departing thence he reached the city of London; and he was received [there] by a certain old man, called Ecgfrith; and he remained there for the night.

By carelessness, that city was set on fire, and the larger part of it was already consumed; triumphant flame was licking what remained. Then God chose to declare what merit Catroe had in him. He was asked by the old man to rescue the perishing by prayer. Trusting in the Lord, [Catroe][7] ran between the fire and what was left [of the city]; and, turning to the Lord,

[1] *Mailodarius.*

[2] Within three years of this incident, king Constantine entered the monastery of St Andrews, as its abbot. See year 943.

[3] Donald, Aed's son, became king of Cumbria before 943 (see that year). Catroe's visit was probably made before the devastation of 945.

[4] *usque Loidam Civitatem.*

[5] *ad regem Erichium in Euroacum Urbem.*

[6] For Eric's kingship of Northumbria, see below, pp. 455-459. He may have reigned there 937×941, and 952-954. This passage is evidence that Eric reigned there before 941. But if Eric's wife Gunnhild was related to Catroe, she was strangely different in character; and the sagas' account of Gunnhild's origin would shut out the possibility of any such relationship. But their account was perhaps invented to explain her character. She was more probably a Danish lady. See pp. 456, 462.

[7] For *cui* reading *qui*, with the Bollandists.

said: "Lord, everything that is obeys thee.[1] Bid then the terrors of the raging flames to cease." This he said, briefly; and he raised his hand, and commanded the conflagration to retire. Then one might see the flame bent back as by the force of the wind, and gradually subsiding die out. Thus the city was delivered, to the joy of all.

These are thy works, God, who [art] glorious in thy virtues, to the glory of thy name; who didst formerly, at Moses' prayer, command to be quenched the conflagration that had arisen against the murmuring people,[2] and didst at this time deliver a city from flames through thy servant, Catroe.

The report then spread,[3] and filled the whole district; and even reached the king, by name Edmund,[4] who was in the city of Winchester. Summoning the man to him forthwith, he besought him to come; and asking him to remain with him for some time, he was delighted with his conversation; and he had him conducted by the archbishop of the same town, Otto by name,[5] as far as the harbour that is called Lympne.[6] So there he went on board ship; and when they were putting out to sea, a wind arose, and they were brought back to the beach. Thinkest thou, reader and hearer, that God would not that this man should cross the sea? Did not Paul, sailing to the crown, to Rome, narrowly escape from shipwreck, storm, and hunger?[7]

All were disturbed, but Catroe was attacked by grief; and the coming day had not closed, when he betook his limbs, worn

[1] *Tibi . . . omne quod est famulatur.* In Skene's text wrongly *ornere.*

[2] Cf. Numbers, XI, 1-3.

[3] In Colgan's text *transvolans;* in Skene's, wrongly, *transvolens.*

[4] *Hegmundum.* This was Edmund, who fought in the battle of Brunanburh, and reigned from 939 to 946.

[5] *Otthonem nomine.* No such name appears in the list of bishops of Winchester (Hardy's Le Neve, iii, 5). This may have been Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, who died, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (F, and insertion in A) in 961. Odo was bishop in 940 (Kemble, Codex Diplomaticus, ii, 218).

[6] In Colgan's text *hymen;* the Bollandists read *Limen,* pointing to Ptolemy's καινὸς λιμήν, 1° W., 60′ S., of North Foreland, Kent (see Ptolemy, Geographia, 1883 ed., i, 87). No doubt the harbour meant is Lympne, the Romans' *Portus Lemanis* (Itinerarium Antonini, 1848 ed., 225), and the *Limene-mutha* of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (see 893 ABCD, 892 EF). It is near the mouth of the Rother, 2 miles from Hythe.

[7] Here Skene's reprint ends.

out with grief and fasting, to his couch. A man stood by him, and spoke to him thus: "All those" he said, "that are with thee shall not be able to cross the sea, lest they molest thee in God's way that thou hast entered. Persuade therefore thy nephew and some with him to return; and then, after crossing the sea, rejoicing thou shalt be received by the farther shore."

Rising, he communicated the vision to his companions, and he gave conveyance and expenses to the youth, and bade him return. And so they loosed their ship, and were driven with full sails to the harbour of Boulogne.[1]

[1] They went thence by land to Péronne (in Somme; *Parronam*), a monastery founded by S. Fursaeus. Not far from there they were offered by a noble lady, called Hersendis, "a sacred place, St Michael's by name, in the wood of Terrasson" (*in sylva Theorascense*); there Catroe and his 12 followers remained long, appointing Machallanus their "lord and father." Afterwards Machallanus became a monk at Gorze, under abbot Agenald (apparently the Agenold called abbot in 947 and 953 by Flodoard; M.G.H., Scriptores, iii, 394, 402; see Chronicon Mediani Monasterii, ibid., iv, 89 b; cf. Sigebert, Vita Deoderici, ibid., iv, 478. Gorze was a branch of the monastery at Metz); and Catroe became a monk at Fleury. Machallanus became the prior of St Michael's of Terrasson, and afterwards abbot of Wassor (cf. also Historia Walciodorensis Monasterii, M.G.H., Scriptores, xiv, 522), by command of king Otho, afterwards emperor. Catroe was prior of Wassor (cf. also the Historia, u.s.). On a day of St Gorgonius he visited Metz, and was set over a place near that town, by bishop Adalbert. After 35 years in the bishopric, Adalbert died [in 964]; he was succeeded by Theodoric, of imperial rank. Theodoric appointed Catroe abbot of St Felix and St Clement, near Metz (cf. also Historia, u.s.).

Empress Adelaide [of Burgundy], mother of the emperor Otho (∴ × 983), summoned Catroe to her presence. He went to her at Erstein, in Alsace, on the Rhine. He died upon the way back. (This part of the Life is in M.G.H., iv, 483-484.) His body was carried to Metz. Catroe died after passing the 70th year of his life, and the 30th year of his pilgrimage (∴ 971 × 980), probably not many years after 971. The Historia Walciodorensis Monasterii (u.s.) says that he died in 998; but its account of those times is incorrect.

Wassor (*Walciodorus*) had been given to "certain servants of God, coming from Scotland for the sake of pilgrimage, and desiring to live under the rule of St Benedict," by "a certain noble man, Eilbertus," and his wife, Heresindis: the grant was confirmed by Otho I on 19th November, 946. See Le Mire, Notitia Ecclesiarum Belgii (1630), p. 99; Diplomata Belgica (1628), 278-279. The grant was confirmed and extended, to bishop Theodoric, by Otho I and Adelaide, on 16th January, 968; Notitia, u.s., 119. The Historia, u.s., xiv, 511-512, and the list of abbots in abbot Wibald's Epistolae (ibid., xiii, 294), say that Forannan was the first abbot of Wassor; but the Life of Catroe implies that Machallanus was the first abbot, with Catroe as his prior.

941

Chronicon Scotorum, p. 202, Hennessy's year 940=941

Olaf, Godfrey's son, king of the White-foreigners and Black-foreigners, died.

941

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 29, s.a. 941

After burning and wasting the church of St Baldred in Tynningham, Olaf presently perished. And the son of Sigtrygg, Olaf by name, reigned in the place of his father.[1]

941

Chronicon Scotorum, pp. 202-204, Hennessy's year 940=941 [2]

A fleet [was led] by Muirchertach, Niall's son, and plundered in the islands of Scotland.

941

Annals of the Four Masters, vol. ii, p. 640, s.a. 939=941 [3]

A fleet [was led] by Muirchertach, Niall's son, and plundered and brought many spoils from the Hebrides, after obtaining victory and triumph.[4]

900-943

Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, version A; Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 9

Constantine, Aed's son, held the kingdom for forty years. And in his third year the Northmen plundered Dunkeld, and all Scotland.[5]

In the following year, the Northmen were slain in Strathearn.[6]

[1] This is derived from S.D. Cf. E.C., 73.

[2] After the death of Olaf, Godfrey's son.

[3] Also "the 22nd year of Duncan" as sovereign of Ireland.

[4] In the next year, F.M. record the death of Aed Albanach ("Aed of Scotland"), a leader of the Dublin Danes, along with other leaders.

[5] The next sentence certainly refers to the events recorded by Irish annals in 904; therefore the invasion seems to have continued from 903 to 904, and Constantine's 3rd year seems to be 903.

[6] See year 904.

And in his sixth year king Constantine and bishop Cellach upon the Hill of Credulity near the royal city of Scone, pledged themselves that the laws and disciplines of the faith, and the rights in churches and gospels, should be kept in conformity with [the customs of] the Scots.[1] From that day the hill has deserved this name—that is, the Hill of Credulity.[2]

And in [Constantine's] eighth year, fell the most exalted king and archbishop of the Irish, in Leinster[3]; that is, Cormac, Culennan's son.[4]

And in [Constantine's] time died Donald, king of the Britons[5]

[1] *pariter cum Scottis.* This was understood by Skene to mean on a footing of equality with the Scots, with reference to the inequality spoken of in the same chronicle above; see p. 288; cf. 365. (S.C.S., i, 340.)

The sentence is thus arranged: *ac in vi. anno Constantinus rex et Cellachus episcopus leges, disciplinasque fidei, atque jura ecclesiarum ewangeliorumque, pariter cum Scottis in colle credulitatis, prope regali civitati Scoan, devoverunt custodiri.*

[2] *meruit nomen . . . collis credulitatis.* This can only mean that the Picts did not do what they promised. For the place, cf. year 728, note. By Constantine's 6th year (905-906) probably the year 906 is meant.

[3] *apud Laignechos* (but cf. Skene's facsimile, p. 3, col. 1, l. 29). Possibly "by the hands of Leinstermen" (*la Laignibh* in Berchan's Prophecy, stanza 45).

[4] A.U., i, 420-422, s.a. 907 or 908=908: "A battle between the men of Munster and of Cond's Half" (northern Ireland) "and the men of Leinster, and there Cormac, Culennan's son, king of Cashel, was killed, with other distinguished kings. . . . Fland, Maelsechlaind's son, king of Tara; Cerball, Muirecan's son, king of Leinster; Cathal, Conchobar's son, king of Connaught, were the victors. The battle of Ballaghmoone" (south of County Kildare; in Mag-ailbe; Hogan). In the margin of MS. A is this added note, referring (as is shown e.g. by Berchan's Prophecy, stanza 45) to this battle: "In Mag-ailbe, on the festival of Dagan of [Inber]-daile; that is to say, the Ides of September, on Tuesday, and the 13th [of the moon]." 13th September was Tuesday in 908. Therefore 13th September 908 was within Constantine's 8th year. (The battle of Ballaghmoone was fought on 17th September, according to the poem of Dallan, Mor's son, quoted by F.M., ii, 570, s.a. 903, and the 27th year of Fland: ibid., 564. The battle was fought on a Tuesday, according to the same poem, quoted by Duald's Third Fragment, p. 216; on the 7th of December, ibid., 218 (*i sept December cloisiodar*, which should be a line of 7 syllables; read *id September?*). There is a marginal note "17th." Duald's Fragment places the battle in A.D. 900, Fland's 30th year.)

[5] This Donald (Dumnagual?) was probably king of Strathclyde. The kings of North Wales were Anaraut, Rotri's son (†916), and Iutgual, Anaraut's son.

(and Donald, Aed's son, was chosen as king[1]); and Fland, son of Maelsechlaind[2]; and Niall, Aed's son,[3] who reigned three years after Fland; etc.

The battle of Tinemore[4] took place in [Constantine's] eighteenth year, between Constantine and Ronald; and the Scots had the victory.[5]

And the battle of Brunanburh[6] [took place] in his thirty-fourth year[7]; and in it fell Constantine's son.[8]

And one year afterwards died Dubucan, son of Indrechtach, mormaer of Angus.[9]

Æthelstan, son of Edward king of the Saxons, and Eochaid, Alpin's son, died.[10]

And in his old age, being decrepit, [Constantine] took the staff,[11] and served the Lord; and gave up the kingdom to Mal[colm], Donald's son.[12]

[1] It seems to be implied that this Donald, Aed's son, became king of Strathclyde; and it would appear that Donald was the brother of Constantine, Aed's son. This Donald is mentioned in the Life of Catroe; above, 940 × 941.

[2] Fland, Maelsechlaind's son, king of Tara, died on Saturday, 25th May, 916; A.U., i, 432, s.a. 915 or 916=916 ("bissextile").

[3] Niall Glun-dub, Aed's son, king of Ailech, was killed on Wednesday, 15th September, 919, the 3rd year of his reign, according to A.U., i. 438, s.a. 918 or 919=919 (919 being indicated also by the date of Easter).

[4] I.e., Tyne-moor: the locality is uncertain.

[5] I.e., in 918, q.v.

[6] *bellum Duinbrunde.*

[7] Read "37th" (*xxxuii* instead of *xxxiiii*), i.e. year 937, q.v.

[8] Constantine's son's death ("young in warfare") is mentioned by A.S.C.'s verse-passage, s.a. 937: see E.C., 72.

[9] *Dubucan filius Indrechtaig, mormair Oengusa.* Probably Dubucan, not Indrechtach, was the mormaer, although the spelling of the text implies the contrary.

[10] Æthelstan died in 940; see above.

[11] I.e., entered monastic life.

[12] If Constantine reigned for 40 years, his abdication would have occurred in 940. But he gave up the kingdom to Malcolm (see year 954, note); and version A implies that there was no interval between their reigns. Malcolm seems not to have reigned before 943.

Versions DFGIKN, and the Verse Chronicle, say that Constantine lived in religion for 5 years, until his death; and Irish annals say that he died in 952: therefore he would have entered monastic life in 947. But this is at variance with version A, which implies that Malcolm succeeded in 943 (see year 954); and with the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, which says that Malcolm was king in 945 (E.C., 74).

900-952

Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, version D; Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 151

Constantine, Aed's son, reigned for forty years; and he resigned the kingdom of his own accord, and served God for five years in the habit of religion, becoming abbot in [the monastery of] the céli-dé of St Andrews. There too he died, and was buried.[1]

900-952

Prose and Verse Chronicles inserted in the Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 26, 225, s.a. 908[2]

In the same year [908] perished Donald, king of the Scots. And after him, [Constantine, Aed's son, [became] king of the Scots[3]].

"Constantine also, whose father was Aed the White, had lived as king for thirty years. He was for five years in the town of St Andrew[4]; he died there, enjoying the law of religion."[5]

900-952

Berchan's Prophecy, stanzas 148-154, in Skene's Picts and Scots, pp. 91-93

Welcome, welcome! if he it is, who has long been prophesied: a king of the kings (it is no foolish saying[6]) whose name is the Midaise.[7]

[1] Similarly in versions F (ibid., 174), G (301), I (288); and to the same effect in K (205), and N (305).

The Duan Albanach, in P. & S., 62: "Constantine—bold was his fighting—passed forty-six years [on the throne]."

[2] Also in P. & S., 178.

[3] "Constantine . . . Scots," an addition in the outer margin.

[4] *Andree sancti fuit hic quinquennis in urbe.*

[5] The passage in inverted commas is in verse in the original.

[6] *ni rud m-baisse*; *rud* obscurely written. Read *ní rádh m-báise?* MS. *b* has *ni radh m-braise*, "it is no hasty saying," wrongly.

[7] *diaainid ainim an mhídhaise*, rhyming with *baisse*. MS. *b* has *an Midhaise*, more correctly.

This is the 10th king mentioned after Kenneth, but seems to be Constantine II, Aed's son.

Scotland will be full from his day. This will be a fair, long reign; . . .[1] for seven and two score years:

With fruit[2] upon slender branches, with ale, with music, with good cheer; with corn, with milk, with nimble cattle; with pride, with fortune, with . . .[3].

Battles will not stand against his face; every countenance will be pale before his might (?)[4]; [weapons'] points will not pierce his skin: God, the son of man, is faithful to him.[5]

When the king is most active (?),[6] and after he has cast his enemies into nothingness, afterwards the Red-limbed one[7] will come, and drive him out of Scotland.[8]

And afterwards (it is sufficiently sad) the men of Scotland will be under the feet of a pack of wolves. [They will be] like sheaves of flax being steeped; without sovereign, without rescue.[9]

Afterwards God has called him away, to the abbey-church on the brow of the wave.[10] In the house of the apostle[11] he will die; the pilgrim will be faithful.

[1] *b ba caire coimse cath*, with which *da fhichid* in the next line should rhyme. MS. *b* has *Ba ba caire* and *da fhichead*, with O'Connell's conjecture *Ra ba Caire*. The line is corrupt.

[2] *mes;* probably acorns.

[3] co n-*erbhas*, rhyming with *m-brais*, for which read *m-bras*; *m-bras* and *go n-earbhas* in MS. *b*. If this is for *ern-bhás* "slaughter," the long *á* gives imperfect rhyme.

[4] *fria dhuis* in both MSS.; rhyming with *gnúis*. Cf. *dúis* "warrior"? O'Connell in MS. *b* suggests "i. *duiseact*"; *dúiseacht* "vigilance" (Dinneen). Cf. Archiv für celtische Lexicographie, iii, 273, 283; Stokes, Saltair na Rann (1883), 50, 136.

[5] *mac an f*[*h*]*ir dia do dhiles*, rhyming with *chnes*.

[6] *an tráth bhus deine rígh an rí*. In MS. *b*, *Righe an Ri*. These readings give the line a syllable too many. The last word *rí* rhymes with *neimhfní*, and must be in the nominative case. For *rígh* read *rí*.

[7] *ro ficfa an ball derg iar-sin*. MS. *b* reads *ro fhichfaidh*, wrongly.

[8] *cona marb*hadh *a h Albain*. MS. *b* writes *marbhadh* in full. Read *inarba*. Cf. the Verse Chronicle, above.

[9] *gan iomshnáighe;* read *iomshnadhadh*, to rhyme with *bad*[*h*]*ad*[*h*].

[10] *go recles for bhra tuinne*. MS. *b* has *for bhru Tuinne* ("upon the brink of the wave"). Perhaps *bru* has been substituted for the less common *bra*. Cf. stanza 145, year 900; and stanza 157, year 954.

[11] *a ttigh an apstail theid ar ceal:* the line has a syllable too many. The monastery dedicated to an apostle was probably St Andrews.

945

Annales Cambriae; Y Cymmrodor, vol. ix, p. 169, s.a. [946][1]

And Strathclyde was wasted by the Saxons.[2]

945

Brut y Tywyssogion; Rhys and Evans' Red Book of Hergest, p. 261

Strathclyde was devastated by the English.[3]

945

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 30

In the year 945, king Edmund wasted the land of the Cumbrians, subjugated it to himself, and commended it to Malcolm, king of the Scots.[4]

946

Annales Cambriae; Y Cymmrodor, vol. ix, p. 165, s.a. [947][5]

Edmund, king of the Saxons, was slaughtered.

[1] 2 years after the "500th year" after 444.

[2] I.e. by the English. This annal is not in MS. C (Ab Ithel, 18).

The king of Strathclyde at this time was perhaps Donald, Aed's son, who became king before 943. See also year 975.

[3] This stands between the years 940 and 945. It is dated 944 in MS. D of Ab Ithel's ed., p. 20. Similarly in B.S. in M.A., 656, s.a. 944.

Cf. B.T. in M.A., 690, s.a. 943:—"In the same year Strathclyde was ravaged by the English, who slew cruelly those whom they found in their way, of the Britons to whom it belonged" (*o'r Bryttaniaid a berthynai yddynt*: I am indebted for the translation to Mr H. J. Bell, of the MSS. department, British Museum. Professor Sir John Morris Jones suggests a correction of the text, [*ac*] *a berthynai ydynt*, "of the Britons [and] those who belonged to them": this seems very likely to be the correct reading).

[4] This is derived from English sources (see E.C., 74), but without mention of the terms of fealty. Similarly, also, as a memorandum, in fo. 53 of the same chronicle, p. 233. Cf. Bain, ii, 112.

[5] Placed 3 years after the "500th year" after 444.

F.M., ii, 656, s.a. 944=946 (and the "2nd year of Congalach," Maelmithid's son, as king of Ireland): "Æthelstan, renowned king of England, died." (For "Æthelstan" read "Edmund"; otherwise the entry is too late by six years.)

Annals of Clonmacnoise, s.a. 941: "Edmund, king of the Saxons, was killed by his own family."

Edmund died in 946 (A.S.C., 946 ABCD, 948 EF); the date 946 is supported by charters in Kemble's Codex Diplomaticus.

946

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 30

In the same year, [946, Eadred] acquired Northumbria, [which was] in rebellion against him; and the Scots submitted to him without fighting.[1]

947

Annals of the Four Masters, vol. i, p. 656, s.a. 945 = 947[2]

Cainchomrac, abbot of Iona, . . . died.

949[3]

950

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 466, s.a. 949 or 950 = 950

Higuel, king of the Britons, died.[4]

[1] This is derived from English sources (see E.C., 74-75).

Chronicle of the Kings, version A, records a Scottish invasion of England in 948 or 949. See year 954.

[2] And the "3rd year of Congalach" as sovereign of Ireland.

[3] In this year (or at least between 948 and 950) the Chronicle of the Kings, version A, says that king Malcolm, Donald's son, "plundered the English as far as the Tees"; see year 954.

[4] Similarly in the Annales Cambriae, Y Cymmrodor, ix, 169, s.a. [950] (6 years after the "500th year" after 444); but MS. B adds "the Good," and MS. C reads: "Higuel, surnamed the Good, king of the Britons, died; and Owen, his son, succeeded him. But two sons of Iutgual intervened, namely Iacob and Ieuaf. Higuel had expelled them from their kingdom; and they fought against Owen near Nant-Carno, and they were the victors" (Ab Ithel's ed., 18). (Cf. MS. A, s.a. [951], "the battle of Carno.")

The last entry in MS. A is, s.a. [954] (the "510th year" after 444): "Rotri, Higuel's son, died." This Rotri's death is placed in 951 by B.S. in M.A., 657.

Higuel Da's father was Catell, king of South Wales. Cf. year 877, note.

The first Genealogy appended to the Annales Cambriae is (Y Cymmrodor, ix, 169-170): "Owen, son of Higuel, son of Catell, son of Rotri, son of Mermin, son of Etthil, daughter of Cinan, son of Rotri, son of Iutgual, son of Catgualart, son of Catguollaun, son of Catman, son of Iacob, son of Beli, son of Run, son of Mailcun. . . ."

For Higuel Da (or Hywel Dda) cf. a Welsh Triad, in M.A., 407 (59); Loth's Mabinogion, ii, triad no. 136. S.D. dates his death in 951; B.T. in M.A., 690, and B.S. in M.A., 657, in 948.

951

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 468, s.a. 950=951

Godfrey, Sigtrygg's son, with the Foreigners of Dublin, plundered Kells, Donaghpatrick, Ardbrackan, Dulane, and Kilskeer, and other churches besides. They were all harried from Kells; and in them were captured three thousand people, or more, along with the greatest spoil of cows and horses, of gold and silver.[1]

952

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 470, s.a. 951 or 952=952[2]

. . . Constantine, Aed's son, king of Scotland, . . . died.[3]

A battle [was fought] against the men of Scotland and the Britons and the English, by the Foreigners.[4]

954

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, pp. 470-472, s.a. 953 or 954=954[5]

. . . Malcolm, Donald's son, king of Scotland, was slain.[6] . . .

. . . Robartach, successor of Columcille and Adamnan, rested in Christ.[7]

[1] Similarly in F.M., ii, 664, s.a. 949=951 (and "the 7th year of Congalach," sovereign of Ireland); but they add Castlekieran to the places pillaged, and say: "They took away more than three thousand captives, besides gold and silver, clothing and various kinds of wealth, and goods of every kind."

C.S. (210; Hennessy's year 950=951): "Godfrey, Sigtrygg's son, took Dublin, and plundered Kells, and Donaghpatrick, and Ardbrackan, and Dulane, and Castlekieran, and Kilskeery. But God avenged it; he died in a short time. And there were taken 3000 men, and the greatest quantity of gold and silver."

[2] With the marginal note "bissextile."

[3] Similarly in the Annals of Clonmacnoise, s.a. 947=952.

[4] F.M., ii, 666, s.a. 950=952 (and "the 8th year of Congalach" as sovereign of Ireland): "A victory [was gained] by the Foreigners over the men of Scotland, the Britons, and the Saxons; and in it many fell."

Skene thought this battle to have been one fought by Eric Blood-axe and the Scandinavians settled in Northumbria, against an invasion of Scots, Cumbrians, and Bernicians. But the evidence for this is meagre.

The events of 926, 934, and 937, made Cumbria an English province. It must have been an unruly one, or Edmund would not have given it into the custody of the Scottish king, as he did in 945. Cumbria was the

943-954

Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, version A; Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 10

Malcolm, Donald's son, reigned for eleven years.[1]

Malcolm went with his army into Moray, and slew Cellach.

In the seventh year of his reign,[2] he plundered the English as far as the river Tees; and he seized a multitude of the people, and many herds of cattle. And the Scots called this raid the "raid of the Albidosi" (that is, Nainndisi).[3]

But others say that Constantine made this raid; asking[4] of the king, Malcolm, that the kingship should be given to him for a week's time, in order to visit the English. In fact, it was not Malcolm who made the raid, but Constantine incited him, as I have said.

stepping-stone between the Norwegians of Ireland, Wales, and Galloway, and the Danes of Northumbria.

[5] The next year-section has epact and ferial number: the epact indicates 955, but the ferial number is incorrect.

[6] C.S., 210, Hennessy's year 952=953: "Malcolm, Donald's son, king of Scotland, was slain by his [subjects]."

Annals of Clonmacnoise, 156, s.a. 948=953: "Malcolm, Donald's son, king of Scotland, died."

[7] C.S., 210, Hennessy's year 953=954: "Robartach, Columcille's successor, reposed."

F.M., ii, 668-670, s.a. 952=954 (and "the 10th year of Congalach," sovereign of Ireland): "Robartach, successor of Columcille and Adamnan, . . . died." He was presumably abbot of Kells and of Raphoe. Cf. year 938. An abbot of Iona died in 947 (q.v.).

[1] Most other versions say, for 9 years; see above, p. cxxxviii. Since 952 was Malcolm's tenth year, his first was 943 (942×944); and 954, the year of his death, was his 12th. Therefore we must accept version A's number (11 years), although it differs from the numbers given by all the other versions.

[2] His tenth was 952, therefore his seventh would have been 949 (948×950).

[3] *Predam albidosorum idem nainndisi.* The last two words are probably a gloss. The *inn-* of *inndisi* can scarcely be *find* (as Skene would have had it), because *f* would not have disappeared after *na*. The meaning of these words is obscure; possibly read *na n-indisi=na n-inse* "of the islands"? (Cf. Innisibsolian in the same chronicle; above, year 900). *Albidorsorum* might mean "of the white-backs."

[4] In text *querens;* read *querentem = quaerentem.*

And Constantine died in [Malcolm's] tenth year,[1] under the crown of penitence, in good old age.

And the men of Mearns slew Malcolm in Fetteresso; that is, in Claideom.[2]

943-954

Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, version D; Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 151

Malcolm, Donald's son, reigned for nine years; and he was killed by the Moravians by treachery, and was buried in the island of Iona.[3]

943-954

Prose and Verse Chronicles inserted in the Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 29, 225, s.a. 943[4]

Constantine, king of the Scots, died.

"King Malcolm succeeded him, for nine years; he was the son of king Donald. The men of Moray slew him in Ulum[5]: he fell by the deceit and guile of an apostate nation."[6]

[1] Constantine died in 952; above.

[2] *Et occiderunt viri na Moerne Malcolaim in Fodresach, i. in Claideom.*

[3] Similarly in versions F (ibid., 174), G (301-302), I (288); but instead of "killed . . . by treachery," F reads: "killed in Vlurn by treachery by the Moravians"; so also in I, but with the reading "in Ulnem."

Confusedly in K: "Malcolm, Donald's son, reigned for 21 years. He was killed by treachery by the Norwegians; and this occurred in the time of the first Edward, Æthelstan's father." Edward died in 925. Eadred was king in 954.

Malcolm's reign is omitted by N.

The Duan Albanach, in P. & S., 62: "Malcolm [passed] four years [in the kingdom]." The Duan allows 50 years to the reigns of Constantine and Malcolm (900-954); here too there are a few years unaccounted for.

Cf. Fordun, IV, 24-25.

[4] Also in P. & S., 178-179 (B.).

[5] *Ulrum*, B.

[6] The passage within inverted commas is in verse in the original.

943-954

Berchan's Prophecy, stanzas 155-157, in Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 93

Then for a long time the Red Crow[1] will take high Scotland of fair plains.[2] Travellers will be beloved by him,[3] in a foreign land without neglect.

His kingdom will not be wearisome[4] (I shall relate to you, it will be a tale of truth) to the others, at every time in every place, to foreigners and to Gaels.

He will have nine years in the kingdom, traversing their boundaries. An expedition upon the brow of Dunnottar[5]; the Gaels will shout about his grave.

[1] *an bodhbh dercc.*

This is the 10th king after Kenneth in the Prophecy; he appears to be Malcolm I.

[2] *daigh-lercc* in MS. *a*, changed by O'Connell to *drech-lercc*; *daigh-learg* in MS *b*, changed to *drech-learg*, with O'Connell's note, "read, *drechlearg*."

[3] *beitt astraigh gradhádh leis*, MS. *a*; *beitt* (in MS. *b*, *beid*) is probably dissyllabic; final *dh* of *gradhádh* is blotted. Read *grádhaigh?* MS. *b* has *Gradha.*

[4] *Nídh ba fadhál a ríghe*, MS. *a*. *Nid ba fadhal a Righe*, MS. *b*, with O'Connell's note *Ni ba sadhal a Righe* ("his kingdom will not be pleasant"?) Read *ni ba fadal?*

[5] *for bra dúna foiteir fecht.* Fetteresso is near Dunnottar. Berchan and Chronicle A may be preferred to the other Chronicles of the Kings, which evidently mean that Malcolm fell at Blervie, in Moray.

PART XVII

Eric's Sons

937-954

Heimskringla, Hakon the Good's Saga, cc. 3-5 [1]

When [Eric Blood-axe] saw that he had no means of resisting the army of Hakon, he sailed to west beyond the sea with all the army that would follow him. He went first to the Orkneys, and took from there a great force. Then he sailed south for England, and harried in Scotland, everywhere he came to land; he harried also in the north of England.[2]

Æthelstan, king of the English, sent a message to Eric, and bade him take territory from him in England; and said that just as king Harold, his father, had been a great friend of king Æthelstan's,[3] so would it be with his son.

[1] With this passage cf. the reconstructed part of c. 8 of Orkneyinga Saga; i, 10-11. Cf. also Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, cc. 15-16 (F.S., ii, 22-25; Fl., i, 50-51).

[2] Before 948; see below, p. 459, note.

[3] The sagas have pleasant tales of the intercourse between Æthelstan and Harold; see Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 8 (F.S., i, 15-17; Fl., i, 46-47); H., Harold Fairhair, cc. 39-40 (and Fr., 61-62). Cf. F., 20-23.

Theoderic, c. 2, in Storm's Monumenta, p. 7: ". . . the Norwegians recalled [Hakon] because of the cruelty of his brother [Eric], and especially of that of [Eric's] wife Gunnhild; and they appointed [Hakon] their king. But Eric too sailed to England, and was honourably received by the king; and he died there. . . ."

The Historia Norwegiae and the Ágrip differ from all the other accounts in saying that Eric died in Spain.

Historia Norwegiae, in Storm's Monumenta, pp. 105-106: "When [Eric] had reigned for a year, and had pleased no one because of his wife's excessive insolence, he was deprived of the kingdom by his brother Hakon, the foster-son of Æthelstan, king of England, by the counsel of the nobles of Norway; and he departed as a fugitive to England. There he was well received by his brother's fosterer [*pædagogo*], and washed in the fountain of baptism, and appointed earl of all Northumbria. And he was most welcome to all, until his wicked wife arrived there. The Northumbrians

Then men went between the kings; and it was agreed that by special privilege king Eric should take Northumberland, to hold it of king Æthelstan, and to protect the land there from Danes and other vikings. Eric was also to have himself baptized, and his wife, and their children, and all his army, which had followed him thither.

Eric made this choice, and he was then baptized and accepted the true faith.[1]

Northumberland is called the fifth part of England. [Eric] had his residence in York, where men say that Lodbrok's sons had dwelt before.[2] Northumberland was mostly inhabited by Norwegians, since Lodbrok's sons had won the land. Danes

could not endure her pestilential madness, and immediately cast off their intolerable yoke.

"And while he was conducting a piratical expedition in Spain, he was attacked and fell; but she with her sons returned to her brother, Harold, the king of the Danes." But the sagas say that she was the daughter of Ozur Toti. The statement that Eric died in Spain is probably incorrect: it is opposed by the elegy which was composed at the time of his death.

The Ágrip (F.S., x, 385) says that Eric "fled with a ship-force west to England, and was there in outlawry and in warfare; and he begged favour of the king of England, as king Æthelstan had promised him. And he received from the king the earldom in Northumberland. But he conducted himself there, by counsel of his wife, Gunnhild, so cruelly and harshly, that he appeared scarcely to be endurable. Therefore he set out on warfare, and on piracy, widely in the western lands; and Eric fell in Spain, in piracy. But Gunnhild betook herself afterwards to Denmark, to king Harold. . . ."

[1] Fagrskinna, 26: ". . . Æthelstan gave Northumberland to king Eric, as a place of refuge and of visitation [*at friðlannde ok ivirsocn*]. Then Eric took baptism, and the true faith. . . ."

Eric's sons abandoned Christianity when they returned to Norway: Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 32; H., Harold Greycloak, c. 2. Cf. Odd's Olaf's Saga, ed. Munch, p. 2.

[2] Cf. the Tale of Ragnar's sons, in Hauksbók, ii, 463, 464. Cf. Ragnar's Saga, 161-168.

Snorri's St Olaf's Saga, c. 9, p. 9: "[Eric] went first to the Orkneys; and he took with him a great army. Then he sailed south to England, and harried there. Æthelstan, king of the English, sent a message to Eric, and bade him receive from him a kingdom in England; and, to effect peace between the brothers, Eric and Hakon, he would do this, and give [Eric] Northumberland, which is called the fifth part of England. Then Eric chose this, and he was king in Northumberland as long as he lived. Eric fell in western piracy. . . ."

According to Jónsson's table of Egil's Saga's dates, Eric fled from

Norway in 935; but the date deducible from the Ágrip and Theoderic would be 937.

Egil's Saga, c. 59, pp. 193-194: "Then [Eric] sailed with his army south [from Orkney] along Scotland, and plundered there; thence he sailed south to England, and plundered there.

"And when king Æthelstan heard that, he collected an army, and went against Eric. And when they met, an agreement was proposed between them, and it was arranged that king Æthelstan gave to Eric Northumberland to rule, but [Eric] was to be king Æthelstan's land-defender against the Scots and Irish.

"King Æthelstan had made Scotland tributary under him, after the fall of king Olaf; but yet that people was always unfaithful [*ótrútt*] to him.

"King Eric always resided in York. It is said that Gunnhild had a charm made, and had this spell put upon Egil Skallagrim's son, that he should never have peace in Iceland until he should see her" (because she wished to take revenge upon him).

"But in the summer [?937; but according to Jónsson's chronology of the saga, in 935] in which Hakon and Eric had met and contended over Norway, it was forbidden [to go] to other lands from Norway; and no ships came that summer to Iceland, and no news from Norway. Egil Skallagrim's son remained at his farm; but the second winter that he lived at Borg, after the death of Skallagrim, Egil became melancholy, and his distress grew greater as the winter passed. And when summer came" [?938; according to Jónsson's table, 936] Egil announced that he intended to make ready his ship for voyaging in the summer. So he took oarsmen, intending to sail to England; there were thirty men on board. Asgerd [Egil's wife] remained behind, and took charge of their farm-stead: but Egil purposed to go to king Æthelstan, and to claim fulfilment of the promises which [Æthelstan] had made to Egil at their parting.

"Egil was not quickly ready, and when he put to sea the wind was rather light; autumn began to approach, and the weather became rough.

"They sailed past the north of the Orkneys. Egil would not land there, because he thought that king Eric's dominion must extend everywhere in the islands. Then they sailed south past Scotland, and had much storm and unfavourable winds; they beat up past Scotland, and so to the north of England. . . ."

They were wrecked in Eric's dominions, saving all their men and some of their cargo. In despair of evading Eric, Egil appealed to Arinbiorn. Through Arinbiorn's support, by falsehood and by composing a song ("the Head-ransom") in Eric's praise, Egil escaped from the vengeance of Eric and Gunnhild (cc. 59-61). Arinbiorn went with Egil to Æthelstan in London; Egil's men joined him there during the winter [?938-939; 936-937 in Jónsson's table]. (Egil's "Head-ransom" is in the Corpus Poeticum, i, 267-271; J.S., i, A 35-39, B 30-33.)

Thorstein, son of Eric Very-wise, and Egil, asked Æthelstan to induce his foster-son Hakon to give them back their lands in Norway. Æthelstan asked Egil to be the commander of his army, and Egil promised to return

and Norwegians plundered often there, since they had lost dominion in the land. Many names of the land there are given in the Norse tongue: Grimsby, and Hawkfleet, and many others.

[c. 4] *The fall of king Eric.*[1]

King Eric had many supporters about him; he kept there many Norwegians, who had gone from the east with him; and besides, many of his friends had come since then from Norway.

But because he had little land,[2] he went on warfare every

(c. 62). Thorstein and Egil went to Norway during the winter, and succeeded in vindicating their claims (c. 63). Next summer [? 939, as before] Egil went to Iceland. "Egil was there at his farm [of Borg] for not very few winters" (c. 66).

"Egil learned this news from east beyond the sea, that Eric Blood-axe had fallen in western piracy [in 950, according to Jónsson's chronology of the saga]; and that Gunnhild and their sons had gone south to Denmark, and that all the army that had followed Eric there had left England. Arinbiorn had then come to Norway; he had taken up the grants and possessions that he had owned, and had come into great affection with king [Hakon]. Now Egil thought the best thing to be done was to go to Norway. These tidings also followed, that king Æthelstan was dead; his brother Edmund was then ruling over England" (c. 67, pp. 221-222). (Edmund reigned 939-946.)

Egil passed the winter with Arinbiorn; they plundered together next summer and autumn, in Saxony and Friesland. Then Arinbiorn joined his foster-son, Harold Greycloak, Eric's son, in Denmark, and remained with him. (Arinbiorn became Harold's commander-in-chief; see c. 78, p. 260.) Egil returned to Norway, and passed the winter with Thorstein, son of Arinbiorn's sister, Thora, in the Vik (c. 69). Egil collected taxes for Hakon in Vermaland (c. 74). In the summer he sailed north along Norway, and across to Iceland; he passed the winter in Borg (c. 76), and never afterwards left Iceland (c. 78, p. 260). It is implied that king Hakon († 961) reigned for a long time [after Egil went back to Iceland]. Therefore Egil's Saga supports the chronology of the Heimskringla.

The sagas cannot stand against the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in the chronology of English events of this period; and yet there is doubt, because the Norwegians had special reason to be interested in the history of England at this time: king Eric had gone to England and become a ruler there, while his successor in Norway, king Hakon the Good, was the foster-son of Æthelstan. See below.

Egil's Saga, c. 85, p. 291: "In the earlier days of Hakon the Mighty" (who reigned 976-995), "Egil Skallagrim's son was in his eighties. . . ." Therefore Egil was born 886 × 896.

[1] Cf. Frisbók, 66-67.

[2] Cf. Fagrskinna, 27.

summer,[1] and plundered in Scotland and the Hebrides, Ireland and Wales, and thus carried off treasure for himself.

King Æthelstan died of disease; he had been king for fourteen winters, and eight weeks, and three days.[2] After that, his brother Edmund was king in England. He cared not for the Norwegians; king Eric was not in favour with him, and the word passed about that king Edmund would put another king over Northumberland. And when king Eric learned that, he went into western piracy[3]; and he took with him from the Orkneys Arnkel and Erlend, sons of Turf-Einar. Then he went to the Hebrides; and there were many vikings and war-kings there, and they joined the army of king Eric. Then he proceeded with the whole army first to Ireland, and got from there as many men as he could. Then he sailed to Wales, and

[1] Therefore Eric became king more than one year before Æthelstan's death (∴ 937 × 938). If this is correct, we know from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle that he must have been deposed in 941, soon after Æthelstan's death; he may have gone then, as the sagas say, to the Hebrides. If so, he reoccupied Northumbria from 952 to 954; he was driven out, and probably fell, in 954.

An elegy was made for king Eric by Gunnhild's command: a remarkable fragment of it is preserved (F., 27-30; J.S., i, A 174-175, B 164-166; Corpus Poeticum Boreale, i, 260-261). Eric is there said to have fallen with five other kings.

Eric had plundered in western Scotland before he became king of Norway; F., 30 (quoting Glum Geirason). According to Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 3 (F.S., i, 8), and H., Harold Fairhair, c. 33: "When Eric was twelve winters old, king Harold gave him five long-ships; and he sailed in warfare, first in the eastern way, and then south about Denmark and Friesland and Saxony. And he passed four winters in this expedition. After that, he sailed west beyond the sea, and harried about Scotland and Wales [*Bretland*], Ireland and France [*Valland*]; and he passed there other four winters. After that, he sailed north to Finnmark, and as far as Biarmaland. . . ." On this last voyage he is said to have found Gunnhild, whom he married. See below, p. 461.

[2] See above, year 939.

[3] The sagas imply that Eric left Northumbria soon after Æthelstan's death [† 939] (in ? 941; see below), and that he fell in Edmund's reign (∴ 939 × 946). The facts seem to be that he left Northumbria in the beginning of Edmund's reign, but returned and was killed during Eadred's reign. See below, 950 × 955, note. Below (950 × 955) we deduce from Heimskringla and Fagrskinna that Eric fell in Hakon's 16th year on the throne; i.e., in 950, according to the sagas' chronology. This is a more nearly correct date than that which the sagas' story implies. This inconsistency weakens the sagas' case.

plundered there. After that, he sailed south into England, and plundered there as in other places; and wherever he went, all the people fled.[1]

And because Eric was a great man of valour, and had a great army, he trusted so much to his army that he went far up into the land, and plundered, and looked for men.

Olaf[2] was the name of a king whom king Edmund had

[1] This must have been in 952. See below.

[2] This is not in agreement with the more trustworthy account given by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. It is there said that Æthelstan had become king of Northumbria in 926 (D); but in 941, after his death, "the Northumbrians forsook their allegiance, and chose as their king Olaf of Ireland" (D). Olaf died in 942 (EF). With this account, cf. S.D., ii, 197: "The last king of that province [of the Northumbrians] was Eric, whom the Northumbrians made their king, violating the oath that they had sworn to king Eadred. Offended by this, the king ordered that the whole province should be completely laid waste. Their king was expelled, and slain by Maccus, the son of Olaf; and the Northumbrians immediately appeased king Eadred with oaths and gifts; the province being committed to earl Oswulf. . . ." (See E.C., 77, note.) According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, king Edmund received Olaf [Sigtrygg's son] and Ronald [Godfrey's son], at their baptism, in 943 (ABD; 942, C); but in 944 (ABCDE) he drove these kings out of Northumbria; and he conquered the Danes of Cumbria in the following year. In 945, according to A.U., Olaf became king of Dublin (i, 464; s.a. 944 or 945=945).

Version D of A.S.C. (here fuller than the other versions) says, under 948: "In this year, king Eadred harried all the Northumbrians' land, because they had taken Eric as their king; and then was burnt, in this harrying, the great monastery at Ripon, which St Wilfrith had built. And while the king was [returning] homewards, the army from within York overtook him—the rear of the king's army being at Chesterford—and made great slaughter there. Then the king became so angry that he determined to march in again, and destroy that land entirely. When the Northumbrians' council perceived that, they forsook Eric, and they made reparation for the deed to king Eadred." (Cf. E.C., year 946; p. 75 note; p. 77.) S.D. dates this reign of Eric 949-950.

Under 949, versions E and F of A.S.C. say: "In this year Olaf Cuaran came to Northumberland." Versions ABCD are blank. According to A.U., Olaf Cuaran led the Danes of Dublin in 947; Godfrey, Sigtrygg's son, led them in 951 (i, 464, 468; s.aa. 946 or 947, and 950 or 951).

In the year-section that contains the depredations of 951 (above), and immediately after them, the Annals of Clonmacnoise say (156, s.a. 946): "Olaf was king of York for a year after"; i.e., 951-952.

Under 952, versions E and F of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle say: "In this year the Northumbrians drove out king Olaf, and received Eric, Harold's son." (ABC are blank, D has other affairs.)

placed there, to protect the land. He drew together an overwhelming army, and went to engage with king Eric. A great battle took place there, and many English men fell; but where one fell, three came down from the land in his place; and in the latter part of the day the slaying went against the Norwegians, and many men fell there. And at the end of that day king Eric fell, and five kings with him.[1]

These are their names: Guthorm, and his two sons, Ivar and Harek; there fell also Sigurd and Ronald. There fell also Arnkel and Erlend, sons of Turf-Einar. A very great slaughter of the Norwegians took place there; but those who escaped sailed to Northumberland, and told these tidings to Gunnhild and her sons.[2]

Under 954, versions DEF have: "In this year the Northumbrians drove out Eric, and [king (F)] Eadred seized the kingdom of the Northumbrians." Eadred was king of the English from 946 (A.S.C., ABCD; 948, EF) to 955 (ADEF; 956, BC), November 23rd (AF).

If the king who defeated Eric was named Olaf, he must have been Olaf Cuaran, Sigtrygg's son. See year 980.

For the suppression of the kingdom of Northumbria, and appointment of the first earl, Oswulf, in 952, see S.D. (cf. below, year 1073, note).

[1] Similarly in F., 27: "Eric had so great an army, that five kings followed him; because Eric was a valiant man, and victorious. Then he trusted so much to himself and his force, that he went far up on land; and he went everywhere with warfare. Then came against him king Olaf; he was a tributary king of king Edmund. They fought, and Eric was routed by the army of the land; and he fell there, with all his force. And there fell with him the sons of Turf-Einar, Arnkel and Erlend. . . ."

[2] Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 12 (F.S., i, 19-20), and H., Harold Fairhair, c. 44: "Eric was a big man, and handsome, strong and valiant; a great warrior, and victorious; a very impetuous man in disposition, cruel, unfriendly, and silent.

"Gunnhild, his wife, was a very beautiful woman; wise, and with much knowledge, pleasant-speaking, and very guileful, and the cruellest person.

"The children of Eric and Gunnhild were these: Gamli was the oldest; Guthorm, Harold, Ragnfrod, Ragnhild, Erling, Godfrey, Sigurd Slefa. All Eric's children were handsome and manly." Cf. Historia Norwegiae, Storm's Monumenta, 105; F., 23-24; Snorri's St Olaf's Saga, 9.

Cf. Ágrip, c. 5 (F.S., x, 380).

See year 956, below.

A fairy-tale is told about Gunnhild in Olaf's Saga, c. 3; Fl., i, 43; H., Harold Fairhair, c. 33. According to the sagas, she was a daughter of Ozur Toti (Ozur Lafskeg, in Ágrip, u.s.) of Halogaland, and was said to have been found by Eric in Finnmark. Cf. Egil's Saga, c. 37, p. 110; F., 23.

[c. 5] *The voyage of Gunnhild's sons.*[1]

When Gunnhild [and her sons] were aware of this, that king Eric had fallen, and had previously harried the dominion of the English king, they thought it certain that no peace would be offered them there; so they set out at once from Northumberland, taking all the ships that king Eric had had; they had also all the people that would follow them, and movable property which had been got together in taxes in England, and some had been taken in warfare.

They proceeded with their followers north to the Orkneys, and they established themselves there for a time. The earl there was Thorfinn Skull-cleaver, Turf-Einar's son.

Then Eric's sons took under themselves the Orkneys and Shetland, and had the taxes from them; and they abode there in the winters; and they sailed into western piracy in the summers, and plundered in Scotland and Ireland.[2] . . .

950×955

Heimskringla, Hakon the Good's Saga, c. 9[3]

Of king Tryggvi.

That same autumn,[4] king Tryggvi, Olaf's son, came [to

Gunnhild is said to have been a relative of Catroe; see the Life of Catroe, above, p. 441.

Theoderic says that Gunnhild was the sister of Harold, Gorm's son; the Historia Norwegiae says: ". . . Eric . . . acquired the kingdom, marrying a wife from Denmark, Gunnhilda by name, an evil-doing" (*maleficam;* perhaps "spell-working") "and most wicked woman, the daughter of the most foolish Gorm, king of the Danes, and of Thyra, a very prudent woman" (Storm's Monumenta, 105). In this, these 12th century works may be preferred to the sagas' fairy-tale.

[1] Cf. Frisbók, 67.

[2] Here is a verse-quotation of 16 lines, from Glum Geirason ("in Gráfeldar-drápa," according to Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga). These lines say that Harold had fought successfully in Scotland. Cf. Corpus Poeticum Boreale, ii, 39; J.S., i, A 75; B 65-66.

Eric's sons left Orkney in or before 955 (see below). If they left Northumbria after Eric's death, they can hardly have passed more than one winter in Orkney: but it seems more probable that they had left Northumbria when Eric was driven the first time from that land (940×941).

[3] Similarly in Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 18 (F.S., i, 28; Fl., i, 53). Cf. Fr., 69.

[4] The year of Hakon's invasion of Jutland, after Eric's death in England. Fagrskinna, 32: "In the 17th year of his reign, [king Hakon] gave the

Norway] from western piracy; he had been plundering there, in Ireland and Scotland.

In the spring, Hakon went north in the land, and set king Tryggvi, his brother's son, over the Vik, to protect it from dispeace, and to possess such lands as he could of those that king Harold had made tributary in Denmark, the previous summer. . . .[1]

Ágrip af Noregs Konungasögum, cc. 14-15; Fornmanna Sögur, vol. x, pp. 390-391

But after [Tryggvi's] fall, Astrid, whom Tryggvi had married in the Uplands, fled away to the Orkneys, with Olaf, her son and Tryggvi's, three winters old, to escape the wiles of Gunnhild and her sons, and also of earl Hakon; these were all still struggling for Norway, because Gunnhild's sons were not yet taken from life.

And she came to the Orkneys with three ship's-crews. But

name of king to his brother's son, Tryggvi, son of Olaf, Harold's son; and gave him dominion in the Vik eastwards." Hakon's 17th year was 951, according to the sagas; perhaps 953 in reality. But since Tryggvi returned after Eric's death (954×), his appointment must have been made in or after 955.

[1] 8 lines of verse are quoted here. They say that Tryggvi "had come thither before, guilelessly, in ships, with a sea-army, from the Irish." (These lines are said to have been taken from Guthorm Sindri's Hákonardrápa, in Olaf's Saga, F.S., i, 29; cf. Corpus Poeticum Boreale, ii, 21; J.S., i, A 62; B 55-56.)

King Hakon had appointed Tryggvi and Godfrey, his brother Olaf's sons, kings over districts in Norway, in the first winter of his reign: they were then children (H., Hakon the Good, c. 2. Cf. Snorri's St Olaf's Saga, p. 8). This was in 938, according to the Icelandic Annals (BD; 933, AC): but more probably in 937 (see above, p. 427).

Hakon now [?955] placed Tryggvi "over the Vik eastwards" (Egil's Saga, c. 76, p. 251); and he had to resist Eric's sons, but was defeated by Godfrey, who took his kingdom (956×).

The death of Tryggvi, and birth of his son Olaf, are placed in 969 by the Icelandic Annals (KBD; 968, CA). Cf. Olaf's Saga, c. 36; H., Harold Greycloak, c. 9.

According to the sagas, Tryggvi's wife Astrid fled with her infant son, Olaf, to her father, Eric Biodaskáld, in Ofrostadir; and afterwards to Sweden, to Hakon the Old; then to Russia, to her brother, Eric. H., Olaf Tryggvi's son, cc. 1, ff. Odd's Olaf's Saga, ed. Munch, pp. 4, ff. Fl., i., 71, ff.

because her journey could not be concealed, and many deceits could be practised, she sent the child away with the man that some called Thorolf Lusarskegg; and he brought the child secretly to Norway, and conveyed it with a large following to Sweden; and from Sweden he wished to go to Holmgardr, because some of his kindred were there; but Esthonians fell upon the ship that he was in, and some of its people were killed, some taken war-prisoners. His fosterer was killed, but he was made prisoner of war upon the island that is called Ösyssel, and was then sold as a slave.

[c. 15] But God, who had chosen this child for great things, arranged his liberation in this way: a man came to Esthonia, a messenger from the king of Holmgardr; he was sent to take tax from the land. And he was a relative of the child, and ransomed his relative, and brought him to Holmgardr; and he was there for a while, in such a way that not many men had knowledge of his descent. . . .[1]

956

Heimskringla, Hakon the Good's Saga, c. 10[2]

Of Gunnhild's sons.

King Harold, Gorm's son, then reigned over Denmark. He was greatly displeased that king Hakon had plundered in his land,[3] and the word went round that the Danish king would

[1] He made known who he was by killing the slayer of his foster-father, Thorolf. Soon afterwards he got some followers and took to warfare. See below, years 993-995.

The Historia Norwegiae says that Olaf was not yet born when Tryggvi died; and that "Astrid, now with child, went to the Orkneys with three ships, and a fitting company; and was there most loyally afforded a retreat. And the fortunate mother brought forth a son, a future king, whom she named Olaf. Through him, Norway at last received Christ's most wholesome commands" (Storm's Monumenta, 111).

Olaf's birth is dated in 969 (and the 32nd year of the emperor Otho the Great [967-968], and the first year of the reign of king Edward [975]), in Fl., i, 71.

[2] Similarly in Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga (c. 19, F.S. i, 29-30; c. 18, Fl. i, 53-54). Cf. the reconstructed part of c. 8 of the Orkneyinga Saga, i, 11. Cf. Fr., 69-70.

[3] Hakon had invaded Jutland in retaliation for Danish marauding in the Vik.

Harold Blue-tooth, Gorm's son, was king of Denmark, according to

wish to take revenge; but yet that did not take place so quickly.

When Gunnhild and her sons learned this, that there was discord between Denmark and Norway, they prepared their journey from the west. They gave Ragnhild, king Eric's daughter, to Arnfinn, son of Thorfinn Skull-cleaver; and Thorfinn established himself as earl in the Orkneys, when Eric's sons departed. Gamli, Eric's son, was by somewhat the eldest of them, yet he was not a full-grown man.[1]

And when Gunnhild came to Denmark with her sons, she went to visit king Harold, and received a good welcome there. Harold gave them so great gifts in his kingdom that they were well able to support themselves and their men. And he took into fostering Harold, Eric's son, and set him on his knee[2]; he was brought up in the court of the Danish king. Some of Eric's sons went upon warfare, as soon as they were old enough, and procured wealth for themselves. They plundered in the east-way.[3] . . .

the Icelandic Annals, from 936 (D; 940, I) to †985 (KBODA; 976, E). But Harold reigned for 47 winters, according to the Jomsvíkinga Saga, c. 21; and died in [992], according to Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 86 (F.S., i, 164), of a wound received in battle with his son, Sven Forkbeard, who succeeded him (ibid., cc. 84, 85). Cf. H., Olaf Tryggvi's son, c. 34. These sagas therefore imply that Harold reigned in Denmark from 945 to 992. (Knytlinga Saga says that Harold reigned for fifty winters; c. 4, F.S., xi, 183. Cf. F.S., xi, 419.)

[1] From this it is clear that none of Eric's sons was old enough for warfare in the beginning of Edmund's reign; they could not then have fought on their father's side, and would probably not have remained in Northumbria after Eric had left it (?939×941). They probably went to Orkney after Eric's first departure from Northumbria. They went from Orkney to Denmark soon after Eric's death (∴954×).

The sagas consistently leave a long interval between Eric's death and his sons' invasion of Norway. Their evidence cannot outweigh that of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for events that occurred in England. To reconcile their conflicting accounts, we must conjecture that the sagas have cut short the interval between Eric's first departure from Northumbria and his return and death, and have erred in saying that Eric died before his sons left England.

[2] I.e., adopted him.

[3] Afterwards they plundered in Norway also (H., Hakon, cc. 10, 19, 20 ff.).

Fagrskinna omits mention of the visit of Eric's sons to Orkney; pp. 30-31: "Then Gunnhild went away from England, with her sons, to Denmark. She got a place of refuge there from king Harold, Gorm's

son. He took Eric's son Harold into fosterage, and set him on his knee; and [Harold] was ever within the court. But Gamli and Guthorm took to warfare, first in the eastern way and then in Norway; and they did all the evil they could in the dominion of king Hakon."

"When Hakon had been king in Norway for 20 winters," according to Heimskringla (i.e., in 957), Eric's sons fought a battle with king Hakon at Rastarkálfr; and Gamli, the oldest of the brothers, was killed (H., Hakon, cc. 22-26). Similarly also in Olaf's Saga, c. 25; and in Fl., i, 58. But F. (32) says this was "in the 20th year" of Hakon's reign (i.e., 956-957); and Frisbók's text of Heimskringla reads (76): "when king Hakon had been 20 winters in Norway" (i.e., in 956); and the date 956 is supported by Theoderic.

Harold Greycloak was now the oldest son of Eric.

"When Hakon had been king for 26 winters" (H., u.s., c. 28), i.e. in 961 (so also in Olaf's Saga, c. 26; and Fl.), Eric's sons were defeated in battle at Stord; but king Hakon was wounded to death, and the kingdom passed to Harold Greycloak, with his mother and brothers (H., u.s., cc. 28-32; Olaf's Saga, cc. 26-30; Fl., i, 59-62; F., 35-49). An elegy by Eyvind Finn's son upon king Hakon is preserved; Corpus Poeticum Boreale, i, 262-266; J.S., i, A 64-68; B 57-60.

Snorri's St Olaf's Saga (c. 10, p. 9) says that "Hakon ruled over Norway for 27 [years]." Similarly in the Historia Norwegiae. Both these include in the number Hakon's first year in Norway, without the kingly title.

Theoderic says (c. 4; Storm's Monumenta, pp. 9-10): "Hakon . . . reigned for 25 years. . . . He reigned in peace for 19 years; after that, his brother's sons rose up against him. . . . This war between them lasted for 5 years. . . ." According to these figures, Eric's sons began to invade Norway in 956, and must have left Orkney before that date. This is the most trustworthy account; and it agrees very well with the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle's date of Eric's death (954 ×).

Ágrip, c. 5, F.S., x, 382: "After [Hakon] had held Norway for 15 winters in friendship and peace, the sons of Eric Blood-axe invaded Norway. . . ." This places the beginning of their invasion of Norway in 952.

Similarly the Ágrip (c. 6) says that Eric's sons' final battle with king Hakon [in 961] was fought "nine winters' space after the brothers had come to Norway in war"; if this were correct, they must have left Orkney before 952. (See above, p. 462.) In agreement with this, the Icelandic Annals place Gamli's death in 953 (CDA); but these dates are too early.

Cf. also Egil's Saga, c. 67, where it is said that Eric had fallen, and that Gunnhild and Eric's sons were in Denmark, before king Edmund's death († 946).

All accounts agree that Gunnhild's sons did not invade Norway until after Eric's death; and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle shows that Eric did not die before 954.

According to the Icelandic Annals, Harold Greycloak, Eric's son, was

born in 928 (CDA); became king with his brothers in 961 (KBODE; 960, CA); and fell in 976 (KBODE; 975, CA).

Harold Greycloak reigned for 15 winters, according to Olaf's Saga, c. 53, F.S., i, 89; for 12, according to cc. 59, 470, of the Flatey-book version (Fl. i, 85, 583), and in Theoderic, c. 4 (Storm's Monumenta, 10; for *xii* read *xu* "15"?); for 14, in Historia Norwegiae (ibid., 107).

Fagrskinna, Harold Greycloak, c. 13, p. 57: "King Harold Greycloak was always out in the summers with his army, to various countries. . . . He went with his army south to Denmark. . . . Another time he plundered west in Scotland and in Ireland, and had the advantage in both places. A third summer he went with his army east to Gothland. . . ."

A vassal of Harold Greycloak was Asgrim, who held half of the Faroes under him. Asgrim's wife was Gudrid, a daughter of Snæulf, a Hebridean (fl. ?950), who "had fled from the Hebrides because of a killing, and his quarrelsomeness" (Færeyinga Saga, p. 16).

PART XVIII

Reigns of Indulf, Dub, and Culen

959

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 474, s.a. 958 or 959 = 959

. . . Dubduin, successor of Columcille, . . . [died].[1]

962

Chronicon Scotorum, p. 214, Hennessy's year 960 = 962

Indulf,[2] king of Scotland, died.[3]

954-962

Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, version A; Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 10

Indulf held the kingdom for eight years. In his time, the fortress of Eden[4] was evacuated, and abandoned to the Scots until the present day.

A fleet of vikings[5] were slain in Buchan.

[1] Similarly in F.M., ii, 676, s.a. 957 = 959 (and "the 3rd year of Donald," Muirchertach's son, sovereign of Ireland). But they repeat the event under the succeeding year (= 960), ii, 678, thus: "Dubdúin, grandson of Stephen, and successor of Columcille, . . . died."

C.S., 212, Hennessy's year 958 = 959: "Dubduin, Columcille's successor, reposed."

"He was of the Cinel Fergusa, a branch of the Cinel Eoghain (Book of Lecan, fo. 64)," Reeves, Adamnan, 394.

[2] *Illulbh. Iwulfe* in Annals of Clonmacnoise.

Indulf seems to have died very early in the year. See year 966, note.

[3] Similarly in the Annals of Clonmacnoise, 157, s.a. 956 = 962.

[4] *Oppidum Eden.* Since this chronicle is written in Latin, it is not certain that the *d* of *Eden* was aspirated. If it was aspirated, the name would have been a translation of *Cair-eden.* Cf. Cormac's Capitula in Gildas's De Excidio Britanniae; M.G.H., Auctores, xiii, 18, "Kair Eden, a most ancient city, about two miles distant from the monastery of Abercurnig, which is now called Abercorn." The modern Abercorn is 4 miles east of Blackness in Carriden parish. Blackness had an important position at the

end of the Roman wall; and it seems to be the place intended by the writer of the *Capitula*. Carriden is therefore the modern form of Cair-Eden, although it is scarcely the form we should have expected that name to take.

There was a castle near the Eden, in Fife. It is called *Etheneburc* etc. in charters. This was within Scottish territory; and there is no reason to suppose that it had been occupied by Danes.

If the *d* of (*Oppidum*) *Eden* was unaspirated, the name might have been a translation of Dun-etin, a postulable name of Edinburgh (see year ca. 640).

[5] *Classi Somarlidiorum;* read *classis*, a fleet? The Icelandic word *sumarlidi* meant viking, i.e. invader, not settler; see Cleasby-Vigfusson, s.v.; cf. S.C.S., i, 365. Skene understood that the fleet of the sons of Eric Blood-axe was meant (S.C.S., i, 365-366, note). The remnants of Eric's army went with Gunnhild from Northumbria to Orkney, probably in 954; they left Orkney before 956. They might have plundered in Scotland (954 × 956), but this is uncertain.

An instance of an invasion of Denmark by Norwegians settled in Aberdeenshire occurs in the fabulous Hrólfs Saga Sturlaugssonar, c. 8 (Fornaldar Sögur, iii, 259-260):

"A man was named Tryggvi, and was Ulfkel's son; he belonged to a family in Buchan-side, in Scotland [*hann var ættaðr af Búkansȳðu aſ Skotlandi* (*á S.*, in MS. B)]. He was the greatest champion and berserk; he remained at sea with many ships, both winter and summer. He had a foster-brother, who was called Vazi" ("Vaxi" in MS. B); "he was also the most giant-like man, in regard both to his size and to his strength. Thorgny had killed Tryggvi's father, when he was on piracy.

"Tryggvi had now got twelve ships, and all well equipped with men and weapons; he proceeded with this army to Denmark, and wished to avenge his father on earl Thorgny. Vazi was with him, and many another warrior. As soon as they came to the dominion of earl Thorgny, they proceeded in warlike fashion, and plundered the inhabited lands, and slew men, and robbed all the treasure they came to. And when the earl learned these tidings, he sent out the war-arrow, and summoned an army to him; but because he was old, he set over the army as captains [Going-] Hrólf [Sturlaug's son], and Stefni. This was in the second winter, when Hrólf was first in Denmark.

"Then Hrólf and his followers went against Tryggvi, and he had ten ships. They met beside an uninhabited island; they had curt speech, and began to fight at once. Tryggvi and Vazi had a great dragon[-ship]; they were very vehement; it was difficult to get up on the dragon, for its height above water. They threw down stones from the dragon upon Hrólf and his men; many men of the force of Stefni and his followers fell, and many were wounded, and then the battle turned against their men. . . ."

Going-Hrólf (Sturlaug's son) saved the battle for the Danes. For Tryggvi's adventures, see ibid., pp. 260-262, 319-321. Tryggvi killed Thorgny in another battle, but afterwards he too fell.

954-962

Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, version D; Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 151

Indulf, Constantine's son, reigned for nine years; and he was killed by the Norwegians in Inver-cullen,[1] and was buried in the island of Iona.[2]

954-962

Prose and Verse Chronicles inserted in the Chronicle of Melrose, p. 225, s.a. 952[3]

Malcolm, king of the Scots, was slain.

"After him, Indulf reigned for the same number of years[4]; he was the son of Constantine, Aed's son. Fighting in battle at the mouth of the river Cullen,[5] he perished immediately by the swords of the Danes."[6]

954-962

Berchan's Prophecy, stanzas 158-161, in Skene's Picts and Scots, pp. 93-94

A good king will again take Scotland, after a good father.[7] Woe to his enemies through the son,[8] whose name is the Aggressor.[9]

[1] *Innercolan*, D; *Inertolan*, F; *Innircolan*, G; *Invertolan*, I. I.e., "the mouth of the Cullen"?

[2] Similarly in versions F (ibid., 174), G (302), I (289).

K reads (205): "Indulf, Constantine's son, reigned for 10 years; and he was killed by the Norwegians." Similarly in N (306), but with the reading "9 years."

The Duan Albanach, in P. & S., 62: "Indulf [*Iondolbh*] [had] eight [years] of sovereignty."

Cf. Fordun, IV, 25.

[3] Also in P. & S., 179 (MS. B).

[4] I.e. 9 years.

[5] *Collin.* B reads *Colli.*

[6] The passage in inverted commas is in verse in the original.

[7] *dath athar*, attracted to *dathrach* (for *d' atharach*) in the previous line. Read *dagh athar.* This father appears to have been Constantine II (see year 942).

[8] *lais an mac*, MS. *a*, changed by O'Connell (wrongly) to *lais a mach*, the reading of MS. *b.*

[9] *an t-ionsaighthech.* This is the 11th king mentioned after Kenneth; he appears to be Indulf, Constantine's son.

Alas for Britons and Saxons, in his time; in the time of the Aggressor, of splendid weapons. Joy to Scots, through him; both the people and the church.

Scotland of boats (?),[1] long and white, cuts no curtailment from him; she will find more for him, from a foreign land, by force.

He[2] has nine years and a half in the sovereignty of Scotland (a bright period); he dies in the house[3] of the same holy apostle, where his father will die.

963

Annals of the Four Masters, vol. ii, p. 682, s.a. 961 = 963[4]

Fothad, Bran's son, scribe, and bishop of the islands of Scotland, [died].[5]

964

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 478, s.a. 963 or 964 = 964[6]

Dubscuile, Kenneth's son, Columcille's successor, reposed.[7]

965

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 480, s.a. 964 = 965

A battle [took place] among the men of Scotland themselves, and there many were slain, including Duncan, the abbot of Dunkeld.[8]

[1] *Ni gerraidh gearradh agu | Alba ethrach [fh]ind-fhóda.* In MS. *b* the rhyming words are *aga, fhionn-fhada.* For *gerraidh* (MS. *b ghearraidh*) read *gherra* or *gherrfa.* For *agu* read *oca.* With *ethrach* ("of boats") cf. *eathar-bhinn* in stanza 134; year 889. O'Connell has changed *ethrach* in MS. *a* to *etracht* ("brilliant"), and has added in MS. *b* (which reads *eathrach*) the note *edroct fhionn-fhoda. etrocht* may be the correct reading; cf. stanza 165, year 971.

[2] For *dhóibh* reading *dhó.*

[3] Apparently St Andrews; see year 943.

[4] And "the 7th year of Donald," sovereign of Ireland.

[5] This was presumably the head of the Iona community. Cf. below, year 966.

[6] With the marginal note "bissextile."

[7] So also in C.S., 214, Hennessy's year 962.

[8] See the Chronicle of the Kings, version A; below, pp. 472-473.

965

Chronicon Scotorum, p. 216; Hennessy's year 963=965

Aed, Maelmithid's son, died in pilgrimage[1]; that is to say, in St Andrews.[2]

966

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, versions DEF, s.a. 966

In this year Thored, Gunner's son, ravaged Westmoreland.

966

Chronicon Scotorum, 216, Hennessy's year 964=966

Fingin, bishop of the community of Iona, reposed.[3]

966

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 480, s.a. 966 or 967=967[4]

Dub, Malcolm's son, the king of Scotland, was killed by the Scots themselves.

962-966

Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, version A; Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 10

Dub,[5] Malcolm's son, reigned for five years.

Bishop Fothach rested.

[A battle was fought] between Dub and Culen,[6] upon the

[1] So far, also in F.M., ii, 686, s.a. 963=965 (and "the 9th year of Donald").

[2] *hi Cind ri[g]monaidh.*

In the previous year-section, p. 214: "Muirchertach, son of Congalach, son of Maelmithid, was killed by his brother, Donald, by mishap" (*infeliciter*). This follows the death of Dubscuile, above.

A.U., i, 478-450, s.a. 963 or 964=964: "Muirchertach, the royal heir of Tara, son of Congalach, son of Maelmithid, was slain by Donald, Congalach's son." So also in F.M., ii, 684.

Congalach, king of Ireland, fell in 956. Maelmithid, king of Brega, fell with king Niall, Aed's son, at Dublin, in 919. (A.U.)

[3] F.M., ii, 686, s.a. 964=966 (and "the 10th year of Donald"): "Fingin, anchorite and bishop of Iona, died."

[4] The first event in the year-section. It ought apparently to have been entered under the previous year; see below.

[5] *Niger;* i.e. Dub, "the Black."

[6] *Caniculum;* i.e. Culen, "the Whelp."

ridge of Crup[1]; and in it Dub had victory. And there fell Duncan, abbot of Dunkeld, and Dub-don[d], lord[2] of Athole. Dub was driven from the kingdom, and Culen held it for a short time. Donald, son of Cairell, died.

962-966

Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, version D; Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 151

Dub, Malcolm's son, reigned for four years and six months; and he was killed in Forres, and hidden away under the bridge of Kinloss. But the sun did not appear so long as he was concealed there; and he was found, and buried in the island of Iona.[3]

962-966

Prose and Verse Chronicles inserted in the Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 32, 225-226, s.a. 961[4]

Indulf, king of the Scots, was slain. And after him, "king Dub reigned for four summers and a half; a son of Malcolm, wielding royal authority. Him the treacherous nation of Moray

[1] *super dorsum Crup.* Cf. the name Duncrub, in Dunning parish, Perthshire.

[2] *Satrapas*; i.e., governor of a province.

[3] Similarly in versions FGIKN (174, 302, 289, 205, 306); but F omits "and he was found," and I reads instead "and he was killed." K reads: "He was found, and carried to the island of Iona, where all his ancestors from Kenneth, Alpin's son, had been buried, excepting him who was abbot of St Andrews." N omits the place of concealment, and the place of burial.

The Duan Albanach, in P. & S., 63: "Seven years of Dub-fota the vehement."

It is implied that the sun was eclipsed on the day of Dub's death, or in the morning after that day. According to L'Art de Vérifier les Dates, there was an eclipse in 966, on July 20th, at 4 p.m., Paris time; and there seems to have been no other eclipse visible in Scotland within the possible period. If he died on 20th July, 966, after reigning 4 years and 6 months, he would have succeeded in January, 962. The length of his reign is not to be accepted literally, but he must have become king early in 962.

Fordun (IV, 26) says that he was surprised by robbers at night, dragged from bed, and murdered.

[4] Also in P. & S., 179.

slew ; he was slain by their swords in the town of Forres. The sun hid his rays while [Dub] lay hidden under a bridge, where he was concealed, and where he was found."[1]

962-966

Berchan's Prophecy, stanzas 162-164, in Skene's Picts and Scots, pp. 94-95

After that,[2] two kings reign over Scotland, both of them plundering equally[3]: the White and the Black together.[4] Alas for [the land] that takes them in joint sovereignty!

They have nine years in their reign: alas for the land that takes them as equals! Scotland will suffer through it; alas for those who wait for them!

One of these kings will go upon a futile expedition, across Múna in the plain of Fortriu.[5] Though he goes, he will not come back again. Dub of the three black verses will fall.

969

Annals of the Four Masters, vol. ii, p. 692, s.a. 967=969

The plundering of Kells by Sigtrygg, Olaf's son, lord of the Foreigners; and by Murchaid, Find's son, king of Leinster. And Donald, Niall's grandson, king of Ireland, overtook and defeated them.

970

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 482, s.a. 969 or 970=970

Kells was plundered by Olaf Cuaran.[6]

[1] The passage in inverted commas is in verse in the original.

[2] After the death of Indulf (apparently); year 962.

[3] *inn dhís doibh a ccomhargain*, MS. *a*. Read *in dís* (*an Dis*, MS. *b*).

[4] *fionn is dubh* (read *ocus* for *is?* The line lacks one syllable). This is the 12th reign mentioned after Kenneth's. Culen and Dub appear to be meant. Their reigns extended over nine years, the period mentioned in the Prophecy.

[5] Or "into the plain of Fortriu" (*dar Múna i maigh Fortrenn*). Since *i* is not elided, *Múna* is probably for *Monaidh* (cf. the *-munid*, *-muned*, in the charter spellings of Kilrimund, Balrymonth, and Kinninmonth); an inflected case of Moin, or else a Pictish cognate of Welsh *mynydd*. Cf. *móna*[*idh*] in Berchan's stanza 184 (below, year 1034; and note). The "plain of Fortriu" should mean the southern part of Strathmore. Perhaps the *magh mhonaidh* which appears to be used in later poetry as a synonym of Scotland was originally the same district as *magh Fortrenn*.

[6] F.M., vol. ii, p. 692, s.a. 968=970: "Kells was plundered by Olaf

971

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 484, s.a. 970 or 971 = 971

Culen, Indulf's[1] [son], king of Scotland, was killed by Britons[2] in a field of battle.[3]

971

Chronicon Scotorum, p. 218, Hennessy's year 969

Culen, Indulf's son,[4] king of Scotland, was killed by Britons in a house on fire.[5]

966-971

Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, version A; Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 10

Culenring[6] reigned for five years.

Marcan, son of Breodalach, was slain in the church of St Michael.

Leot and Sluagadach went forth to Rome.

Bishop Maelbrigte rested.

Cellach, son of Ferdalach, reigned.

Maelbrigte, son of Dubican, died.

Culen and his brother, Eochaid, were slain by the Britons.

Cuaran, along with the Foreigners and men of Leinster; and he took great tribute [*boraimhe*] with him, and lost many of his company, including Bresal, Ailill's son. . . ."

C.S., 218, Hennessy's year 868: "Kells was plundered by Olaf Cuaran, with the Foreigners and Leinster-men, and he carried off with him great tribute [*boruma*]; and he left behind a company of his people under Bressal Ailellen's son, and routed the Ui-Neill at Ard-maelcon" (Ardmulchan on the Boyne).

[1] In text *Illuilb.*

[2] I.e., Britons of Strathclyde. This battle was probably fought late in the year, because Culen's 5th year began on the 20th July, 971, and most of the chronicles say that he reigned for some time ("6 months") afterwards. See above, p. cxxxviii, note.

[3] *irroi catha.*

[4] *Cuilen mac Iluilb.*

[5] *attigh tenedh.*

[6] This form of Culen's name is probably corrupt. Nevertheless it is possible that *-ring* was a Scandinavian epithet (*hringr*); his father seems to have borne a Scandinavian name (Indulf: probably = Danish Hildulf).

966-971

Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, version D; Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 151

Culen, Indulf's son, reigned for four years and six months; and he was killed by Amdarch,[1] Donald's son, for the sake of his daughter, in Ybandonia.[2]

966-971

Prose and Verse Chronicles inserted in the Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 33, 226, s.a. 965[3]

Dub, king of the Scots, was slain. And after him, "the son of Indulf also was king for the same number of years, Culen by name; he was a foolish man. It is said that Radhard slaughtered him in the Lothians,[4] because of the rape of his daughter, whom the king had carried off for himself."[5]

966-971

Berchan's Prophecy, stanzas 165-166, in Skene's Picts and Scots, pp. 95-96

After [Dub], the White[6] will take Scotland, after it has been in affliction[7]; . . . bright Scotland, white and long.[8]

[1] *ab Andarch*, in F; *Amdrach*, G; *Radharc*, I; *Amthar*, K.

[2] *propter filiam suam*, DFGIN; *pur sa feile*, K. FGI add: "in Lothian." Perhaps Abington, in Lanarkshire, on the Clyde, is meant; but that place is many miles south of the present boundary of Midlothian. Otherwise the passage stands similarly in FGIK (174, 302, 289, 205); but K reads "4 years, 7 months," and "for his daughter, who had been killed in Lothian" (*Lownes*). N reads (306): "Culen [reigned] for 4 years, and was killed because of his daughter."

The Duan Albanach, in P. & S., 63: "And four [years] of Culen."

[3] Also in P. & S., 179 (MS. B.).

[4] *apud Loinas:* B. reads *Lennas.*

[5] The passage within inverted commas is in verse in the original. Fordun (IV, 27) follows this interpretation of the somewhat ambiguous words of the chronicles.

[6] *an fionn.* Apparently Culen.

[7] *fó ainneis*, MS. *a*; *fo aindeis*, MS. *b.*

[8] *go techthain deinais acu,* | *A[l]ba etcrocht fhinn-fhóda.* MS. *b* reads:— *Go teactain deinis aga* | *Albain ettroct fhionnfoda.* O'Connell has added a note: "*vel Tectain dethnis.*" The writer of MS. *a* probably thought of *déineas* "violence" (O'Reilly); but considering the preposition that

The grave of the White [will be] on the brink of the wave . . .[1] in a foreign land . . .[2]; he will be slain by the Britons.[3]

follows, I take the word to be *dinnis* "reproach." For alliteration, one would expect *go* to be *co n-*, and that the true reading was *Alba*, in the nominative. For *acu*, rhyme requires *oca;* but if *Albain* is the true reading, the rhyming syllables might have been *ocai*, *-fótai*. With a little wrenching the lines might be made to have various meanings. I suggest with diffidence the reconstruction: *co téchta in dinnis ocai | Albain étrocht find-fótai;* "Lawfully [is] the reproach upon her—bright Scotland, white and long."

[1] *for bhrú tuinne tinnfes rind*, MS. *a*. Possibly "that will drive against us"? The lines are wrongly divided in both MSS. Two syllables should go to the last word.

Possibly the Clyde, with reference to its falls near Lanark? But elsewhere in Berchan, "the wave" is a synonym for the North Sea. See years 900, 943.

[2] *a n-iaith ainéoil ar ttaighidh*, MS. *a*; *arttaighidh*, MS. *b*, with O'Connell's note *ardaighidh*. Possibly read *arthraighidh* "[the grave] is seen"? But the verse requires that the last word should not have more than two syllables.

[3] *bidh le brethnuigh a bhith aidhidh*, MS. *a*. Read *Bretna*. If this implies that he was killed in Strathclyde, it supports the assumption that Abington was the place of his death.

PART XIX

Reign of Kenneth II

973

Annales Cambriae, MS. C; Ab Ithel's edition, p. 19

The collection of ships in the town of Chester, by Edgar, king of the Saxons.[1]

973

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 33-34

In the year 973, Edgar the peaceful king of the English was at last consecrated king of the whole island, with the greatest honour and glory, in the city of Bath,[2] by the blessed archbishops Dunstan and Oswald, and by the other bishops of the whole of England; in the thirtieth year of his age, on the day of Pentecost.[3]

Some time afterwards, after sailing round northern Britain with a huge fleet, he landed at the city of Chester; and eight under-kings met him, as he commanded them, and swore that they would stand by him as his vassals,[4] both on land and on sea: namely Kenneth, king of the Scots; Malcolm, king of the Cumbrians[5]; Maccus, king of very many islands; and other five:—Dufnal, Sigfrith, Higuel, Jacob, Ulfkil.[6]

With these one day he entered a boat, and, placing them at

[1] This MS. was written in the end of the 13th century. Cf. E.C., 76; and B.S. in R.B.H., 390.

[2] *in civitate Accamanni. Acemannes-ceaster* in A.S.C.

[3] 11th May, 973.

[4] *Quod sibi fideles . . . assistere sibi vellent.*

[5] According to Fordun, IV, 28: "Also as soon as he was crowned, Edgar [king of the English] willingly received as regulus of Cumbria, under the accustomed oath of fealty, Malcolm, Dub's son [Kenneth's nephew]; the next to succeed [to the kingdom of Scotland], if he had lived." See years 1000, 1005. But Malcolm was probably Donald's son.

[6] "Mact, Harold's son," had invaded Anglesey a few years before. See B.S. in M.A., 656, s.a. 969; B.T. in M.A., 691, s.a. 968 (where his name is

the oars, he himself took the rudder's helm, and skilfully steered along the course of the river Dee, and sailed from the palace to the monastery of St John the Baptist, the whole crowd of earls and nobles accompanying him in similar craft. And after praying there, he returned to the palace with the same pomp: and as he entered it he is related to have said to the nobles that then only could any of his successors boast that he was king of England, when he obtained the display of such honours, with so many kings submitting to him.[1]

974

Annals of the Four Masters, vol. ii, p. 698, s.a. 972 = 974[2]

The plundering of Inishcathy[3] by Magnus, Harold's son, along with the Lawmen of the islands[4]; and Ivar, lord of the

spelt "Macht"). He seems to have been a brother of Godfrey, Harold's son, who invaded Anglesey in the following year.

The king of Strathclyde at this time seems to have been Donald or Dunguallaun, Owen's son. See year 975.

Sigurd was not yet earl of Orkney.

Higuel the Good, king of Wales, had died in 950. Jacob may have been the son of Iutgual; Ulfkil [*Ulkil*] is an error for Iutgual, perhaps Jacob's father. F.W. reads *Juchil*.

[1] This passage is derived, but not exactly, from F.W. (i, 142-143. E.C., 76-77). There is a nearly contemporary reference to this submission, in Ælfric's Life of St Swithin (written ?996). Ælfric's Lives of Saints, ed. Skeat, i (1881), 468:—"[King Edgar's] kingdom had enduring peace, so that one heard not if there were any other fleet, but that of the people themselves who held this land. And all the kings that were in this island, of Cumbrians and of Scots,—eight kings—came to Edgar one day; and they all yielded to Edgar's rule" (*gebugon to Eadgares wissunge*). See W. H. Stevenson, in E.H.R., xiii (1898), 505-507. Ælfric is probably the source of the eight-king version of the story. Names that are false, and circumstances that are not ascertainable, were added by later writers. It seems, however, that Kenneth was among the local rulers who met and formally accepted the superiority of Edgar. Their submission was voluntary, or brought about by peaceable means. This is implied by another reference of Ælfric to the same affair, at the end of his Book of Judges (Grein, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa, i (1872), 265; cf. Stevenson, u.s., 506-507):—"And for [Edgar] God willed that his adversaries [*wiðerwinnan*], kings and earls, came to him without any fighting, desiring peace; and were subject [*undertheódde*] to him, in [all] that he would. And he was honoured widely through the land."

[2] And "the 18th year of Donald" as sovereign of Ireland.

[3] Scattery Island. It is in the Shannon, County Clare (O'Donovan).

[4] *co l-Lagmannaibh na n-innsedh imbi.*

Foreigners of Limerick, was taken out from there, with violation of [the sanctuary of St] Senan.[1]

975

Brut y Tywyssogion, Rhys and Evans' Red Book of Hergest, p. 262[2]

And then died Edgar, king of England[3]: and Dunguallaun, king of Strathclyde, went to Rome.[4]

975

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, pp. 486-488, s.a. 974 or 975=975[5]

Donald, Eogan's son, king of the Britons,[6] died in pilgrimage.[7] . . .

976

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 339[8]

Cellach, son of Findguine; Cellach, son of Bard; and Duncan, son of Morgand, [were] then three mormaers of Scotland.

[1] A similar violation by Brian, king of Cashel, in 977, is described by Tigernach, R.C., xvii, 339 (2 years after [975]): "[The sanctuary of] Inishcathy was violated by Brian, Cendétig's son, against the Foreigners of Limerick, namely Ivar, and Olaf, [Ivar's] son, and Dubcend, his other son." This is in the same year-section as the death of Olaf, Indulf's son. It appears very similarly also in C.S., 224, Hennessy's year 975=977 (reading "Ivar and his two sons, Olaf and Dubcend"). Similarly also in Annals of Clonmacnoise, 158, s.a. 970=977.

[2] Placed between 960 and 980 A.D. Placed in MS. C, s.a. 974; Ab Ithel's ed., 26.

[3] Edgar's death is placed in 975 by A.S.C., ABCDEF; in 972, in B.T. in M.A.

[4] Similarly in B.S. in M.A., 658, s.a. 974. B.T. in M.A., 691, s.a. 975: "Dunguallaun, the king of Strathclyde, went to Rome, and there he took the crown" (i.e., was tonsured). See below.

[5] In this year-section of the same annals (and the corresponding one of T. and C.S.) is placed the death of Edgar, who died in 975.

[6] I.e., the Britons of Strathclyde.

[7] Tigernach, in R.C., xvii, 338 (2nd year-section after the gap): "Donald, Eoan's son, king of the Britons, [reposed] in pilgrimage." Stokes supplies *quievit* from C.S., 222, Hennessy's year 973: "Donald, Eogan's son, king of the Britons, reposed in monastic life" (*in clericatu*).

[8] Placed 1 year after [975].

935-976

Heimskringla, St Olaf's Saga, c. 96

After Turf-Einar, the rulers of the lands were his sons Arnkel, Erlend, Thorfinn Skull-cleaver. In their days Eric Blood-axe came from Norway, and then the earls were subject to him.[1] Arnkel and Erlend fell in warfare,[2] but Thorfinn ruled the land and grew old.[3]

[Thorfinn's] sons were Arnfinn, Havard, Hlodve, Liót, Skúli. Their mother was Grelod, daughter of Duncan, earl of Caithness; her mother was Gro, daughter of Thorstein Red.

In earl Thorfinn's later days,[4] the sons of [Eric] Blood-axe came from Norway, having fled before earl Hakon. Great was their tyranny in the Orkneys.

Earl Thorfinn died of sickness. After him, his sons ruled the lands; and many tales are told of them. Hlodve lived the longest of them; and he ruled the lands alone. His son was Sigurd the Fat, who took the earldom after him. [Sigurd] was a powerful man, and a great warrior.

976

Heimskringla, Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 16

The voyage of Gunnhild's sons from the land.

Earl Hakon [Sigurd's son] went north along the land with

[1] Year 935.

[2] Probably in 954 (954×955).

[3] Cf. Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 97 (F.S., i, 197-198).

[4] Year 976. This passage of Heimskringla's St Olaf's Saga contradicts Heimskringla's Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, below. This contradiction is one of the things that show that cc. 96-103 of Heimskringla's St Olaf's Saga are inserted from a different source; probably an older source, and possibly the original Iarlabók. If, as seems to be the case, this insertion has the greater authority, the present passage would prove that Thorfinn was still alive when Eric's sons occupied Orkney for the second time. Thorfinn would appear to have been earl before 954 and after 977, with two periods of virtual suspension, 954-955 and 976-977.

Ronald flourished in 874, and died in or soon after 894. His son, Turf-Einar, was probably young when he became earl of Orkney, some years after 889; and he ruled Orkney for a long time after 894. Thorfinn, his youngest son, ruled after him. Thorfinn's son, Arnfinn, married about 955, or earlier. Thorfinn was earl along with his elder brothers, who died ca. 954; he ruled the whole earldom from ca. 955 to 976, and died (976×) in old age. The possible period of Thorfinn's birth is accordingly about 880-920; he was probably born ca. 900.

his army.[1] And when Gunnhild and her sons learned these tidings, they gathered an army, but it went ill with them for men. So they followed the same plan as before, to sail with such people as would follow them to west beyond the sea, going first to the Orkneys and dwelling there for a time. Before this the earls there were Thorfinn Skull-cleaver's sons, Hlodve, and Arnfinn, Liót, and Skúli.[2]

977

Heimskringla, Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 17[3]

King Ragnfrod, Gunnhild's son, and Godfrey, another son of Gunnhild, were all the surviving sons of Eric and

[1] Earl Hakon became king after the deaths of Harold Greycloak (ibid., c. 14), and of Gold-Harold, Cnut's son (ibid., c. 15). The Icelandic Annals place Hakon's accession in 976 (BDEA ; 975, CI).

Earl Hakon was king in Norway for 20 winters, according to Olaf's Saga (cc. 59, 104, in F.S., i, 85, 219 ; Fl., i, 85, 239. Cf. F.S., i, 55 ; Fl., i, 64). So also in the Konungatal, Fl., i, 583. So also in the Ágrip (F.S., x, 382). But in reality he fell in the beginning of his 20th winter. He seems to have reigned 976-995. See above, pp. xcii-xciv.

The Mantissa (c. 3 ; Origines Islandicae, i, 269-270) puts Harold Greycloak's death and earl Hakon's accession 80 winters before bishop Isleif's consecration to the see of Iceland ; therefore in 976. According to the Icelandic Annals, Isleif was consecrated in 1056 (KCEPA ; 1057, O), and went to Iceland in 1057 (CPA). He died in 1080 (KOCEPA).

[2] Cf. Frisbók, 105.

The same passage stands in Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 55 (F.S., i, 90-91 ; cf. Fl., i, 86). Thorfinn's sons are there named in the same order, with the same omission of Havard. The last-named saga, c. 97 (F.S., i, 198) ; "His sons were five : Arnfinn, Havard, Liót, Skúli, and Hlodve," is contradicted by H., St Olaf (perhaps the best authority) : "His sons were Arnfinn, Havard, Hlodve, Liót, Skúli."

Ragnhild married Arnfinn [× 955] (H., Hakon the Good), secondly Havard, thirdly Liót ; the Scottish king supported Skúli against Liót after the deaths of Arnfinn and Havard (according to the story of Ragnhild, in Orkneyinga Saga and Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga). The same story says that Havard, Liót, and Hlodve, held the earldom in succession. King Olaf's speech in Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 98, says that Arnfinn was earl before these three.

Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga and the Heimskringla's Olaf Tryggvi's son here omit Havard, although they name Arnfinn, who (according to the story of Ragnhild) died before Havard ; they name the other sons of Thorfinn in wrong order ; and they are further in conflict with Heimskringla's St Olaf, which says that Thorfinn was still earl at that time. Preference must be given here to Heimskringla's St Olaf.

[3] Very similarly also in Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 55 ; F.S., i, 92 (Fl., i, 86-87).

Gunnhild. . . .[1] Ragnfrod prepared his journey in the spring, after he had been one winter in the Orkneys. Then he proceeded east to Norway, and he had with him a chosen company, and great ships. . . .[2]

977 × 991

Orkneyinga Saga, cc. 8-11 ; vol. i, pp. 11-14[3]

[Thorfinn Skull-cleaver] was a great ruler, and warlike. He died of disease ; and he was buried in [South] Ronaldshay, and thought to have been a great man.

[c. 9] Thorfinn had five sons : one was called Havard, the Season-prosperous ; another Hlodve, the third Liót, the fourth Skuli, the fifth Arnfinn. Ragnhild Eric's daughter planned her husband Arnfinn's death, in Murkle in Caithness ; and she was given to his brother, Havard, the Season-prosperous. Havard took the earldom, and was a good chief, and prosperous in harvests. . . .[4]

Liót [Havard's brother] took the earldom, and became a great chief. . . .

[c. 10] Skúli, Liót's brother, went up into Scotland, and was given the name of earl by the Scottish king ; then he came down to Caithness, and got an army to him there, and sailed thence to the islands, and contended with his brother Liót for the realm. Liót gathered an army, and went to meet Skúli ;

[1] 8 lines of verse are here quoted from Glúm Geirason's Gráfeldardrápa.

[2] He repulsed earl Hakon by sea (c. 17), but next summer was beaten by land, and fled from Norway (c. 18) ; i.e. in 978.

[3] With the whole passage cf. Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 97 (F.S., i, 198-199 ; Fl., i, 224-225). O.S. has less authority than H.

[4] Ragnhild persuaded Havard's sister's son, Einar Buttered-bread, to kill Havard, promising him marriage and the earldom. Havard fell at Stennis (afterwards called *Hávarðs-teigar* "Havard's fields") in Hrossey (Pomona). Then Ragnhild promised marriage and the earldom to Einar Hard-jaw, son of another sister of Havard, if he would avenge Havard, and kill Einar Buttered-bread. But after he had done so, Ragnhild married Liót, the brother of her two former husbands.

"Einar Hard-jaw had now slain his relative, but was no nearer to the earldom than before ; he was very dissatisfied with his lot, and now wished to gather men to him, and acquire the islands by force. But he was ill off for men, because the Orkneymen wished to serve the sons of Thorfinn Skull-cleaver. And some time afterwards earl [Liót] had Einar Hard-jaw slain" (ibid., 13).

and [Liót] had the greater number of men. But when they met, Skúli would do nothing but fight.

A hard battle was fought there; and Liót had the victory, and Skúli fled over to [Caith]ness, and up into Scotland; and thither Liót pursued him, and abode there for a time, and gathered many men.

Then Skúli rode down from Scotland with a great army, which the Scottish king and earl Macbeth[1] had provided; and he and Liót met in the Dales in Caithness, and a great battle took place there. And the Scots were the most vehement in the beginning of the fight. Liót bade his men take shelter, and hold their position as strongly as possible. And when the Scots could do nothing, Liót urged on his men, and was himself the most vigorous. And after things had stood like this for a time, the ranks of the Scots were broken; and after that they fled; but Skúli kept up the battle, although he fell at the end.

Liót took Caithness under him; and there was great enmity between the Scottish king and earl Liót, because the Scots were ill-pleased with their defeat.

When earl Liót was in Caithness with few men, earl Macbeth came down from Scotland with a great army; and earl Liót and he met at Skidmoor in Caithness, and earl Liót had no force with him. But earl Liót went forward so stoutly that the Scots yielded before him; and there was but a short battle before those who chose life fled; but many were wounded.

Liót turned back with victory, but many of his people were wounded. Earl Liót too had got the wound that caused his death; and his death was much lamented.

[c. 11] Hlodve, Thorfinn's son, took the earldom after Liót, and was a great ruler. He married Edna, the daughter of Kiarval, the Irish king: their son was Sigurd the Fat. Hlodve died of disease, and his barrow is at Höfn, in Caithness.

977

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 339[2]

Olaf, Indulf's[3] son, king of Scotland, was killed by Kenneth, Malcolm's son.[4]

[1] Presumably mormaer of Moray. Cf. below, p. 501, note.

[2] Placed 2 years after [975].

[3] *Illuilb.* In A.U., *Ailuilb;* in Annals of Clonmacnoise, *Illulfe.* This

978

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 488, s.a. 977 or 978 = 978

Fiachra, prior[1] of Iona, reposed.[2]

979 × 986[3]

is probably the Danish name Hildulf; of which Indulf appears to have been a corruption.

[4] So also in C.S., 224, Hennessy's year 975 = 977. Similarly in Annals of Clonmacnoise, 158, s.a. 970 = 977.

Cf. A.U., i, 488, s.a. 976 or 977 = 977: "Olaf, Indulf's son, the king of Scotland, was killed by Kenneth, Donald's son."

[1] *airchinnech* ("herenagh").

[2] F.M., ii, 704, s.a. 976 = 978 (and "the 22nd year of Donald" as sovereign of Ireland): "Fiachra Ua-hArtacain, abbot of Iona of Columcille, [died]."

[3] Floamanna Saga, Fornsögur, 133-134: "A man was named Thorstein, and was called the White; he was a baron [*lend-maðr*] of earl Hakon" (∴ 976 × 995). "He had friends, and owned property near to the lands of Thorgils [son of Thord the Drowsy]. They had great friendship between them, and were both on the earl's side. . . . At that time, Eric the Red also was on the earl's side; an Icelandic man, who afterwards found and settled in Greenland" (∴ × 986). "He was a young man, and courteous, and the greatest friend of Thorgils.

"One day, Thorgils went to the earl with the tribute for his lands. Earl Hakon replied: 'I am well pleased with thy action; but I am not certain that I know how enterprising a man thou mayst be. Also I shall not give up this property, unless thou seem to me to assist me somewhat in thy deeds. And thou must fetch from the Hebrides my taxes, which I have missed for three winters'" (∴ 979 ×). "Thorgils asked him to give him some lord for the expedition, 'and I shall follow him, as well as my prowess may.' 'Thou shalt be the leader' said the earl, 'of this expedition, because thou provest so much the more thy merit and thy manhood.' Thorgils said, 'Let Thorstein White go with me.' 'He shall decide' said the earl. Thorstein said that he would go, if Thorgils wished.

"Then they made ready; and they had two ships, not fully manned. But when they came to the islands, they asked for the tributes, and got little from them. In autumn they proceeded to Caithness, and were wrecked, and lost the money. All the men were saved.

"Olaf was the name of the earl who ruled over that dominion. He got word of earl Hakon's men, and bade them go to him: they accepted, and were there for the winter.

"Svart Iron-skull was the name of a man, a great viking, and the greatest evil-doer; he lay out far in the western lands. One custom of his was, if women were fair and well-born, that he used to take them to himself

980

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 490, s.a. 979 or 980 = 980[1]

The battle of Tara was gained by Maelsechlaind, Donald's son, over the Foreigners of Dublin and of the islands[2]; and there great slaughter was made of the Foreigners: and the Foreigners' power was put out of Ireland. And in [that battle] fell Ronald, a son of Olaf, the king of the Foreigners; and Conamail, son of a foreign governor; and many others.

Donald, Niall's grandson, sovereign of Ireland, died in Armagh, after penitence.

for a while; and men could not resist him. Olaf's sister was called Gudrun; she was a fair woman to look on, and well skilled in womanly crafts. . . ." Svart wished to take Gudrun. Thorgils and Thorstein and Olaf fought with Svart; and Thorgils killed him.

Ibid., 135: ". . . And the laws were then that men obtained the heritage of those who were killed [by them] in duel. . . . Then [Thorgils] took all [Svart's] ships, and his treasure; and then married Gudrun, earl Olaf's sister. Thorgils had now no lack of men or money.

"In spring they told the earl that they wished to plunder in the summer. Now they proceeded to the Hebrides, and gave the inhabitants the choice either to endure warfare and slaughter, or to pay tax to earl Hakon; and they chose to pay as much as was laid on them. Then everything was concluded. After that [Thorgils and Thorstein] went east to Norway, and came to earl Hakon: he received them well. . . ." They passed the winter with him, and the next summer in plundering, part of the time in Ireland Next winter also they passed with earl Hakon, and the next. Thorgils passed one winter in Sweden, and went in the following summer to Iceland (135-137).

This story is probably quite unhistorical.

Two pirates in the west (976 × 995), who first fought against each other, and afterwards united forces, were Sigmund, Bresti's son, from the Faroes; and Harold Iron-skull. See Færeyinga Saga, c. 21, pp. 88-92.

[1] With the marginal note "bissextile."

[2] So also in F.M., ii, 708, s.a. 978=980. The parallel passages in T. (R.C., xvii, 341-342; 5 years after 975), and C.S. (224-226; Hennessy's year 978=980), do not mention the presence of the islanders. A.I., 43, O'Conor's year 962=980 (with f.n. and e. of 980): "The death of Donald, Niall's grandson, king of Tara.

"A great battle between Maelsechlaind and Olaf's son, and a slaughter of the Foreigners, including Ronald, Ivar's son, at Tara. . . ." (*i. fe ille 7 fe in nund*, in O'Conor's text; read *fer* for *fe?*).

980

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 342 [1]

Olaf, Sigtrygg's son, sovereign of the Foreigners of Dublin, went to Iona in penitence and pilgrimage after the battle [of Tara, and] died.[2]

[1] Placed 5 years after [975].

[2] *a n-aithrighe 7 a n-ailithri iarsin cath mortuus est.*

The passage stands similarly in C.S., 226 (Hennessy's year 978); but there it concludes thus: *a n-deoraidhacht, iar sanct, iar n-aithrighe* "on a pilgrimage, [and] died after holiness and penance," according to Hennessy.

F.M., ii, 708, s.a. 978=980: "And thereafter" (i.e. after the battle of Tara) "Olaf went across the sea, and died in Iona of Columcille." Ibid, 710-712, s.a. 979=980 ("the first year of Maelsechlaind," sovereign of Ireland): "Olaf, Sigtrygg's son, chief lord of the Foreigners of Dublin, went to Iona on pilgrimage; and he died there, after penance and good life."

D.A.I., 49, s.a. 980: "Olaf, Sigtrygg's son, died in Iona of Columba, after [receiving] unction, after repentance" (*iar n-ungadh, iar n-aithridhe*).

Annals of Clonmacnoise, 159, s.a. 974=980: "Olaf, Sigtrygg's son, king of the Danes of Dublin, went a pilgrimage to the island of Iona [*Hugh*] in Scotland, and there after penance died."

Wars of the Irish with the Foreigners, p. 46 (after the battle of Tara): "And Olaf, Sigtrygg's son, sovereign of the Foreigners, went into pilgrimage to Iona of Columcille."

Whether Tigernach's text ("after the battle") is correct or not, these annals all imply that Olaf went to Iona soon after the battle of Tara, and that he did not return to Ireland. He seems to have been Olaf Cuaran.

The sagas say that Olaf Cuaran's daughter Gyda married a "mighty earl" in England [in Cumbria?]; and after his death ruled his lands, till she married Olaf, Tryggvi's son, in or after autumn of 993 (Olaf's Saga, c. 80); and that Olaf Tryggvi's son was living with Olaf Cuaran in Dublin in 995, when Thori Klakka found him. This last statement is shown by the Irish annals to be false, because Olaf was not in Dublin after 980.

Olaf Cuaran's son, Gluniairn, was "king of the Foreigners" at his death in 989 (T.; A.U., s.a. 988=989; A.I., O'Conor's 971=989). "Ivar fled from Dublin before Olaf's son, with three ships' companies" in 993 (A.I., O'Conor's 975=993). "Sigtrygg, Olaf's son, was driven out of Dublin" in 994 (A.U., s.a. 993=994). "Ivar [was] in Dublin after Olaf's son" in 995 (Tigernach); but in the same year, "Ronald, grandson of Ivar, king of the Foreigners" (A.I.), "was killed by Leinstermen; Ivar escaped again, and Sigtrygg took his kingdom" (T.). Dublin was defeated by the Irish under Maelsechlaind, king of Ireland, and Brian Boroime, in 998; Sigtrygg lost his son Artalach, and his brother Harold (T., A.U.). Next year, Sigtrygg, "king of the Foreigners," captured the king of Leinster, Duncan, Donald's son; but was driven out of Dublin by Brian (T., A.U.).

980

Annals of Innisfallen, Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores, vol. ii, part 2, p. 44, O'Conor's year 963=981 [1]

The repose of Mugron, Columcille's successor.[2]

985×994

Adam of Bremen, Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum; in M.G.H., Scriptores, vol. vii, p. 318

After vengeance upon the crimes that he had committed against the churches of God and the Christians, [king Sven, conquered,][3] and forsaken by his followers, as one whom God forsook, came, wandering and helpless, to the Norwegians, over whom at that time reigned Tryggvi, Hakon's son. Because [Sven] was a pagan, [Tryggvi] felt no pity for the exile. So [Sven] in his misfortune, cast out by all the world, crossed over to England, seeking solace in vain from enemies. At that time Æthelred, Edgar's son, ruled over the British. He, remembering the injuries that the Danes had inflicted upon the English of old, rejected the exile.

And at last the king of the Scots took pity upon his

In the year 1000, Sigtrygg, "king of the Foreigners of Dublin," fled from battle to Ulster (A.I.); but he made terms with Brian, and returned to Dublin, giving hostages (T., A.U., A.I.).

[1] With f.n. and e. of 981.

[2] C.S., 226, Hennessy's year 978=980 (immediately before the death of Olaf Cuaran): "Mugron, abbot of Iona, scribe and bishop, reposed."

A.U., i, 490, s.a. 979 or 980=980 (after Donald's death): "Mugron, Columcille's successor both in Ireland and in Scotland, ended his life happily."

F.M., ii, 708, s.a. 978=980: "Mugron, abbot of Iona, scribe and bishop, [chief] scholar of the three parts, . . . died" (i.e., of Ireland, Scotland, and Man). Ibid., 708-710: "In commemoration of [Donald, Muirchertach's son, sovereign of Ireland,] Dub-da-leithe said: 'Since the Son of God was born, (it is not falsehood) 978 [years] to the death of Mugron (who increased verse), the comely successor of Columba; [and] to the battle in strong Tara. . . .'" F.M. have changed the number in the second line of the verse-passage from 980 to 978, in order to make it suit their own chronology. For Dubdaleithe, see year 989.

[3] Not in MS. I. Sven Otto, Harold's son, king of Denmark, was driven from his kingdom by Eric, king of Sweden; Adam, u.s., 316-317.

misfortunes, and received him kindly; and there Sven was in exile for fourteen years, to the death of Eric.

These dangers of the parricide, his grandfather, king Sven [Ulf's son] related to our astonishment. . . .[1]

986

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 494, s.a. 985 or 986=986[2]

The Danes came to the shore of Dalriata,[3] that is to say, three ships; and seven score of them were hanged, and others were sold.[4]

Iona of Columcille was plundered on Christmas night[5]; and they killed the abbot, and fifteen of the elders of the church.[6]

[1] Sven Ulf's son was king of Denmark from about 1047 to † 1076.

Sven Harold's son recovered the kingdom of Denmark (Adam, u.s., 319), and reigned till 1014. He had ejected his father, Harold, from the kingdom in 985 or 986; Harold died of a wound received in the fighting. Adam, u.s. 315.

He took revenge upon Æthelred in the invasion of 1014. Adam, u.s., 324. But he had other motives also.

According to the Icelandic Annals, Sven reigned in Denmark from 958 (KBODE) to 1008 (KOCD; 1007 E). Sven's exile is borrowed from Adam of Bremen by the Annals of Lund, M.G.H., Scriptores, xxix, 200-201. It is adapted from the same source in the 16th century Oddveria Annall—Icelandic Annals, version L—s.a. 999 (Storm's Monumenta, 465): ". . . The fourth time, king Sven was driven from the land before the Swedes, because king Eric the Victorious harried in Denmark, and drove Sven from the land. At last king Sven fled to Scotland; and when he came there, he began to repent his sins, and took the true faith. He had himself baptized in Scotland; then he came back to his kingdom. And when he came to Denmark, he wished to turn his subjects to the true faith. . . ." The same annals say that Sven had been baptized with his father Harold by emperor Otho; that Harold died in 985, when Thorleif was lawspeaker in Iceland [985]; and Sven succeeding flung off Christianity, and destroyed the churches that his father had built. See also the 1st and 2nd Saga-Fragments, in F.S., xi, 419, 420; and Danish Chronicles (B 77 and C 67) in Samfund, **18**, 38, 39; Saxo Grammaticus, X (1886 ed., 336-337).

Even in its original form, the story sounds rather fabulous.

[2] The previous year is shown to be 985 by f.n. and e.

[3] *i n-airer Dailriatai;* equivalent to "Argyle."

[4] *ocus co ro renta olchena.* F.M. read: *ocus ro mudhaighedh* "and were destroyed," (perhaps "mutilated"?) "after they had been defeated."

[5] I.e., the night or evening preceding Christmas day. F.M. add: "by Danes."

[6] The whole passage stands similarly in F.M., ii, 718, s.a. 985=986.

986

Annals of Innisfallen; Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores, vol. ii, part 2, p. 45, O'Conor's year 968=986[1]

The plundering of [Iona of] Columcille by Foreigners; and the islands were wasted by them, and the bishop of Iona was killed by them.

986

Chronicon Scotorum, p. 230, Hennessy's year 984=986

Maelciarain Ua-Maigne, Columcille's successor, entered bloody martyrdom[2] at the hands of the Danes of Dublin.[3]

ca. 986

Ari, Islendingabók, cc. 6-7, p. 7

The land that is called Greenland was found and settled from Iceland. Eric the Red, of Breidafiordr, was the man who sailed out there from here,[4] and took there the land that is since called Eiriksfiordr.

[1] With f.n. and e. of 986.

[2] *do dul derg martra.*

[3] Similarly in F.M., ii, 718, s.a. 985=986 (and "the 7th year of Maelsechlaind").

[4] From Iceland.

Heriolf, son of Bard, son of Heriolf the associate of Ingolf the Settler (cf. Landnámabók, c. 302, p. 105), according to Landnámabók, c. 352, p. 124, "sailed to Greenland, and came into the sea-mountains [*haf-gerdingar*]. In his ship was a Hebridean, who composed the Hafgerdinga-drápa, of which this is the beginning:

Allir hlýdi ossu fulli
amra fialla Dvalins hallar."

See also the Landnámabók, cc. 77-79. In c. 79, p. 35, it is said: "A man was called Heriolf, the son of Bard, Heriolf's son. He sailed to Greenland with Eric. With [Heriolf] in his ship went a Hebridean, a Christian, who had composed the Hafgerdinga-drápa, of which this is the refrain:

Mínar bid ek munka reyni
meinalausan farar beina.
heidis haldi hárar foldar
hallar dróttinn of mér stalli."

Similarly also in the Tale of the Greenlanders; Storm's Eric the Red's Saga, 53 (Fl., i, 430-431). See Corpus Poeticum Boreale, ii, 54; J.S., i, A 177; B 167.

Another tenth-century Norse-Hebridean poet was Orm of Barra;

He gave the country its name, and called it Greenland, and said that the land's having got a good name would encourage people to sail out there.

Dwellings of men were found there, both in the east and in the west of the land; and fragments of boats, and stone utensils, whereby one might perceive that such people had lived there as have occupied Vínland, and the Greenlanders call *Scrælingar*.[1]

The time when [Eric] began to settle in Greenland was fourteen or fifteen winters before Christianity arrived here in Iceland[2]; so Thorkel, Gelli's son, was told in Greenland, by one who himself had accompanied Eric the Red.

fragments of his work are preserved in the Edda. See Corpus Poeticum, ii, 55-57; Sturlunga Saga, i, 20; J.S., i, A 143, B 135.

An early but inexact description of Greenland is in Adam of Bremen's Gesta Pontificum; M.G.H., Scriptores, vii, 385 (cf. 344, 365).

[1] I.e. Eskimos? See Eric Red's Saga, and the Tale of the Greenlanders. The natives of Vínland used stone weapons (Eric Red's Saga, c. 11, p. 41), and were unfamiliar with steel (ibid. 42); but they seem to have terrified the Icelanders by throwing some kind of explosive bomb (ibid. 40). The Icelanders attributed to them magic powers.

[2] *fyrr an cristne quæme hér á Island.* This reckoning can only be to the time of the acceptance of Christianity at the Icelandic assembly, in 1000. Although Thangbrand is mentioned here, the Icelanders did not receive Christianity from him.

It is so rendered in Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 220 (F.S., ii, 215; Fl., i, 430): "That was 15 winters before Christianity was made law in Iceland" (i.e. in 985).

Of this expedition, Landnámabók says (c. 78, p. 35): "So says Ari, Thorgils' son, that that summer 35 ships sailed for Greenland from Borgarfiordr and Breidafiordr; and 14 arrived there. Some turned back, and some were lost. That was 16 winters before Christianity was made law in Iceland" (∴ 984). This is probably taken from Ari's older work. The Islendingabók is Ari's revised work, and is to be preferred.

Landnámabók (c. 77, pp. 34-35) says that Eric had gone to Greenland 4 years earlier, and passed 3 winters there; then had returned to Iceland, and passed one winter with Ingolf before setting out again. This account is abbreviated in Eyrbyggia Saga (c. 24, p. 82): "In this expedition Eric Red found Greenland; and he was there for three winters. And then he sailed to Iceland, and was there for one winter, before he went to settle in Greenland; and that was 14 winters before Christianity was made law in Iceland." I.e., Eric was in Greenland from 982 to 985, and returned there in 986. This agrees with the account in Eric the Red's Saga, c. 2, pp. 8-9 (Hauksbók, ii, 427).

Cf. the Abstract, and Chronological Tables, in Antiquitates Americanae pp. xxviii-xl, 463-465.

[c. 7] King Olaf, son of Tryggvi, son of Olaf, son of Harold Fairhair, brought Christianity into Norway, and to Iceland.

According to the Tale of Eric Red, Biarni Heriolf's son sailed for Greenland in 986, but came first to Vínland (Fl., i, 430-432 ; Storm's Eiriks Saga, 54-55). But in this the Flatey-book differs from all the more trustworthy accounts, which mention no earlier discoverer of America than Leif, Eric Red's son.

Leif is definitely stated to have been the first discoverer of Vínland, in abbot Nicholas's geographical tract ; Antiquitates Americanae, 290-292. Nicholas wrote about the middle of the 12th century.

Kristni Saga, c. 12, pp. 36-37 (Origines, i, 397) : "The same summer in which king Olaf went from the land south to Wendland, he sent also Leif, Eric [Red]'s son, to Greenland, to preach the faith there. Then Leif found Vínland the Good. And he found also men on a disabled ship on the sea : therefore he was called Leif the Lucky." Cf. F.S., xi, 412. Cf. abbot Nicholas, u.s. This was in 1000, the year of Olaf's death. See Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 231 (F.S., ii, 245-246) ; H., Olaf Tryggvi's son, c. 96 : these last both date Leif's mission in the year [1000] of the Christianization of Iceland.

Leif's voyages are described in Eric the Red's Saga, cc. 5, 8 ; pp. 18-21, 32-33 (Hauksbók, ii, 431-433) ; Tale of the Greenlanders, in Storm's edition of Eric's Saga, 56-62 (Fl., i, 538-541). Leif had been driven to the Hebrides on his way from Greenland to king Olaf (Eric Red's Saga, p. 19), in [999] ; cf. Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 221. But Fl. (i, 430) places this voyage erroneously in [1001].

Eric Red's Saga, c. 7, pp. 32-33 (Hauksbók, ii, 437) : "Olaf Tryggvi's son had given to Leif two Scottish people :" (*tvá menn skotska ;* "two swift runners"?) "the man was called Haki, and the woman Hekia ; they were swifter than deer. These people were in the ship with Karlsefni. And when they had sailed along the Marvellous-strands, they put the Scottish people on land, and bade them run south in the land to see the nature of the country, and come again before three days were past.

"They had that clothing which they called *kiafal*" (Hauksbók ; *biafal*, MS. A.M. 557) : "it was so made, that it had a hood above, and it was open at the sides, and had no sleeves. It was buttoned together between the legs with a button and loop. But otherwise they were bare.

"They remained there [on land] a while, and when they came back one carried a bunch of grapes, the other fresh grain from a wheat-field" (more correctly "self-sown wheat" in A.M. 557, which adds : "Karlsefni said that they meant they had found good choice of land"). The names of these people and of their garment do not seem to be Gaelic. The garment has no resemblance to the clothing of Lapps. Probably they were couriers, from one of the Baltic lands (perhaps Wendland?).

The Icelandic Annals place "the occupation of Greenland" in 986 (KBEA ; "Eric the Red occupied Greenland" C ; "Greenland was occupied" D).

He sent to this land the priest called Thangbrand, who taught men Christianity here, and baptized all who accepted the faith.[1]

[1] The first bishop of Iceland was Frederick, a missionary from Saxony (*Saxland*), brought to Iceland by Thorvald Widefarer, Kodran's son, in 981, "to baptize his father and mother, and other relatives who would follow his counsel" (Kristni Saga, c. 1, p. 1. Cf. Thorvald Widefarer's Tale, c. 10, p. 79: Icelandic Annals KBOCDEA, s.a. 981). After four years (981-985) Frederick returned to Saxony; he died there. (Kristni Saga, cc. 2, 4, pp. 8, 13; M.G.H., Scriptores, xxix, 351-352.) Cf. Ari, Islendingabók, c. 8, p. 10. Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, cc. 131-138 (c. 220 says that Frederick left Iceland in [985]).

Thangbrand was a Saxon from Saxony. See Heimskringla, u.s. See also Niál's Saga, cc. 100-105 (Dasent's edition, cc. 96-101); Kristni Saga, cc. 4-6 (Origines Islandicae, i, 386-392). Olaf Tryggvi's son had made Thangbrand his court priest while he was in England [in 993], after his baptism in the Scilly Isles; so says Olaf's Saga, c. 81. Cf. Historia Norwegiae, 115.

Thangbrand was sent to Iceland in [996], one year after Olaf's accession, according to Theoderic, c. 12, p. 19; but Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 216 (F.S., ii, 197; Fl., i, 421), and the Heimskringla's Olaf Tryggvi's son, c. 73, say that Thangbrand was sent to Iceland in [997], two winters after Olaf's accession: so too in the Icelandic Annals CDEA, s.a. 997. Cf. Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 188.

Laxdœla Saga (c. 41, p. 130) says that king Olaf sent Thangbrand, his "court-priest" (*hirð-prest*), to Iceland, in the spring after the Christianizing of Trondhjem (cf. Icelandic Annals CDA, s.a. 998); and implies that Thangbrand left Norway in that summer, and that Iceland adopted Christianity the next year. In Snorri's Prologus to the Heimskringla it is said that Hall, Thorarin's son, "remembered that priest Thangbrand baptized him, three winters old: that was the winter before Christianity was made law in Iceland." This shows that Thangbrand was still in Iceland in 999.

Thangbrand was outlawed for man-slaying. He left Iceland, after having been there for one or two winters (Islendingabók; cf. Odd's Olaf's Saga, c. 37). He had been three winters in Iceland, according to H., Olaf Tryggvi's son, cc. 73, 81, 84; so too in the Kristni Saga, c. 9, pp. 27-30. Niál's Saga mentions only one winter.

Thangbrand's successor in Iceland was Thormod, the son of Thorkel, Thorstein's son (Landnámabók, c. 10, p. 9). Thormod went there in the summer [? 1000] after Thangbrand had left (Islendingabók, c. 7).

Christianity was adopted by law in Iceland in the year 1000, according to Kristni Saga, c. 13, p. 43; and the Icelandic Annals KOCDEA, s.a. 1000. See Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 229 (F.S., ii, 240-244); H., Olaf Tryggvi's son, c. 103.

987

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 496, s.a. 986 or 987 = 987

The battle of Man [was fought] against Harold's son,[1] and by the Danes; and a thousand were slain there. . . .

Great slaughter [was made] of the Danes who had plundered Iona; and three hundred and sixty of them were killed.[2]

989

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 346[3]

Godfrey, Harold's son, king of the Hebrides, fell by the hands of the [men of] Dalriata.[4]

989

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, pp. 496, 498, s.a. 988 or 989 = 989

Duncan Ua-Robocain, Columcille's successor, died.[5] . . .

Dubdaleithe, Patrick's successor, took the succession of Columcille, by counsel of the men of Ireland and of Scotland.[6]

[1] I.e., Godfrey. See year 989. The place of the battle (*cath Manand*) was probably Man. Cf. year 914.

[2] F.M., ii, 720, s.a. 986=987 (and "the 8th year of Maelsechlaind"): "Great slaughter [was made] of the Danes who had plundered Iona, and three hundred and sixty of them were killed, through miracles of God and Columcille."

[3] This follows Maelsechlaind's successful siege of Dublin, when he forced the town to agree to pay tribute (in 989). The last episode of the previous year-section is Dunstan's death (in 988; A.S.C.).

[4] So also in C.S., 230, Hennessy's year 987=989. Similarly in D.A.I., 51, s.a. 989.

Cf. A.U.: "Godfrey, Harold's son, king of the Hebrides, was killed in Dalriata"; i, 496, s.a. 988 or 989=989 (incorrectly marked in the margin "bissextile." The previous year also is marked "bissextile," and has f.n. and e. of 988).

Annals of Clonmacnoise, 160, s.a. 982=989: "Godfrey, son of Harold, king of the Hebrides [*Inis-gall*], was killed by the king of Dalriata or Redshanks."

For Godfrey, cf. year 987.

[5] F.M., ii, 722, s.a. 988=989 (and "the 10th year of Maelsechlaind" as sovereign of Ireland): "Duncan Ua-Robachain, successor of Columcille and Adamnan, . . . died. . . ."

[6] So also in F.M., u.s., 724. They repeat the event under 989=990 (i, 726).

976 × 985 – 979 × 988 [1]

Niál's Saga, cc. 83-86; vol. i, pp. 390-408 [2]

It is now to be told that Niál's sons, Grim and Helgi, sailed from Iceland that summer, in which Thrain and his followers sailed out [3]; and they took ship with [captains] Olaf the Old, Ketil's son, and Bard the Black. They had so violent a storm from the north that they were carried southwards into the open sea; and so great darkness came on that they knew not where they were going; and they had a long voyage. Then they came where there was much shallow water, and it seemed clear to them that this must be near land. Niál's sons asked if Bard knew at all to what land they might be nearest. "There are many lands," said Bard, "considering the direction of wind we have had—the islands, or Scotland, or Ireland."

Two nights afterwards, they saw land on both sides, and much surf inside the firth. They cast anchors outside the surf. Then the storm began to abate; and in the morning it was calm. Then they saw thirteen ships sailing out at sea.

Then said Bard, "What shall our plans be now, since these men will attack us?" Thereupon they took counsel, whether they should defend themselves, or yield; but before they had decided, the vikings came upon them. They asked each others' names, what the leaders were called. Then the leaders [4] of the merchants named themselves, and asked in return who was over the vikings: the one named himself Griotgard,[5] the other Snækolf, sons of Moddan from Duncansby [6] in Scotland, a

[1] Certainly from before 991 to before 994.

[2] Also in R.S. 88, i, 319-324.

[3] To earl Hakon in Norway (976-995).

[4] Olaf and Bard.

[5] *Grjótgarðr.*

[6] *Moddans ór dungalsbœ:* in some MSS. *Moldans.* Moldan might be a Scandinavian form of Maelduin; Moddan, possibly of Matadan. Cf. year 1106.

For the dealings between Going-Hrólf (Sturlaug's son), and king Dungal and an earl Melan (? Maelduin) of Scotland, see the fabulous Gaungu-Hrólfs Saga, Fornaldar Sögur, iii, 350-357: they are said to have occurred in the time of king Henry, a relative and the deposer of Edward, king of Winchester. "Henry had great strength from Scotland, because he had married the daughter of Melan, the earl of Moray [*úr Móraðí*], and a great friend of the head-king [of Scotland], who was called Dungal; from him

relative of Malcolm, the Scottish king; "and two alternatives are given by us," said Griotgard; "either that you go on land while we take your goods; or else that we attack you, and slay every man we take."[1]

Helgi answered: "The merchants wish to defend themselves." Then spoke the merchants: "Speak thou, deprived of all [sense]! What defence can we make? and goods are less precious than life." Grim took the plan of shouting to the vikings, and did not let them hear the bad choice of the merchants. Bard and Olaf spoke, "Think you not that the Icelanders may mock at your deaths? Take hold now of your weapons, and let us defend ourselves." Then they all took their weapons, and bound themselves never to give up, so long as they could defend themselves.

[c. 84] Now the vikings shot at them, and they began the fight; and the merchants defended themselves well. Snækolf leapt at Olaf, and ran him through with a spear. Grim struck Snækolf with a spear, and so hard that [Snækolf] fell overboard. Then Helgi turned beside Grim, and they drove down all the vikings. And Niál's sons were ever where there was most need.

The vikings called out, and bade the merchants yield. But they said that they would never yield.

At this time they chanced to look seaward; and they saw that ships were sailing past the headland, from the south—not fewer than ten. They rowed hard, and went out to them. There was shield touching shield. And on the foremost ship stood a man[2] beside the mast; he was in a silk tunic, and had a gilded helmet, and hair both long and fair. The man had a spear inlaid with gold in his hand. He asked them, "Who holds here so unequal a game?" Helgi told his name, and said that against him were Griotgard and Snækolf. "And who

is named Duncansby [*Dungalsbær*], because he has had a place built there." The whole story is quite unhistorical, but is perhaps evidence of a Norwegian settlement in north-eastern Aberdeenshire.

There is no ground for identifying this Dungal with the Dungal, Kenneth's son, who died in 999 (below). Henry is perhaps Æthelred, Edgar's son.

[1] Cf. the episode (before 864) in the unhistorical Hrólfs Saga Gautreks-sonar; ed. Detter, 1891, pp. 18-20.

[2] This is the dramatic entry into Niál's Saga of Kari, one of the most perfect knights of saga literature.

are the captains?" said he. Helgi answered, "Bard the Black, who lives. But the other has fallen here before the vikings; his name was Olaf. My brother, who follows me, is called Grim."[1] "Are you two Icelandic men?" said he. "That is certain" said Helgi. He asked whose sons they were. They said. Then he recognized them, and said: "Famous men you are, father and sons."

"Who art thou?" said Helgi. "I am called Kari, and I am Solmund's son." "Whence comest thou?" said Helgi. "From the Hebrides" said Kari. "Thou art welcome," said Helgi, "if thou will grant us something." "I grant what you need," said Kari, "or what do you ask?" "Grant an attack on them" said Helgi. Kari said that it should be so.

They attacked [the vikings], and then the battle began a second time. And when they had fought for a time, Kari leapt up on Snækolf's ship: and [Snækolf] turned against Kari, and hewed at him. Kari leapt backwards over a beam which lay across the ship; Snækolf hewed into the beam, so that he hid both edges of the sword. Kari hewed at him, and the sword fell upon his shoulder; and the blow was so great that he cut off the arm. And immediately Snækolf had his death.

Griotgard cast a spear at Kari; Kari saw it, leapt up in the air, and the spear missed him. By this time Grim and Helgi had come to join Kari. Helgi sprang at Griotgard, and smote him through with his sword; and that was his death. Then they went round all the ships, on both sides, and men asked for peace. They gave them all peace, but took all their goods.

After that, they laid all the ships under the islands, and rested there for a while.

[c. 85] Sigurd was the name of an earl who ruled over the Orkneys. He was the son of Hlodve, the son of Thorfinn Skull-cleaver. . . . Kari was one of Sigurd's body-guard,[2] and he had been taking taxes from the Hebrides, from earl Gilli.[3]

[1] But in c. 25 (i, 101), Grim is called Niál's second son; Helgi, Niál's third.

[2] *hirðmaðr Sigurðar.*

[3] In the summer when Niál's sons left Norway (979×988, or ×994), Kari took taxes to earl Hakon; ibid., c. 89, i, 450: "Then Kari went to Hladir, to meet the earl; and brought his taxes [*skatta sína*] to him.' Dasent translates this "the Orkney scatts"; but these taxes from the

[Kari] asked Niál's sons to go with him to Hrossey, and said that the earl would receive them well. They accepted the invitation, and went with Kari, and came to Hrossey.

Kari accompanied them to visit the earl, and told what men they were. "How did they come to thee?" said the earl. "I found them in Scotland's-firths,"[1] said Kari, "and they were fighting with the sons of Moddan of Duncansby; and they defended themselves so well that they threw themselves constantly from mast to mast, and were ever there where the danger was greatest. And I wish now to ask for them that they may serve as guards with your forces." "Thou shalt decide," said the earl, "because thou hast received them so much already."

They were there with the earl for the winter,[2] and were well esteemed. But when the winter was on its way, Helgi became silent. The earl wondered why that should be, and asked why Helgi was silent; or what was on his mind: "or art thou not content to be here?" "I am content to be here," said Helgi. "What thinkest thou then?" said the earl. "Do you have any dominion to guard in Scotland?" said Helgi. "So one must think," said the earl; "or what has to do with that?" Helgi answered: "The Scots must have taken your steward from life, and taken all the messengers, so that none should be able to go over the Pentland Firth." The earl said: "Hast thou second-sight?"[3] Helgi answered, "That has been but little proved." "I shall increase thy honour," said the earl, "if this is so; otherwise thou shalt pay for it." "He is not a man of that sort," said Kari, "and he must have spoken truth, because his father has second-sight."

Then the earl sent men south to Stroma, to Arnliót his steward. After that, Arnliót sent men south over the Pentland

Hebrides are probably meant. "Earl Hakon's taxes" are not "earl Sigurd's taxes": the taxes that Kari brought from the Hebrides are not said to have been collected for Sigurd, although Kari was Sigurd's vassal.

[1] *í skotlandsfiörðum:* i.e., the water-ways between the Hebrides and the Scottish western coasts, which had been inhabited by Scots before the Norwegians came. The Pentland Firth was called "Pictland's Firth" (below); the Moray Firth, "Broad Firth." See below, pp. 504, 541. Cf. H., Magnus Barelegs, cc. 8, 11.

[2] 976×984-977×985 (certainly ×991-×992).

[3] *ert thú forspár maðr.* Similarly below.

Firth, and they made enquiries there, and heard that earl Hundi[1] and earl Melsnati had taken from life Havard, earl Sigurd's brother-in-law,[2] in Freswick.[3] Then Arnliót sent word to earl Sigurd, that he must come south with a great army, and drive these earls out of the dominion. And as soon as the earl learned this, he collected an army among all the islands.

[c. 86] Then the earl sailed south with the army; and Kari accompanied him, and Niál's sons also. They came south to Caithness.[4]

The earl [Sigurd] owned this dominion in Scotland: Ross and Moray, Sutherland and the Dales. Men from these dominions came to meet them, and said that the earls were a short distance away with a great army. Then earl Sigurd moved thither with his army. And the name of the place above which the battle was is Dungal's-peak.[5] A great battle began at once between them. The Scots had sent some of their army apart, and these men came upon the earl's men in the rear; and there was great loss of life there, until Niál's sons turned against them, and fought with them, and put them to flight. The battle was still severe; so Grim and Helgi moved past the earl's banner,[6] and struck out most daringly. Then Kari turned against earl Melsnati. Melsnati threw a spear at Kari. Kari caught it, and threw back the spear, and transfixed the earl. Then earl Hundi fled, and they pursued there until they learned that Malcolm, the Scottish king,[7] was collecting an army in Duncansby. The earl then took counsel with his men, and it seemed best to them all to turn back, and not to fight with so great a land-army. So they turned back. But when

[1] This Hundi was perhaps the father of the king Karl Hundi's son, in the Orkneyinga Saga. In that case, if Karl were Macbeth, Hundi would be the same person as the Findlaech of the Orkneyinga Saga; and this battle would be the battle of Skidmoor, described below.

[2] *mágr:* a male relative by marriage.

[3] *Thrasvík.*

[4] I.e. 977 × 986 (certainly × 992).

[5] *dungalsgnípa.*

[6] Cf. the raven banner carried in the battle of Skidmoor, below.

[7] The Scottish king is incorrectly named. These events took place, according to Niála's account, during the reign of earl Hakon (976-995), and apparently before the death of the Godfrey, king of Man, who died in 989. Probably instead of Malcolm, we should read Kenneth, Malcolm's son (971-995).

the earl came to Stroma, he divided the spoils there. After that, he sailed north to Hrossey. Niál's sons followed him, and Kari.

The earl made there a great banquet, and at this banquet the earl gave Kari a good sword, and a gilded spear; and to Helgi, a gold ring, and a cloak; and to Grim, a shield, and a sword. After that he made Helgi and Grim his body-guardsmen, and thanked them for their good courage. They were with the earl that winter,[1] and in summer, until Kari went on warfare. They went with him. They plundered widely during the summer, and had victory everywhere.

They fought with Godfrey, king of Man, and conquered him; and after that, sailed back [to Orkney]; and they had taken much treasure.

They were with the earl for the winter,[2] and they sat there in high favour. In spring, Niál's sons asked [leave] to go to Norway. The earl said that they should go as they liked; and he gave them a good ship, and stout men. Kari told them that he must go that summer to Norway with earl Hakon's taxes, and "We shall meet there," said Kari: and on that, they arranged to meet there. Then Niál's sons put to sea, and sailed to Norway, and came north to Trondhjem. They abode there.[3]

Before 995
?977 × 986

Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 97; Fornmanna Sögur, vol. i, pp. 199-200

Earl Hlodve died of disease, and Sigurd, his son, took the earldom after him. Sigurd became a powerful earl and the ruler of wide lands. He held Caithness by might against the Scots, and had an army out every summer: he plundered in the Hebrides, in Scotland and Ireland.[4]

It happened one summer[5] that the earl who was called

[1] I.e. 977 × 986-978 × 987 (certainly before 992-993).

[2] I.e. 978 × 987-979 × 988 (certainly before 993-994).

[3] I.e. 979 × 988 (certainly × 994).

[4] This paragraph stands similarly in the Orkneyinga Saga, c. 11, i, 14 (from Fl., i, 226); but "great ruler" stands there instead of "powerful earl."

[5] The battle between Sigurd and Findlaech stands in the sagas before the Christianization of Orkney in 995.

Findlaech[1] came down from Scotland with an overwhelming army. Findlaech challenged Sigurd to fight at Skidmoor in Caithness, and appointed a day for the battle.

Earl Sigurd collected an army. The Orkneymen were not eager to fight with superior numbers; because it is said that the odds were not less than seven Scots to one of Sigurd's men. So the earl got no force from the Orkneys, until he gave back to the farmers all their odal lands in the islands, to [induce them to serve in] his army. Then Sigurd went to battle with Findlaech, and Sigurd had the victory; but the farmers got possession of their odal lands in the Orkneys.

Flatey-book version of Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 186; Flateyiarbók, vol. i, pp. 226-227[2]

It happened one summer that Findlaech, the earl of the Scots, challenged Sigurd to a pitched battle at Skidmoor, on an appointed day. But Sigurd went to his mother, for a prediction [of the result]; she had much knowledge. The earl said to her that the odds would not be less than seven men to one. She answered: "I would have reared thee long in my wool-basket, if I had known that thou wouldst live for ever. And Fate rules life, but not where a man is come; better it is to die with honour, than to live with shame. Here, take with thee this banner, which I have made for thee with all my knowledge; and I deem that it will bring victory to him before whom it is borne, but death to him that bears it."

The banner was made with great skill, and with excellent handiwork. It was made in the form of a raven; and when the wind blew out the banner, it was as if the raven spread its wings.[3]

[1] *Finnleikr.* This seems to have been Findlaech, mormaer of Moray, the father of king Macbeth; and probably a relative, possibly the son, of the Macbeth who has appeared in conflict with Skúli, Sigurd's uncle, before 976.

[2] Also in R.S. 88, i, 14-15.

[3] This raven banner was carried in the battle of Clontarf; Sigurd fell there, carrying it.

A raven banner was captured from the Danes led by a son of Ragnar in England, in 878; Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, BDE (879, C); Asser, Petrie's Monumenta, 481. See also the Annals of St Neots, s.a. 878, in Stevenson's Asser, p. 138.

Earl Sigurd was very angry at his mother's words. And he gave the Orkneymen their hereditary lands[1] for their support, and went to earl Findlaech at Skidmoor, and each arrayed his host. And when the battle began, earl Sigurd's bannerman was shot to death. The earl bade another man bear the standard; and after it had been carried for a while, he fell. Three of the earl's banner-bearers fell, but he had the victory, and the Orkneymen received their odal-lands.

979 × 988 – 981 × 990[2]

Niál's Saga, cc. 89-90; vol. i, pp. 453-456[3]

[Niál's sons] agreed to this,[4] and went to Eric [earl Hakon's son], and were with him there until Kari was ready to sail west. Then Eric made a feast for Kari, and gave him good gifts, and to Niál's sons also.

Then Kari and they sailed west beyond the sea, to meet earl Sigurd; and he received them very well. And they were with the earl during the winter.[5]

And in spring[6] Kari asked Niál's sons to go with him on warfare. But Grim said they would do that if [Kari] would go with them to Iceland. Kari promised this, and they went with him on warfare. They plundered south about Anglesey, and all the Hebrides. Then they proceeded to Kintyre,[7] and went ashore there, and fought with the men of the land; and they took there much treasure, and went to their ships.

Thence they sailed south to Wales, and plundered there. Then they proceeded to Man. There they met Godfrey, king of Man[8]; and they fought with him, and had the victory, and slew the king's son Dungal. There they took much treasure.

Thence they proceeded north to Coll, and they met earl

[1] See above, p. 391.

[2] Certainly from before 994 to before 996.

[3] Also R.S. **88**, i, 324.

[4] Earl Hakon had fought with them, and taken them prisoners. Kari made a reconciliation between them, but they would take it only from Hakon's son Eric, who at the same time asked them to be his guests.

[5] I.e. 979 × 988-980 × 989 (certainly before 994-995).

[6] I.e. 980 × 989.

[7] *til satíris*; *sal(l)tíris* in six MSS. (i.e. the Irish *sail-tíre*).

[8] This Godfrey seems to have been the "king of the Hebrides" who fell in 989 (above).

Gilli there; and he received them well, and they dwelt with him some time. The earl sailed with them to the Orkneys, to meet earl Sigurd. And in spring earl Sigurd gave his sister Nereid in marriage to earl Gilli. Then [earl Gilli] went to the Hebrides.

[c. 90] That summer, Kari and Niál's sons prepared to go to Iceland. And when they were quite ready, they went to see earl [Sigurd]. He gave them good gifts, and they parted with great friendship. Then they put out to sea. . . .[1]

[1] They returned to Iceland. Kari married Niál's daughter Helga. He is thenceforth one of the principal characters in Niál's Saga.

Niál was the son of Thorgeir Gollni, son of Ufeig (or of Thorolf) (Niál's Saga, c. 20). His name *Njáll* seems to have been derived from Irish *Níall*, as *Brjánn* from Irish *Brían* (ibid., c. 154).

Niál was burned in his house in 1010, according to the Icelandic Annals (KOCD; 1009, E; 1001, A). The leaders of the avengers were Kari and Thorgeir Skorargeirr. After many deaths, Kari persuaded Thorgeir to take atonement; "[Thorgeir] asked Kari what was now undone that he intended to do. Kari answered: 'I intend to slay Gunnar Lambi's son and Kol Thorstein's son, if I have opportunity. We have then slain fifteen men, with the five that we two have both slain together.'" Niál's Saga, c. 152; i, 870. Ibid., 872: "Gizur [the White] gave Kari a good sword at parting. Then [Kari] rode down to Eyrar, and took his passage there with Kolbein the Black. [Kolbein] was an Orkneyman, and an old friend of Kari's; and he was the most impetuous and most valiant man. He took Kari by both hands, and said that one fate should go over them both."

Sigurd continued the same manner of life after his compulsory acceptance of Christianity in 995. Cf. his dealings with Gunnlaug, in Gunnlaug's Saga Ormstungu, in Möbius's Analecta Norrœna, 148-149: "Then Gunnlaug [Serpent's-tongue] sailed from England" (in Æthelred's reign, 979-1016) "with merchants, north to Dublin. Then ruled over Ireland king Sigtrygg Silk-beard, son of Olaf Cuaran and queen Gormflaith: he had ruled the kingdom then for only a short while. . . . Gunnlaug . . . remained there but a little while, and went from there to the Orkneys.

"At that time earl Sigurd, Hlodve's son, ruled over the Orkneys; he was well [disposed] to Icelanders. . . ." At the same time (p. 150) Olaf was king of Sweden [?993-1022]. Sigtrygg became king in Ireland in or before 999; therefore this occurred not long after 999.

This was during the reign [1000-1013] of earl Eric in Norway (ibid., 150); and not long before Cnut's accession in Denmark (after Sven Fork-beard's death in 1008) (∴ 1000 × 1008). The saga also implies (p. 161) that Gunnlaug returned [1008 × 1012] to Orkney some years after the accession of Cnut, while Sigurd Hlodve's son [† 1014] still ruled the islands.

Ibid. 161-162: "Gunnlaug Serpent's-tongue took ship with Hallfrod Troublesome-poet north in Slétta, and they were very late in starting; and they sailed to sea as soon as there was a favourable wind, and came to the

ca. 989-993

Heimskringla, Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, cc. 30-32[1]

Olaf Tryggvi's son's warfare.

Then[2] Olaf Tryggvi's son proceeded to England, and plundered widely in the land. He sailed as far north as to Northumberland, and plundered there; thence he sailed north to Scotland, and plundered widely there; thence he sailed to the Hebrides, and had some battles there. Then he proceeded south to Man, and fought there. He plundered also widely in Ireland. Then he went on to Wales, and plundered the land widely, and also the land which is called Cumberland. Thence he sailed west to France, and plundered there; then he sailed from the west, and intended to sail to England. Then he came to the islands that are called Scillies, in the sea to the west of England.[3] . . .[4]

Orkneys a little before winter. Then earl Sigurd Hlodve's son ruled over the islands, and Gunnlaug went to him and was there for the winter, and the earl esteemed him highly. And in spring the earl prepared for warfare. Gunnlaug prepared to voyage with him; and they plundered in summer widely about the Hebrides and Scotland's Firths, and they had many battles; and Gunnlaug proved the most valiant man, and the most manly lad, and the hardiest warrior, wherever they came.

"Sigurd returned early in the summer, and then Gunnlaug entered his ship with the merchants, who were sailing to Norway; and earl Sigurd and he parted with great friendship." Earl Eric [† 1013] was then still alive; therefore Gunnlaug left Orkney 1009 × 1013.

[1] Cf. Fr., 114-115. The same events are in Olaf's Saga, cc. 77-80 (F.S., i, 142-149; cc. 91-93 in Fl., i, 119-122). Olaf's Saga quotes in addition 20 lines from Hallarstein. Cf. J.S., i, B, 525-535.

[2] After the death of his wife, Geira; and after a plundering campaign in Friesland, Saxony, and Flanders (c. 30). The dates are deduced from Olaf's Saga, but may be a few years too late.

Historia Norwegiae, in Storm's Monumenta, 113: "Thence [from Iomsburg, Olaf] proceeded to Friesland; afterwards he went to England; he plundered these [lands] greatly, and did marvels in Scotland, sparing none in Ireland."

Ágrip, c. 16, F.S., x, 392 (and in M.G.H., Scriptores, xxix, 353): "He carried warfare far both in Wendland and in Flanders; in England and in Scotland; in Ireland, and in many other lands. He had constantly his winter-seat in Wendland, in the town that was called Iomsburg."

[3] He was driven from his course by a storm. Olaf's Saga, c. 78.

[4] Here are 16 lines of verse, attributed to Hallfrod Troublesome-poet. They were quoted in Olaf's Saga, c. 77. See Corpus Poeticum Boreale, ii, 95; J.S., i, A 158-159; B 150.

Olaf Tryggvi's son passed four winters in this warfare, from the time when he left Wendland to the time when he reached the Scillies.[1]

[c. 31] . . .[2] And it was so, that Olaf was baptized there, and all his company. He stayed there for a long time, and took the true faith[3]; and he brought with him from there priests and other learned men.

[c. 32] . . . In autumn Olaf sailed from the Scillies to England, and lay there in a certain harbour. He went this time in peace, because England was Christian, and he too was Christian.[4] . . .

[1] Olaf's Saga, c. 78:

"Then four winters had passed, from the time when he sailed from Wendland."

[2] Olaf was brought to Christianity by a seer who lived in the Scillies. Cf. Theoderic, c. 7, and Historia Norwegiae, in Storm's Monumenta, 14, 114-115.

[3] Olaf's Saga, c. 79 (F.S., i, 148; Fl., i, 122): "Olaf Tryggvi's son was twenty-five years old when he was baptized. Then 993 years had passed, from the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ. This was in the 10th year of the reign of emperor Otho the Young, the 21st year of Æthelred the English king" (Otho III, 983-1002; Æthelred, 978-1016).

The later Icelandic Annals say that "Olaf, Tryggvi's son, was baptized in the Scillies" in 993 (CPL; 992, A).

[4] The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (BCDE) says that Olaf [Tryggvi's son] and Sven [Fork-beard] came to London with 94 ships and attacked the castle, in 994; on the 8th September (BCD. Version A says, in 993, and with 93 ships; and omits Sven). They were repulsed with loss, but plundered savagely in Essex, Kent, Sussex, and Hampshire; and wintered in Southampton, receiving from Wessex 16,000 pounds, and food. Bishop Ælfheah brought Olaf with great honour to king Æthelred; Æthelred gave Olaf gifts, and Olaf promised not to invade England again. (A.S.C., BCDE, records the appearance of a comet in 995; cf. Annales Sangallenses Majores, s.a. 989=995, M.G.H., Scriptores, i, 80.)

According to Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga (cc. 79, 86), Olaf was in England from 993 to 994. The saga and the chronicle do not agree: either Olaf must have come to England before he was baptized in Scilly, or else he must have fought in England after he was baptized. "The terms of peace and the covenant which king Æthelred and all his council have made with the army that Olaf [Tryggvi's son] and Justin and Gudmund Stegita's son were with," are to be found in Thorpe's Ancient Laws and Institutes, i, 121-124; 527-528.

Thenceforward Olaf and Æthelred were good friends; Æthelred's son Edward revered Olaf's memory. See Olaf's Saga, cc. 285, 286; Odd's Olaf's Saga, c. 74 (F.S., iii, 63-64; x, 371-372); Fl., i, 506, 516.

Odd's Olaf's Saga, c. 13; F.S., x, p. 253 (after Olaf's meeting with

993-995

Orkneyinga Saga, c. 12; vol. i, p. 15[1]

Olaf Tryggvi's son was four winters [989-993] in warfare in the western lands after he came from Wendland, before he had himself baptized in the Scilly Isles. From there he sailed to Ireland, and married there Gyda, the daughter of Cuaran, the Irish king.[2]

Then he dwelt for a time in Dublin, until earl Hakon sent Thori Klakka west to entice him away. . . .

emperor Otho and king Harold of Denmark. Cf. Iomsvikinga Saga, c. 10; F.S., xi, 32): "Then Olaf and his followers went with their army and harried on the Britons [Welsh], and the Irish, and the Scots: and they harried on the heathen peoples, [but let] the Christians go in peace." There was at this time in Northumberland an earl Sigurd (ibid., c. 11, p. 245), who made a treaty with Olaf (c. 13, p. 253).

[1] Reconstructed chapter.

[2] Heimskringla, Olaf Tryggvi's son, c. 32 (cf. Fr., 115), says that Olaf married there "a queen who was named Gyda, a sister" (read "daughter") "of Olaf Cuaran, who was king in Ireland at Dublin. She had been given in marriage to a powerful earl in England; he was now dead, and she held his dominion after him. . . . Olaf then married Gyda, and dwelt in England, but sometimes in Ireland." Cf. also c. 52. The same story is in Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, cc. 80, 82 (Fl., i, 150-151); Odd's Olaf's Saga, ed. Munch, 14, where Gyda is called "the sister of Olaf Cuaran, the king of the Scots" (similarly in F.S., x, 255).

This story is romantic rather than historical. Olaf Cuaran had died in 980, 14 years before Olaf Tryggvi's son went to Dublin.

There was a Danish colony at this time in Wales or Cumbria (*Bretland*). It was ruled by earl Stefni; he divided it with Palnatoki, who married Stefni's daughter Alof. (See Iomsvikinga Saga, c. 16; F.S., xi, 50-51.) With Stefni ruled Biorn the British, a contemporary of Alof (cf. c. 27, xi, 68).

Stefni died in the year of Harold Gorm's son's death (?992; but the Iomsvikinga Saga's story requires an earlier date); Palnatoki succeeded to Stefni's dominions (Iomsv. S., c. 21; F.S., xi, 67-68). Palnatoki plundered in Scotland and Ireland for 12 summers, leaving Biorn to rule his dominions (c. 25, p. 73). Palnatoki's son Aki was a contemporary of Sven Forkbeard (Olaf's Saga, c. 84). Palnatoki divided his dominions with Vagn, Aki's son, and Biorn the British; (Iomsvikinga Saga, c. 33; F.S., xi, 98;) they ruled Bretland after Palnatoki's death (c. 37; F.S., xi, 111). (Fl., i, 156 ff.)

Biorn (an old man), and Vagn, fought against earl Hakon (992 × 995). They were captured in Hakon's defeat [in 994] of the Iomsburg vikings, but released. (Cf. H., Olaf Tryggvi's son, cc. 35-42.) Biorn returned to

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Theoderic, Historia de Antiquitate Regum Norwagiensium, c. 9; Storm's Monumenta, pp. 16-17

By [Olaf's] persistence, the earl of the Orkneys became Christian, with all his people.

Olaf, departing from England, went by a direct route to the Orkney islands; and because these are subject to the Norwegian king, he called upon earl Sigurd, who then ruled the same islands, to become Christian. And when he prevaricated and objected, Olaf pressed him the more. But [Sigurd] promised that he would be subject to [Olaf] as his king, if [Olaf] did not force him to [accept] Christianity. And after a long contest, it is said that Olaf seized [Sigurd's] son from the Bretland (Olaf's Saga, c. 90), and ruled there till his death (Iomsvikinga Saga, c. 48; F.S., xi, 156).

He went west to Olaf Tryggvi's son in Dublin [994 × 995] (Olaf's Saga, c. 91).

According to B.T. in M.A., 693, Danes were in Anglesey (Món) in 993; Sven, Harold's son, was there in 994; and Danes were in South Wales in 996. "Manaw [St David's] was devastated by Sven Harold's son" in 994, according to B.S. in M.A., 659. A.C., MS. B, says that Menevia [St David's] was devastated in [993]; and that "Sven, Harold's son, wasted Eumonia" [i.e., Man] in [995].

Sven and Olaf Tryggvi's son were repulsed from London on 8th September, 994 (A.S.C., CDEF).

King Sven Forkbeard and the Iomsburg vikings held a funeral feast for Sven's father, Harold Gorm's son, about the "winter-nights" of October, 994; "two winters after Harold Gorm's son had fallen [in ?992], and five winters from the time when king Olaf Tryggvi's son had sailed from Wendland [in ?989]. Olaf was at that time in the west beyond the sea, and had married Gyda the English" (Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 86; F.S., i, 164). At this feast, Sven vowed to invade England, and kill or drive out king Æthelred, before three winters should have passed; and the Iomsburg vikings vowed to invade Norway within three years, and drive out earl Hakon. (So also in H., Olaf Tryggvi's son, c. 35.)

After Yule, in 994 (Fl., i, 187), "in mid-winter time" (Odd's Olaf's Saga, F.S., x, 257), the Iomsburg vikings were defeated by earl Hakon at Hiorungavágr in Norway. Cf. Olaf's Saga, cc. 89 ff. (F.S., i, 168-179; Iomsvikinga Saga, cc. 41 ff. (F.S., xi, 122). See Fl., i, 182-202. This battle is placed under 994 in the Icelandic Annals (KBOCDPEL; 993, A).

With the Iomsburg vikings were Biorn the British, and Vagn, Aki's son, from Wales.

Sven plundered Exeter and Wilton in 1003, Norwich and Thetford in 1004; but afterwards he lost many men. In 1005 there was famine in England, and the Danish fleet returned for a while to Denmark (A.S.C., CDEF). See the Iomsvikinga Saga, cc. 50-51 (F.S., xi, 158-159).

place where he was being fostered—a little boy of three years, Thorfinn by name[1]; protesting that he would kill him in his father's sight, and moreover threatening perpetual enmity, if [Sigurd] did not consent.

As it is written: "Fill their faces with shame, and they shall seek thy name, O Lord,"[2] the earl dreaded both things, both Olaf's most just anger, and the death of his son; and believing, or rather consenting, was baptized, with all the people subject to him: and afterwards he was confirmed in the faith, and remained faithful, and all his successors.[3]

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Heimskringla, Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 47[4]

Thori urged [Olaf Tryggvi's son] vehemently to this journey,[5] and praised him much, and his ability. Then Olaf began to long greatly for his heritage.

[1] This is an error. Thorfinn was this boy's step-brother.

[2] Psalm LXXXIII, 16 (Vulgate, LXXXII, 17).

[3] Here the sagas' account is to be preferred to Theoderic's. See below.

Odd's Olaf's Saga, c. 23 (Munch's ed.; cf. the F.S. version, x, 276-277), says that Olaf set out from Norway to Russia and England after he had been one winter in Norway [i.e. in 996]; Olaf brought from England, in autumn, "bishop John, and many priests; Thangbrand and Thormod and many teachers; . . . and when they were ready, they sailed to the Orkneys. And there the ruler was earl Sigurd, Hlodve's son, a great lord. . . ." The rest of the account is probably derived from Theoderic. When Sigurd refused to accept Christianity, Olaf threatened to kill Hvelp, Sigurd's "young son, who was being reared with great care in another island." This voyage of 996 has been invented by Odd, who thought it more probable that Olaf should have made himself king before he began to Christianize outlying districts. There seems to be no doubt that Olaf's dealings with Sigurd occurred on his way to Norway, in 995.

[4] Cf. Fr., 127-128; and O.S., c. 12 (reconstructed chapter), i, 15. See Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, cc. 91, 94, 98 (c. 187 in Flatey-book version; R.S. 88, i, 311-314).

[5] Earl Hakon, "in the 29th year of his reign" (read "19th"?), "learned that Olaf Tryggvi's son was in England" (Theoderic, c. 7, p. 13); he sent Thori Klakka to lure Olaf from Ireland to Norway, to claim the kingdom from earl Hakon.

Olaf's Saga and H. say that Thori found Olaf in Dublin with Olaf Cuaran, his kinsman-in-law"; see above, p. 506, note.

With Olaf Cuaran in Dublin had been Thorgils Orraskáld, son of Thorvard, son of Thorbiorn Black; Landnámabók, Sturla's version, c. 31, p. 139 ("an otherwise unknown Icelandic poet" F. Jónsson).

Then Olaf sailed from the west with five ships, [coming] first to the Hebrides; Thori[1] accompanied him. Then he sailed to the Orkneys.

Earl Sigurd, Hlodve's son, lay then in [South] Ronaldshay, in Ásmundarvágr, with one long-ship, and he was intending to sail over to Caithness. Then Olaf sailed to the islands with his army from the west and put into harbour there, because the Pentland Firth was not passable. And when the king knew that the earl lay there already, he had the earl called to speak with him.

But when the earl came to speak with the king, they had spoken but little before the king said[2] that the earl must have himself baptized, and all the people of his land, or as alternative he should die on the spot, immediately; and the king said that he would go with fire and burning through the islands, and devastate the land, unless the people were baptized. And since the earl was thus pressed he chose to take baptism; so he was baptized, and all the people who were there with the earl.

Then the earl swore to the king an oath, and became his man, and gave him as a hostage his son, who was called Hvelp or Hund[3]; and Olaf took him to Norway with him. . . .

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Flatey-book version of Olaf's Saga, c. 187; Flateyiarbók, vol. i, p. 229[4]

Olaf had the lad baptized, with the name of Hlodve[5]; and he took him with him to Norway. Earl Sigurd bound with oaths all their compact. Then king Olaf sailed out from the Orkneys, but placed there behind him priests to instruct the people, and to teach them holy lore.[6]

King Olaf and earl Sigurd parted with friendship.

Hlodve lived but a short while. And after [Hlodve] was

[1] "Thori and his companions" in Olaf's Saga. These were called Justin and Karlshofud, sons of Eric of Ofrostadir: ibid., cc. 93, 94.

[2] There is a long speech here in Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, u.s.

[3] I.e. "Whelp or Dog"; possibly for Gaelic Culen, or Cu; Matadan, or Matad.

[4] Also in R.S. 88, i, 314. Similarly in the reconstructed c. 12 in O.S., i, 15.

[5] *Hlodver* was the Icelandic form of the name Ludovicus or Lewis.

[6] So also in Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 98 (F.S., i, 202).

dead, earl Sigurd paid king Olaf no allegiance; he proceeded then[1] to marry the daughter of Malcolm, king of the Scots; and their son was Thorfinn.

[1] I.e. before Olaf's death in 1000?

This marriage is noticed again in Fl.'s Olaf's Saga, c. 444 (O.S., c. 13, i, 16); it is there said to have taken place "a little after king Olaf, Tryggvi's son, and earl Sigurd, Hlodve's son, had come to an agreement" (Fl., i, 558).

This alliance ended the payment to Norwegian kings of the tribute levied on odal lands in Orkney. See year 894×. Cf. 1020-1022.

Olaf's arrival in Norway caused Hakon's death. Hakon's sons, Eric and Svein, fled to Sweden.

The Icelandic Annals place the death of earl Hakon, the beginning of Olaf's reign in Norway, and the birth of St Olaf, in 995 (KBCA): and Olaf's death in 1000 (KOCDA; 999, B).

The dates of Olaf's reign are fairly well established: he reigned for 5 years (cf Odd's Olaf's Saga, c. 22; F.S., x, 275; and Konungatal, in Fl., i, 583), from 995 to 1000.

Olaf's Saga (c. 256 in F.S., iii, 11; c. 386 in Fl., i, 496): "It is said that this battle [of Svoldr] was on the second day of the week, the fifth Ides-day of the month of September, one night after the later Mary's-mass" (∴ Monday, 9th September, 1000); "then had passed, from the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, 1000 years: that was in the 8th year of the third decade of the reign of king Æthelred in England, and the 8th" (7th, in Fl.) "year of the reign of Sven Forkbeard, king of the Danes. In the same year died Otho, who third was emperor with that name; and Henry took dominion." (Henry II became emperor in 1002. Æthelred's 28th year was 997-998). See Adam of Bremen, who appears to place the battle in 1000 or 1001; M.G.H., Scriptores, vii, 320.

"King Olaf Tryggvi's son fought on the Long Serpent, the next day after Mary's Mass" Mantissa, c. 2; Origines, i, 269.

Similarly, his Saga (c. 285, F.S., iii, 63) says that Olaf fought in Wendland (just before the battle at Svoldr), when Æthelred had been king in England for 27 years; and that Æthelred reigned for 11 years afterwards (the numbers are 23—read 26?—and 12, in Fl., i, 506, 537). The saga puts Æthelred's reign too early by five years. A.S.C. dates Æthelred's accession in 978 (AC; 979, DEF) and his death in 1016 (CDEF).

After Olaf's death, Hakon's son's Eric and Svein ruled Norway, under Danish and Swedish suzerainty.

Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 139; F.S., i, 276, says that Stefni, son of Thorgils, son of Eilif, son of Helgi Bióla, travelled far with Thorvald Wide-farer: "At last Stefni returned to the North-lands; and he met Olaf Tryggvi's son west beyond the sea, and became his man. He went with king Olaf from the west to Norway." Similarly in c. 238 of the Flatey-book version.

Thorvald Wide-farer was taken in Scotland and enslaved, in the year when Hen-Thori fell, and Arngrim Godi was outlawed: Hen-Thori's Saga, Origines Islandicae, ii, 38.

995

Heimskringla, St Olaf's Saga, c. 96[1]

In [Sigurd's] days, Olaf Tryggvi's son sailed from western piracy with his army. And he lay off the Orkneys, and seized earl Sigurd in [South] Ronaldshay, where [Sigurd] lay with one ship before him. King Olaf offered the earl, to ransom his life, that he should take baptism and the true faith, and become his man, and proclaim Christianity about all the Orkneys. King Olaf took as hostage [Sigurd's] son, who was called Hundi or Hvelp.

Thence Olaf sailed to Norway, and became king there.[2]

Hundi was with king Olaf some winters, and he died there.[3] But afterwards earl Sigurd did no homage to king Olaf; he proceeded to marry the daughter of Malcolm, the Scottish king; and their son was Thorfinn. But earl Sigurd's elder sons were Sumarlidi, Brusi, Einar Wrymouth; and they divided the lands among them, into thirds.

995

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 349[4]

Kenneth, Malcolm's son, king of Scotland, was killed by his subjects.[5]

[1] This, perhaps resting upon Ari's Iarlabók, is probably the most authoritative account of Olaf's dealings with Sigurd and his son.

[2] In 995.

[3] I.e., 997 × 1000.

Shetland also seems to have received Christianity at this time. According to Niál's Saga, c. 100; i, 526: "And king Olaf had christianized the western lands—Shetland, and Orkney, and the Faroes." This was before Thangbrand's mission to Iceland (in 997). Cf. Odd's Olaf's Saga, 48; Ágrip, c. 16 (F.S., x, 317; 393). The Historia Norwegiae says (115-116), after mentioning the flight of earl Hakon's sons: "Meanwhile Olaf was reconciling all his compatriots in the maritime districts to the King of kings; and such as the bishop [John] could not reduce with the spiritual sword, [Olaf] reduced by applying the material sword to the empire of Christ—noble and ignoble, the suckling and the aged. And so it happened that within five years he rendered to Christ all his tributaries:—the Shetlanders, the Orkneymen, the Faroe-men, and the Icelanders; renowned in their faith, rejoicing in their hope, fervent in their charity. . . ." Cf. Færeyinga Saga, c. 42, p. 189.

For bishop John, the most important of the priests brought by Olaf from

971-995

Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, version A; Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 10

Kenneth, Malcolm's son, reigned — — years. He immediately plundered Britain in part. Kenneth's foot-soldiers were slain with very great slaughter, in Moin Vacornar.[1]

The Scots plundered England[2] to Stanemore, and to Cluiam, and to the lakes of Dereham.[3]

And Kenneth walled the banks of the fords of Forthin.[4]

After a year, Kenneth went and plundered England, and carried off the son of the king of the Saxons.

It is he who consigned the great city of Brechin to the Lord.[5]

971-995

Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, versions DFGI; in Skene's Picts and Scots, pp. 152, 174-175, 302, 289[6]

Kenneth, Malcolm's son, reigned for twenty-four years and two months. And he was killed by his own men in Fettercairn,[7]

England, see Adam of Bremen, II, 35; IV, 33 (M.G.H., Scriptores, vii, 319, 383).

[4] Placed in the same year as the death of Ronald, Ivar's grandson († 995); 7 year-sections after the death of Dunstan († 988).

[5] So also in C.S., 234, Hennessy's year 993=995 (but there the words "king of Scotland" are omitted).

A.I., 47, O'Conor's year 977=995 (with f.n. and e. of 995): "The death of Kenneth, Malcolm's son, sovereign of Scotland."

A.U., i, 502, s.a. 994 or 995=995: "Kenneth, Malcolm's son, king of Scotland, was killed by treachery."

[1] In the facsimile, ibid. before p. 3, some mark of contraction stands over the last letter of this name.

Skene in his Celtic Scotland (i, 368) read the name *Moin na Cornar*, and understood by it some moss upon the shores of "the water which gave its name to Abercorn." This is very doubtful.

[2] *Saxoniam*, a Latin rendering of the Old Gaelic *Saxain*.

[3] *ad stangna Dera'm*. The writing of the MS., as it is represented in Skene's facsimile, does not distinguish clearly between the letters *u* and *n*, etc. Skene in his Celtic Scotland read this passage *ad Stanmoir et ad Clivam et ad Stang na Deramy*, and translated it thus: "as far as Stanmore, Cleveland and the pools of Deira," adding, "that is, the part of Northumbria which had been placed as a separate earldom under Eadulf." The whole matter is very obscure, and these identifications seem rather groundless.

[4] I.e. the Forth? But this spelling of that name is unfamiliar.

[5] Here version A of the Chronicle of the Kings ends.

[6] Similarly in K (205-206). N (306) reads: "Kenneth [reigned] for 24

through the treachery of Finella, the daughter of Cunthar,[1] earl[2] of Angus. This Finella's only son had been killed by the aforesaid[3] Kenneth.[4]

971-995

Prose and Verse Chronicles inserted in the Chronicle of Melrose, p. 226, s.a. 969[5]

Culen, the king of the Scots, was killed. And after him, "Kenneth, the son of Malcolm, is said to have reigned in Scotland with renown for twenty-four [years]. He was killed by trickery and craft, at Fettercairn; falling by the deceit of Finella, Cuncar's daughter."[6]

years; and he was killed. And he is buried in the island of Iona." For unexpanded versions, see above, p. cxxxix.

[7] "in Fettercairn" not in K.

[1] *Finuele filie filie Cunthar*, D; *Findle Cunnuchar*, F; *Finuele filie Cunthar*, G (reading *Finiele*, below); *Finuele filie Cunchar*, I. Perhaps = Irish Findguala, Conchobar? But the father's name looks like Welsh *Cincar*.

[2] "thane" K.

[3] For *predictum* in G, read *predictus*.

[4] F adds, *apud Dunismoen;* G, *apud;* I, *apud Dunsion.* Read, "at Dunsinnan," as in Fordun IV, 32?

The Duan Albanach, in Skene's P. & S., 63: "Twenty-seven [years] over every clan had Kenneth, Malcolm's son." (For *a xxuii* read *xxiiii.*)

For the story of Kenneth's duel with king Edgar (E C., 78), cf. the Legend of St Edith; Horstmann, Altenglische Legenden, 19-20.

Fordun (IV, 28) says that the peace with England, inaugurated between king Malcolm and king Edmund (see year 945), continued throughout the reign of Kenneth, and down to the time of William the Conqueror's invasion of England.

[5] Also in P. & S., 179 (B.).

[6] *Nate Cuncari Finibhele fraude cadens.* This should be a pentameter; therefore the woman's name must have three syllables. Stevenson reads *Fimberhele.* B. reads *Finglene.*

The passage within inverted commas is in verse in the original.

After discussing changes in the rule of succession in the empire, Fordun says (Chronica, IV, 29; i, 172): "Hearing these rumours of changes in succession, king Kenneth wished that the custom of succession of his kingdom's ancient kings, who still reigned in a complicated manner, should be abolished; and that after every king a child of his own begetting should be adorned with the diadem of the kingdom, in preference to [all] others.

"And [Kenneth II] himself had a distinguished son, Malcolm by name;

and he resolved with all his endeavours to have the kingdom ensured to him. He established, therefore, with the consent of all the princes," (for *omni* reading *omnium*, with MSS. BEF) "excepting a few supporters of the original succession, that thenceforth every king at his death should be succeeded by a son or daughter, grandson or grand-daughter; or, in the collateral line, by a brother or sister, or at least by the nearest survivor by blood-relationship of the king deceased (even though an infant one day old, since it is said: 'The king's age depends upon his subjects' fidelity'); no law to the contrary thenceforward prevailing."

Fordun, Chronica, IV, 32-33; i, 174-176: "But the princes who supported the other succession hated king Kenneth and his son, asserting that they had been deprived of their anciently accustomed title to succeed. The principal men amongst them—Constantine the Bald, son of king Culen; and Grime, son of Kenneth, son of king Dub—constantly plotted their death, and at last found accomplices to carry out this crime. The daughter of Cruchne" (read Cruthne?) "earl of Angus, consented to their acts and plans. Her name was Finella [*Finele*]; [Kenneth] had long before ordered her only son to be slain at Dunsinnan, I know not whether by severity of the law, or for some deed, or for any other cause. Therefore this crafty woman, eagerly aspiring after the king's death, caused to be made in a remote cottage a kind of trap never seen before. The trap had attached to it on all sides cross-bows [*balistae*], always kept wound up, each with its cord, and fitted with the sharpest bolts" (reading *acutissimis* for *acutissimus*); "and in the middle of them stood a statue like a boy, cunningly attached to the cross-bows, so that if any one touched and moved it in any way he should loosen the catches [*laquei*] of the crossbows on all sides, and immediately be pierced by the bolts discharged.

"Also after completing her work for the accomplishment of this crime, the wicked woman mentioned above kept always a cheerful countenance before the king, and at last deceived him, flattering him with treacherous words. The king went hunting one day with a few followers, not far from his own dwelling, with dogs raising the beasts here and there among the woods. And he chanced to turn aside near the village of Fettercairn, where the traitress lived; and when she saw him she bent her knees, and begged him importunately to go to her house. 'Otherwise,' she said, 'I must necessarily consider that I am suspected by your Majesty's Grace. But God knows, and thou, king, shalt soon know, that although the talk of malignant men repeats many lies about me, I have always been loyal to thee, and always shall be, so long as life remains with me. For I know very well that all that thou hast done recently to my most wicked son was done not undeservedly, but justly.' And she ran up to him and whispered in the king's ear" (reading *susurrat* for *susurra*): "'If but thou wilt come with me, I will expose to thee, my lord, thy betrayers, my cursed son's accomplices, and the manner of their treason; they hoped to associate me with them in their deceit, under an oath; but I refused at once to consent to their wicked treachery. They have forced me, however, to swear, touching the Gospels, that I should never betray their secrets; and

although I promised them this under oath, I should nevertheless have been most false and a traitress to thee, my lord king, to whom before all others is due firm and loyal fealty, if I hid the danger of thy person. For who is unaware that no oath holds against the safety of royal majesty?'

[IV, 33] "Thus did the treacherous woman cunningly beguile the king's mind, and lead him with her, alas! too trustful in her, to the dwelling, in spite of the opposition of all. Why dilate, why dwell upon grievous things? After the king had dismounted from his horse, she led him alone by the hand very swiftly to the house where the trap was concealed. And as if for the purpose of revealing the secrets of the traitors, as she had promised, she closed the door behind them, and showed him the statue, which was the lever of the whole trap. Upon his asking what this statue had to do with him, she answered, smiling: 'My lord king, if any one should touch and move the top of the head of this statue that thou seest, a marvellous and pleasant show will spring from it.'

"Wholly ignorant of the hidden treachery, he drew easily towards him with his hand the head of the machine, and loosened the levers and catches [*ansae*] of the crossbows; so that he was suddenly pierced from all sides by the bolts released, and died without uttering another word.

"Then the traitress went out quickly by the back-door, and hid herself for the time in the shadows of the woods; but soon afterwards she came safely to her supporters. Also the king's followers waited long for his return from the house, and wondered why he delayed there. At last they beat persistently upon the door, and, hearing nothing, in rage broke it open. As soon as they knew of his death, a great outcry was raised, and they ran hither and thither searching for the wicked woman, but in vain; not finding her, and not knowing what to do, they burned the town [*oppidum*] with fire, reducing it to ashes. And they carried away with them the king's blood-stained body" (reading *cruentatum* for *cruentatem*), "and shortly afterwards buried it in royal fashion with his fathers, in Iona.

"About this Kenneth's twentieth year [990], and after [Kenneth] had established the statutes of the succession, Malcolm, Dub's son, [Kenneth's nephew,] regulus of Cumbria, died; and [Kenneth], wishing to appoint his son Malcolm regulus of the same dominion, sent him to the [king] of the English, Æthelred, by whom he was willingly received, under the above-mentioned conditions of fealty and homage. 'Do thou, [Lord, have mercy upon us.]'" (See year 971.)

Fordun's story of Finella is semi-mythical. Tradition in the Mearns says that Finella walked on the tree-tops from Finella Hill, near Fordoun, down to Finella Den, near St Cyrus: this suggests that she was a wholly mythical personage, possibly the stream-goddess of Finella Burn. Perhaps the stream's name (?*find-ela* "white swan") has influenced the form of a woman's name (*Findguala* "white shoulder").

Fordun calls Finella the mother of Macbeth (IV, 44; i, 188); confusing her with Findlaech, Macbeth's father.

995

Berchan's Prophecy, stanzas 167-170, in Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 96

Scotland [will be] without a king thenceforward, until the Fratricide[1] takes [the sovereignty]. Alas, alas, for his enemies; alas for their friends, for a long time!

He will bring the rest into peril; their world will not be visible (?).[2]

Twenty-four years (truly), this is the time of the sovereign; plundering the Gaels in his house, side by side with his enemies.

He will march a step (. . . [3]) to the field of the mountains of the great moor. The Gaels will shout[4] about his head; his slaying will be the end of it.

[1] *an fionnghalach*, "the slayer of a kinsman." This king (reigning for 24 years) appears to be Kenneth II.

[2] *ni ba faigside a sáogal*, MS. *a*; *foigside*, MS. *b*. For *aicside* "visible"? The rhyme is with *báogal*, therefore the last word should be trisyllabic. There is a gap of two lines in this stanza or the next.

[3] *ni chómhaigh*, a cheville (MS. *b* has *ni cómhaigh*) rhyming with *sliabh an mhóir-mhónaidh* in the next line. Read *ní comáid* "not of equal fortune"? The "field . . . of the great moor" (*mór-mhoin*) is perhaps Strathmore.

[4] Or "laugh."

PART XX

Reigns of Constantine III and Kenneth III

×996

Dudo of St Quentin, De Moribus et Actis Normannorum; in Duchesne's Scriptores, p. 138[1]

The English also are obediently subject to Richard [I, duke of Normandy]; the Scots and Irish are ruled by his patronage.[2]

997

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 351[3]

A battle between Scots; and there Constantine, Culennan's son, king of Scotland, fell, and many others.[4] . . .

Malcolm, Donald's son, king of the Britons of the north, died.[5]

995-997

Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, version D; in Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 152

Constantine, Culen's son, reigned for one year and six months. And he was killed by Kenneth, Malcolm's

[1] From a speech put into the mouth of Richard's enemy, Theobald, count of Chartres.

[2] *Patrocinio.*

This passage is copied by Benoît de Sainte-Maure, ii, 174-175: "All the English obey him; they of Scotland cherish him."

[3] Placed 9 years after the death of Dunstan († 988).

[4] C.S., 234, Hennessy's year 995=997: "A battle between Scots, and Constantine, Culen's son, was killed there, and others."

Annals of Clonmacnoise, 163, s.a. 990=997: "The Scottish men in battle slew their own king, Constantine; and many others."

[5] I.e., of Cumbria.

So also in C.S., u.s.; and in A U., i, 504, s.a. 996 or 997=997.

Annals of Clonmacnoise, u.s.: "Malcolm, Donald's son, king of the North Wales" (read "Welsh"), "died."

son, in Rathinveramon[1]; and was buried in the island of Iona.[2]

995-997

Prose and Verse Chronicles inserted in the Chronicle of Melrose, p. 226, s.a. 994[3]

Kenneth, king of the Scots, was slain; after whom, [Constantine the Bald, Culen's son, [became] king of the Scots[4]].

"King Constantine, Culen's son, was slain by the sword, at the head of the river Almond,[5] in Tegalere[6]; having ruled as king for one year and a half. Kenneth, the son of Malcolm, struck him."[7]

[1] *Rathveramoen*, in F; *Rathinveramon*, DGI. This was "the fort at the mouth of the river Almond," according to S.C.S., i, 381. See the Verse Chronicle, below.

[2] Similarly in versions FGI (175, 302, 289); but K (206) omits the places of Constantine's death and burial. N reads (306): "Constantine [reigned] for 2 years; and he was killed, and buried in the island of Iona."

Constantine's successor, Kenneth Dub's son, is omitted in version D.

The Duan Albanach, in P. & S., 63: "Seven years of Constantine the squinter."

[3] Also in P. & S., 179 (B.).

[4] A 13th-century addition.

[5] *Ad caput amnis Aven*, in Stevenson's ed.; the MS. has *am*[*on*] (blotted). These words form the first half of a pentameter; therefore the last syllable of the river's name is scanned as a long syllable. B. reads *Amon*.

[6] *In Teg ale re*, scanned *Tĕgălērĕ*. B. reads: *In jus regale*, which does not scan.

[7] The passage within inverted commas is in verse in the original.

Fordun (IV, 34) says that in 994 "Constantine the Bald, Culen's son, . . . usurped the royal throne, despising the public constitution"; some of the nobles supported the just claims of Malcolm. Malcolm's uncle, Kenneth, fought against Constantine. "They met . . . in Lothian, near the banks of the river Almond"; and both the leaders were killed. Constantine's army fled to "Gryme, son of Kenneth, son of Dub." Gryme made himself king in 996, and reigned for $8\frac{1}{4}$ years. Malcolm, who had gone to Cumbria, returned, and fought against Gryme; and killed him (IV, 38). Malcolm convoked the princes of the realm, and was crowned, in 1004. See year 1005.

995-997

Berchan's Prophecy, stanzas 171-174, in Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 97

A king will take [the sovereignty], who will not be king; after him, Scotland will be nothing. It will be the weak[1] following the strong; though true is what my lips relate.

A king with reproach above his head (?)[2]; alas for Scotland during his short time! Feeble men will be about him, in the region of Scone, of melodious shields.

A year and a half (a bright space), that will be his whole reign; from taking Gaels[3] he will go to death; he falls, his people fall.

He will fight great battles in Scotland; by the disgrace of his head he will destroy colours.[4] He will be in communion of battle, from Stirling to Abertay.[5]

998

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 504, s.a. 997 or 998 = 998[6]

Dubdaleithe, successor of Patrick and of Columcille, ended his life in the eighty-third year of his age, on the fifth day[7] before the Nones of June.[8]

[1] *an fann.* This reign (1½ years) seems to be that of Constantine III, Culen's son.

[2] *Ri conaitis uachtar chinn*, MS *a*; *con aitis*, MS. *b*, with O'Connell's conjecture "*aithis uactair*, perhaps": but possibly read *uasa* for *uachtar?* Cf. line 2 of stanza 174.

[3] *do ghabhail gaoidheal*, MS. *a*. In MS. *b* O'Connell suggests "*Do ghabhail Giall* perhaps?" (i.e. "from taking hostages"). Read *ghiall* "hostages"?

[4] *rí aithes chinn clufidh dhathu.* But for this similarity with stanza 172, line 1, this stanza might refer to the next king's reign. For the rhyming syllables *catha*, *datha*, read *cath*, *dath*; and translate:—"He will wage a great war in Scotland; with shame (?) upon his head, he will change colour [= die?]; in the rout (?) of battle he will be, from Stirling to Abertay"?

[5] *de sruth-linn frisi anabar tóe*, rhyming with *he* in the previous line: there is a syllable too many; therefore read *frí h-abar-té* (the last syllable being unstressed), i.e., Dunaverty? MS. *b* has *fria a nabar Toe.* The writers of both MSS. thought the place to be Aber-Tay. See above, year 712. The boundary facing Danish Northumbria would have run from Stirling to Tentsmuir (Abertay Sands).

[6] With f.n. and e. of 998.

[7] *i quint noin iuin;* read (with Hennessy) *quart* for *quint*, i.e. "the fourth before the Nones," or 2nd June.

999

Heimskringla, Olaf Tryggvi's son, c. 87 [1]

King Godfrey, son of Eric Bloodaxe and Gunnhild, had been in warfare in the west lands [2] since he had fled from the land in Norway before earl Hakon; but in this summer, of which we have spoken already,[3] when king Olaf Tryggvi's son had ruled Norway for four winters, Godfrey came to Norway; and he had many warships. He had then sailed out from England.[4] . . .

999

Annals of the Four Masters, vol. ii, p. 740, s.a. 998=999

Dungal, Kenneth's son, was killed by Gillacoimgin, Kenneth's son.[5]

[8] F.M., ii, 738, s.a. 998=999 (and "the 20th year of Maelsechlaind" as sovereign of Ireland): "Dubdaleithe, Cellach's son, successor of Patrick and of Columcille, died on the 2nd of June, in the eighty-third year of his life."

C.S., 236, Hennessy's year 996: "Dubdaleithe, successor of Patrick and Columcille, reposed." He had become abbot of Armagh in 965.

[1] The same passage is in Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 222 (F.S., ii, 216; cf. Fl., i, 432).

[2] The British Islands.

[3] The summer [999] in which Leif sailed from Greenland to Norway [by the Hebrides]; Olaf's Saga, c. 221, p. 215.

Godfrey, Eric's son, left Orkney 4 winters after Olaf Tryggvi's son had become king in Norway: Olaf's Saga, c. 222; F.S., ii, 216 (Fl., i, 432).

[4] Fl. omits the last sentence, reading instead "and a great force."

Godfrey sailed along Norway's shore to the Vik; he landed there, but was overcome by trickery, and killed. He was the last of Eric's sons (F.S., ii, 216-217).

[5] A daughter of a son of Gillacoimgin married Cathal, Amalgaid's son, king of West Leinster (in reality, of East Leinster? According to F.M., ii, 828-830, s.a. 1034=1035, he was lord of Ui-Cellaig-Cualann); and was killed, along with her husband, by Cellach, Duncan's son (and by the son of Aed, son of Tuathal: F.M.), in 1035 (see A.U., i, 570; A.L.C., i, 36: both s.a. 1035).

Dungal and Gillacoimgin may possibly have been sons of Kenneth II (†995) and Kenneth III (†1005); but this is by no means certain. The feud seems to have been continued by the family of Boite, another son (possibly) of Kenneth III, on the one side; and by Malcolm II, son of Kenneth II, on the other side. See year 1033, note.

Boite's grandson was killed by Malcolm II in 1033. Boite's daughter,

999[1]

1000[2]

1005

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, pp. 512, 514; s.a. 1004 or 1005 = 1005[3]

. . . Ronald, Godfrey's son, king of the islands,[4] . . . Maelbrigte, Rimid's grandson, abbot of Iona,[5] . . . [rested] in Christ. . . .

A battle [was fought] between men of Scotland on either side; and in it the king of Scotland, Kenneth, Dub's son, fell.[6]

Gruoch, had previously married Gillacomgain, the pretender of the Moray house; and he had been killed in 1032. She afterwards married Gillacomgain's cousin, Macbeth, who had succeeded to the Moray claim. This union of the faction of Kenneth's descendants with the supporters of the Moray family was so strong that Macbeth succeeded in making himself king of Scotland. He killed Malcolm II's grandson, Duncan, in 1040. Macbeth was succeeded by Lulach, the son of Gruoch and Gillacomgain; and Lulach was killed by Duncan's son, Malcolm III, in 1058.

The feud was continued by Maelsnechtai († 1085), Lulach's son; by Angus († 1130), a son of Lulach's daughter; and by Wimund, who claimed to be the son of Angus. See year 1154, note.

[1] According to B.S. in M.A., 659, "Dublin was devastated by the Scots" in 999. This was the sack of Dublin by Brian Boroime, Cendétig's son, king of Cashel, in 999; after he had defeated the Foreigners and Leinstermen, and killed Harold, Olaf's son, and Culen, son of Etigen (? Echtigern) (A.U., C.S.). Brian expelled from Dublin king Olaf, Sigtrygg's son (T., C.S.). The Foreigners submitted to Brian and returned to Dublin, in the following year (1000).

[2] According to Fordun (IV, 35), king Æthelred's invasion of Cumbria in 1000 resulted from a refusal by Malcolm, Kenneth's son, the king of Cumbria (see year 995), to compel his subjects to contribute to the Danish tribute. This is probably a conjecture based upon existing sources. The district invaded was a stronghold of the Danes; perhaps the Scots had failed to keep it in subjection.

[3] With f.n. and e. of 1005, and an erroneous marginal note "bissextile."

[4] Similarly in D.A.I, 57, O'Conor's year 1004.

Cf. C.S., 242, Hennessy's year 1003=1005: "Ronald, the king of the island[s], son of Godfrey, son of Harold, died."

[5] F.M., ii, 752, s.a. 1004=1005 (and "the 3rd year of Brian"): "Maelbrigte, Rimid's grandson, the abbot of Iona, died."

[6] C.S., u.s.: "Kenneth, king of Scotland, son of Dub, son of Malcolm, was killed by Malcolm, Kenneth's son."

D.K., 4, note 23, suggests that Malcolm II began to reign in the beginning of the year 1005, which he says began on March 25th. But in the Irish annals the year began on January 1st.

997-1005

Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, version B; Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 29[1]

Kenneth, Dub's son, reigned for eight years.[2]

997-1005

Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, version F; Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 175

Giric, son of Kenneth, son of Dub, [reigned] for eight years. He was killed by Kenneth's son in Monzievaird[3]; and was buried in Iona.[4]

997-1005

Prose and Verse Chronicles inserted in the Chronicle of Melrose, p. 226, s.a. 995[5]

Constantine, king of the Scots, was slain; and after him [Grim, or Kenneth, son of Dub, [became] king of the Scots[6]]. "For the space of eight years, king Grim reigned, the son of Kenneth, who was the son of Dub. The place where he was slaughtered by Kenneth's son, named Malcolm, is held to be the Plain of Bards."[7]

[1] Also in Todd's Irish Nennius, p. lxxvii.

[2] Cf. above, p. cxxxix.

[3] *Moeghauard*, F; *Moegohanard*, G; *Morgoauerd*, I. These forms may stand for *mag-in-baird*, "bard's plain." The Verse Chronicle names this place "plain of bards." Berchan's description fixes the locality. Monzievaird (formerly Monivaird) is near the Earn, between Crieff and Comrie. Cf. Inchaffray, 324.

[4] Similarly in versions G I (302, 289). K reads (206): "Giric, son of Kenneth, son of Dub, [reigned] for 9 years; and he was killed by Malcolm, Kenneth's son." N omits this reign.

The Duan Albanach (Skene's P. & S., 63) says: "And four [years] of the son of Dub."

Giric (called also, erroneously, Grim) seems to have ruled over some district, under his father, Kenneth. This, at least, would explain the variations among the different accounts of the period of Kenneth's reign.

[5] Also in P. & S., i, 179-180 (MS. B).

[6] A 13th-century addition.

[7] *Bardorum campus habetur.* Fordun (below) renders this Auchnebard. The passage within inverted commas is in verse in the original. Malcolm, Kenneth's son (see year 1000), was Giric's successor.

Fordun's account (IV, 38; i, 180-181) seems to rest upon tradition:

1005

Berchan's Prophecy, stanzas 175-178, in Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 98

[Sovereignty] will be taken by the Brown,[1] who will distribute horses,[2] and will rout battalions among the English. He will take possession on a day of battle; I shall remember his eulogies.

He will be proud, in the kingdom in the east; for a short time he will be over Scotland. He will be mighty [in going] out against his enemies; the Brown from the castle of violent battle.[3]

The Brown will have eight years and a half (a bright space)

". . . But the people more gladly favoured the deeds that were done by [Malcolm, Kenneth's son], than those that were done by the king [Gryme, son of Kenneth, son of Duf]. . . . Supported by this favour of the people, and moved by the instigation of certain nobles, he immediately sent to the king by messengers a command that he should choose one of two things:— either to vacate the royal seat, and lay aside the crown, which he had hitherto, like his predecessor, unjustly held; or else to commit themselves to the just judgement of God, regarding which of them should, by whatever right, be subject to the other; and fight, either in a pitched battle, both supported by companies of warriors; or, if he pleased, in single combat.

"Gryme was much angered by this; and considering that [Malcolm] could not resist him, he set out to fight with him at once, along with the followers in whom he trusted. And on the other side, Malcolm went boldly to meet him, with the same purpose; with few men, but well chosen. And he came to a suitable field for fighting, called Auchnebard. There they met, placing their standards on both sides; and they fought a cruel battle, between great armies. The king, fighting bravely, was at last fatally wounded, and carried by his followers quickly from the battle. And he died the same night.

"All the rest on his side saw this, and fled; and so by this happy issue Malcolm obtained a triumph, and the kingdom. On the following day, after hearing the truth of the king's death, he bade [Gryme's] friends fear nothing, but carry his remains, and bury them in the kings' tomb in the island of Iona."

[1] *an donn.* This reign ($8\frac{1}{2}$ years) seems to be that of Kenneth III.

[2] *dháilfes graicc*, rhyming with *Saxanchoibh.* MS. *b* reads *graigh*, as the rhyme requires: literally "will divide a herd of horses." The same expression in stanzas 195, 203, is used with regard to Malcolm II and Donald Bán. It may refer to the establishment of feudal tenure; the vassal received a horse from his suzerain.

[3] *in donn as dúnchath críadhach.*

in sovereignty; a short while, alas! until the Gaels turn again against him.

The Gaels gather, on the day when they will remain with us,[1] about him on his gory bed, between two valleys, not far from the banks of Earn.

[1] *illo no mairfid linne* | *na lighe cró*, MS. *a*: "on the day when they shall be the survivors"? O'Connell suggests in the margin of MS. *b*, *mairbhfid* "they shall die."

PART XXI

Reign of Malcolm II; and the Danish Conquest

1005 [1]

1006

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 516, s.a. 1005 or 1006 = 1006 [2]

A battle [was fought] between the men of Scotland and the Saxons. And the rout was upon the Scots; and they left behind them a slaughter of their good men.[3]

[1] According to Fordun (IV, 39), "in almost the first days after his coronation," Malcolm II defeated a great army of Norwegian invaders; and in his seventh year (IV, 40: i.e. 1011-1012; but according to Fordun, 1010), in gratitude for his success, established a "new episcopal see at Mortlach, not far from the place in which he had defeated the Norwegians, and obtained the victory." Cf. above, p. 433; Aberdeen, i, pp. xvii, 3 (a spurious charter); H. and S., ii, 154; D.K., 2.

[2] With f.n. and e. of 1006.

[3] Cf. S.D., in E.C., 80.

Immediately before this passage in A.U. there is a description of an expedition made by king Brian round Ireland. The writer of the Wars of the Irish with the Foreigners seems to have misunderstood the present passage, and deduced from it that Brian overcame the Scots and the Saxons. After describing Brian's expedition of 1006, he says (R.S. 48, 136):

"He sent afterwards a fleet of ships upon the sea:—the Foreigners of Dublin, and of Waterford, and of the Ui-Cendselaig" (i.e. of Ferns; a diocese that included Wexford, and parts of Wicklow, and of Carlingford; Hogan), "and of the Ui-Echach of Munster; and most of the men of Ireland, those of them who were able to go to sea. And they took king's tribute from Saxons and Britons, and from Lennox, and Scotland, and all Argyle; and took from them hostages, and prisoners, as well as the large tribute."

This passage, unsupported by other authorities, has no historical value. No mention is made of Brian's exactions in Britain by any other chronicle. See the accounts of Brian's campaign given by A.U. (i, 514-516); C.S. (242-244; Hennessy's year 1004 = 1006); A.I. (O'Conor's year 988, but with f. and e. of 1006); F.M., ii, 754-756, s.a. 1005 = 1006.

The writer of the Wars in recording Brian's death at Clontarf calls him (208): "Brian Boroime, son of Cendétig, son of Lorcan; sovereign of

1007

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 518, s.a. 1006 or 1007 = 1007 [1]

Muiredach, Crichan's son, abandoned for God [2] the succession of Columcille.

The fair of Teltown was restored by Maelsechlaind. Ferdomnach assumed the successorship of Columcille, by counsel of the Irish in that fair.

The great gospel of Columcille was wickedly stolen in the night, from the western [3] sacristy of the great stone church of Kells. [It was] the chief relic of the west of the world, because of its decorated cover. After two months and twenty days,[4] this gospel was found; its gold having been stolen from it,[5] and a turf [laid] over it.[6]

Ireland, and Scotland, and of Saxons, and Britons, and of the west of Europe"; and quotes in support of this statement a *debide* stanza, which says that Brian had been king of the Saxons, and had gained renown in his dealings with the [Norman] French. This exaggeration of his power resulted from the fame of his battles.

[1] With f.n. and e. of 1007.

[2] *ar Dhia;* i.e., "to become a recluse" (Hennessy); or, "to be a céledé"?

[3] "western" not in C.S.

[4] C.S. reads "after a quarter"; and omits the previous sentence.

[5] "and its silver" adds C.S.

[6] The whole passage appears similarly in F.M., ii, 758, s.a. 1006=1007 (and "the fifth year of Brian" as sovereign of Ireland). The theft and recovery of Columba's Gospel is told similarly in C.S., 244; Hennessy's year 1005=1007.

This gospel was one of the often-mentioned "relics of Columcille." It has been supposed to be the beautifully decorated manuscript now known as the "Book of Kells": but this is mere conjecture. For its traditional history, see A.U., i, 52-54, s.a. 552=553 (with f.n. of 553): "Thus I have found in Cuanu's Book:—'The relics of Patrick were put into a shrine, at the end of 60 years after Patrick's death, by Columcille. Three noble relics were found in the tomb; namely, his cup, and the Angel's Gospel, and the Bell of the Bequest. Thus did the angel divide the relics for Columcille:—the cup, to Down[patrick]; and the Bell of the Bequest, to Armagh; and the Angel's Gospel, to Columcille himself. It is called the Angel's Gospel for this reason, because it was from the angel's hand that Columcille received it.'" (For Patrick's bell, see Coffey's Guide to the Celtic Antiquities of the Christian Period in the National Museum, Dublin, pp. 47-48. Cf. W. Reeves, Five Chromolithographic Drawings (Belfast, 1850). For Patrick's use of bells, cf. the Book of Armagh, ed. Gwynn, p. 16.)

There may still have been an abbot in Iona at this time. Hallfrod Ottar's son, Vandrædaskáld, according to his Saga, ". . . died, and was

1008

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, pp. 518-520; s.a. 1007 or 1008 = 1008[1]

Ferdomnach, the successor of Kells, . . . slept in Christ.[2]

1009

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 520; s.a. 1008 or 1009 = 1009[3]

. . . Maelmuire, Uchtan's grandson, successor of Kells, died.[4]

1011

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 524, s.a. 1010 or 1011 = 1011[5]

. . . Muiredach, Crichan's son, Columcille's successor, and lector of Armagh, slept in Christ.[6]

laid in a coffin, and his treasures with him: mantle, helmet, and ring. And all together were cast over-board. The coffin came to the Holy Island, in the Hebrides; and the abbot's servants [*sveinar*] found it. They broke open the coffin, and stole the treasure, and sank the body in a great swamp." King Olaf [Tryggvi's son] appeared to the abbot in a dream, and exposed the evil deed. Vigfusson and Möbius, Fornsögur (1860), 114-115. Asmundarson's Hallfridar Saga (1901), 46-47. For Hallfrod, see J.S., i, A, 155-173; B, 147-163. His death is there placed ca. 1007.

[1] With f.n. and e. of 1008, and the marginal note "bissextile."

[2] A.I., under O'Conor's year 990 = 1008 (with ferial of 1008; in Scriptores, ii, **2**, 52), and C.S., Hennessy's year 1006 = 1006 (R.S. **46**, 246), read: Ferdomnach, Columcille's successor, reposed." F.M., ii, 758, s.a. 1007 = 1008: "Ferdomnach, Columcille's successor in Kells, . . . died."

[3] With f.n. and e. of 1009; but with erroneous marginal note "bissextile."

[4] Similarly in F.M., ii, 760, s.a. 1008 = 1009. Perhaps instead of "Uchtan's grandson" we should read "Ua-Uchtain." Cf. years 1034, 1040.

[5] With f.n. and e. of 1011.

[6] F.M., ii, 762, s.a. 1010 = 1011 (and the "9th year of Brian," sovereign of Ireland): "Muiredach, Crichan's son, successor of Columcille and of Adamnan" (i.e., abbot of Iona—cf. year 1025—and of Raphoe), "scholar, and bishop, and virgin, lector of Armagh, and successor-elect [*adhbhar comharba*] of Patrick," (i.e. abbot-elect of Armagh?) "died, after the seventy-fourth year of his life, on the fifth day before the Kalends of January—the night of Saturday, to be precise—;" (i.e., in the evening of Friday, 28th December, 1011) "and he was buried, with honour and reverence, in the great stone church in Armagh, in front of the altar."

There was an epidemic disease ("boils and colic") at Armagh, from November [1011] to May [1012]. See C.S., 246-248, Hennessy's year 1010 = 1012; A.U., i, 524, s.a. 1011 or 1012 = 1012; F.M., ii, 764, s.a. 1011 = 1012.

× 1014

Flateybook's Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, c. 444; Flateyiarbók, vol. i, p. 558[1]

Tale of earls Einar, Thorfinn, Somerled.

A little while after king Olaf, Tryggvi's son, and earl Sigurd, Hlodve's son, had made peace, the earl proceeded to marry the daughter of Malcolm, the king of the Scots; and their son was earl Thorfinn. Earl Sigurd had three other sons: one was called Brusi; another, Sumarlidi; the third, Einar Wry-mouth.

× 1014

Eyrbyggia Saga, c. 29, pp. 103-104

A man was called Thorodd[2]; he was of a family from Medal-fells-strond, a man of repute. He was a great leader, and had ships voyaging. Thorodd had sailed on the merchant-expedition west to Ireland, to Dublin.

At that time Sigurd Hlodve's son earl of the Orkneys had plundered into the Hebrides, and as far west as Man. He laid a tax upon the inhabited lands of Man. And when they had made terms, the earl left men behind to wait for the tribute; and it was paid mostly in refined silver. And the earl sailed up north to the Orkneys.

But when those who had waited for the tribute were ready to sail, a south-westerly gale came upon them; and when they had sailed a while, the gale turned to the south-east and east, and there was a great storm, and they were carried north about Ireland; and the ship was broken to pieces there, upon an uninhabited island.

And when they had come to this, Thorodd the Icelander came upon them as he sailed from Dublin. The earl's men called upon the merchants to help them. Thorodd put out a boat, and went there himself. And when they met, the earl's men bade Thorodd help them; and offered him a reward for it, if he would carry them home to the Orkneys, to earl Sigurd; but Thorodd thought that could not be done, because he was bound for the voyage to Iceland. But they pressed him urgently, because they thought that their treasure and freedom

[1] Also in Vigfusson's O.S., i, 16; c. 13.

[2] Cf. Landnámabók, Sturlubók version, c. 138, p. 169.

depended on this, that they should not be taken up to Ireland or the Hebrides, where they had previously been plundering. And so it came about that he sold them the boat from the sea-going ship, and received a great part of the tribute. Then [the earl's men] proceeded in the boat to the Orkneys, and Thorodd sailed boatless to Iceland, and came from the south to the land; then he proceeded westward and sailed in at Breidafiordr, and came safely to Dogurdarnes. And he went in autumn to Helgafell, to dwell with Snorri Godi. He was thenceforth called Thorodd Tax-barterer. . . .[1]

1012-1014

Thorstein Side-Hall's son's Saga; Samfund, no. 29, pp. 215-216[2]

Thorstein sailed out, and came to the Orkneys. At that time earl Sigurd, Hlodve's son, ruled over the Orkneys; he welcomed Thorstein well, and invited him to [visit] him; and [Thorstein] was with the earl during the winter, well esteemed.

And when spring[3] came, the earl asked Thorstein whether he would go with him on warfare, or would remain behind. Thorstein chose to go; and he was a forecastleman on the earl's ship, and was the most valiant man on shipboard, as if he had been accustomed to that occupation.

[1] Thorodd married Thurid, sister of Snorri Godi.

According to Vatnsdœla Saga, c. 43 (Fornsögur, 69; Reitan's translation, 92), Biorn, an eastern man (Norwegian), and Thorkel Krafla, Thorgrim's son († ca. 1008), a relative of Sigurd Hlodve's son, went to Orkney, while Sigurd was earl there (× 1012); and next summer plundered with Sigurd widely in Scotland. Thorkel was 12 years old when he went to Orkney (c. 42; Fornsögur, 67; but only 11 years, according to Melabók; ibid., 194).

Gunnlaug Serpent's-tongue († ca. 1008) is said to have been with Sigurd in the Orkneys (× 1012). See Gunnlaugs Saga Ormstungu, c. 12; 1911 ed., 41; Islendinga Sögur (1847), ii, 264-265.

Flatey-book has a fabulous story of life in the Orkneys during the earldom of Sigurd, Hlodve's son. The persons concerned are Ulf the Bad, of Sanday, and his daughter Helga; Harold of North Ronaldshay, and his son Helgi. Fl., iii, 457-459; R.S. 88, i, 342-344 (translated ibid. iii, 369-371).

[2] Also in Möbius, Analecta Norrœna, 169-170; and R.S. 88, i, 340-341.

[3] Spring of 1013.

Thorstein was a shrewd man, and wise, and brave. And the earl asked him to be long with him, since he acknowledged his family, and he knew the relationship between them: because Thorey, Ozur's daughter, was Side-Hall's mother; and Ozur was the son of Hrollaug, son of Ronald of Mærr. Earl Turf-Einar was the son of earl Ronald of Mærr, and father of earl Thorfinn Skull-cleaver, the father of earl Hlodve, the father of earl Sigurd.

And earl Sigurd plundered widely in Scotland in the summer; and no man challenged Thorstein's courage and valour; two things spared Thorstein that—his birth, and his fortitude. The earl slew many low-born people,[1] and some fled up into the woods; and the earl went widely about the western lands, and they burned them.

Late in autumn, he went home to the Orkneys, and rested then for three months, and gave good gifts to his friends. Then the earl spoke to Thorstein: "Thou hast given me good support, and manful. Receive from me a gilded axe; it befits thee to bear it." Thorstein thanked the earl, because that was the greatest treasure.

That autumn came Burning-Flosi and his men to the Orkneys; and their affairs with earl Sigurd went as is said in Niál's saga.

That winter, earl Sigurd prepared to go to Ireland. And then he fought with king Brian. And that battle has been the most famous in the west beyond the sea, both because of the numbers who fought in it, and because of the importance of the result.

And when the earl was preparing to go from home, he asked Thorstein whether he would go. Thorstein said that nothing else was fitting than that he should go, and follow him into the danger: "Since we think it good to have comfort with you, in peace."

The earl thanked him for his words. After that, they went to Ireland, and fought with king Brian; and at once great tidings occurred there, as is said in his saga.[2]

[1] *margt ó-thjóða-folk.*

[2] I.e. "the earl's saga"? No Saga of Brian has been preserved.

1013

Niál's Saga, c. 153; Gíslason's Njála, vol. i, pp. 872-876[1]

Now we have to take up the tale where Flosi[2] is; [and say] that they rode east to Hornafiordr. Flosi was followed by very nearly all the men in his district. They carried east their wares, and all the other baggage and luggage that they had to take to sea with them. Then they prepared for their journey, and made ready their ship. Flosi was now there with the ship until they were ready. And as soon as there was a favourable wind they put out to sea.

They had a long voyage, and bad weather. Then they went quite astray. Once they met some great waves three at a time; then Flosi said that they must be somewhere in neighbourhood of land, and these were breakers. There was much fog, and the storm increased so much that a great gale blew on them, and they saw nothing till it threw them up on land one night. And the men were saved, but the ship broke all to splinters, and they could save none of their possessions. They had to look for shelter. But on the day after they went up to a certain height: the weather was then good.

Flosi asked if any man knew this land. There were two men who had sailed before, and they said that they knew it certainly, "and we have come to the Orkneys, on Hrossey." "We might have made a better landing," said Flosi, "because Helgi, Niál's son, whom I slew, was a guardsman of earl Sigurd Hlodve's son."

Then they looked for a hiding-place, and plucked moss to [cover] themselves, and lay so for a while. But it was not long before Flosi said: "We must not be here longer, for the people of the land to find us." Then they stood up and took counsel. Then Flosi spoke to his men: "We must all go into the earl's power; nothing else avails us: because the earl has our lives at his disposal, if that is what he wishes to look for."

So they all went out from there. Flosi said that they must give tidings to no man, nor tell of their journey, before he told it to the earl. Then they went to where they found men, who

[1] Also in R.S. 88, i, 325-326. Jónsson's ed., 399-400; Dasent's c. 152.

[2] Flosi was the blameless leader of the burners of Niál. See above, p. 503, note.

directed them to the earl. So they went before the earl, and Flosi and all the others greeted him. The earl asked what men they were. Flosi named himself, and said from what district of Iceland he was. The earl had heard before of the burning, and so he recognized the men at once. Then the earl asked Flosi: "What sayest thou to me of Helgi, Niál's son, my guardsman?" "This," said Flosi, "that I hewed the head from him." The earl said: "Take them all." And so it was done.

Just then, Thorstein, Side-Hall's son, arrived. Flosi had married Steinvor, Thorstein's sister. Thorstein was one of earl Sigurd's body-guards. And when Thorstein saw Flosi a prisoner, he went to the earl and offered for Flosi all the goods that he had. The earl was long most angry, and most difficult [to move]; but at length by the persuasions of good men it was so arranged with Thorstein (because he was well backed by friends, and many went to plead on his side) that the earl made an agreement with them, and gave peace to Flosi and to them all. The earl held to that custom of powerful men, so that Flosi took up the same position as Helgi Niál's son had had. So Flosi became one of earl Sigurd's body-guard; and he soon obtained great friendship with the earl.

1010 × 1014

Niál's Saga, cc. 154-155; Gíslason's Njála, vol. i, pp. 876-884[1]

Kari and Kolbein the Black put out from Eyrar, half a month later than Flosi from Hornafiordr. They had a fair wind, and were a short time out. They touched at Fair Isle[2]; it is between Shetland and Orkney. Kari was received by the man who was called Dagfinn the White. He told Kari all about the journeys of Flosi and his followers, exactly after the true account he had had of them. He was the greatest friend to Kari; and Kari was with him for the winter.

They had there during the winter news from the west, from Hrossey, of all that was being done there.

Earl Sigurd invited to him at Yule earl Gilli from the Hebrides, his brother-in-law. [Earl Gilli] had Svanlaug, earl Sigurd's sister, as his wife.

[1] Also in R.S. 88, i, 326-329. Jónsson's ed., 401-406. Dasent's cc. 153-154.

[2] *Friðarey.*

Then came to earl Sigurd also the king that was called Sigtrygg. He was from Ireland. He was the son of Olaf Cuaran, and his mother was called Gormflaith. She was the fairest of all women, and most successful in everything that was not under her control; but it was the talk of men that everything had gone badly with her that was under her control.

Brian was the name of the king who had married her; but they were then parted, because he was the most generous of all kings. He sat in Connaught castle. His brother was Ulf Disquiet, the greatest hero and warrior.[1] King Brian's foster-son was called Toirdelbach.[2] . . .

Gormflaith was not the mother of Brian's children. And she had become so bitter against king Brian after their parting, that she would gladly have had him dead. . . . Gormflaith urged greatly her son Sigtrygg to slay king Brian. She sent him therefore to earl Sigurd, to ask him for an army.

King Sigtrygg came to the Orkneys before Yule. Earl Gilli also came there at that time, as was written before. The men were so placed that king Sigtrygg sat in the middle on the high-seat, and the two earls on either side of him. The men of king Sigtrygg and of earl Gilli sat beyond earl Gilli, on the inner side; and on the outer side, beyond earl Sigurd, sat Flosi and Thorstein, Side-Hall's son. And all the hall was filled. . . .[3]

[1] This brother of Brian is not an historical personage.

[2] *Kerthiálfaðr*, in the sagas. This was Toirdelbach, son of Murchaid, son of Brian.

[3] Sigtrygg and Gilli wished to hear the story of Niál's burning. Gunnar Lambi's son was asked to tell it. He twisted it to the discredit of Niál's sons. Kari, Kolbein, and Dagfinn the White, meanwhile arrived in Orkney mainland; Kari overheard Gunnar's perversion of the tale; he entered and struck off Gunnar's head. The head fell before the king and earls; blood poured on the table and on the earl's clothing. Earl Sigurd said: "Take Kari and kill him"; but none stirred. Kari escaped and was not pursued. "They sailed south to Caithness, and went up to Freswick [*Thrasvík*] to the nobleman who was called Skeggi; and they were with him very long" (c. 155, p. 883).

Sigtrygg and Sigurd praised Kari's daring, and Flosi told the story of the Burning.

There is a parallel incident to that of Gunnar's death, in Asbiorn Sigurd's son's killing of Seal-Thori; H., St Olaf, c. 118 (Unger's c. 124). Both stories are drawn from the story-tellers' stock; and neither is historical.

Then king Sigtrygg waked to his errand with earl Sigurd, and asked him to go to join him in battle against king Brian. The earl hung back long, but at last it came about that he made a condition, that if they killed Brian he should have [Sigtrygg's] mother, and be king of Ireland afterwards. They all were dissuading earl Sigurd from going, but it availed nothing. They parted upon these terms, that earl Sigurd promised to go; and king Sigtrygg promised [Sigurd] his mother and the kingdom. It was arranged that earl Sigurd should have come with all his army to Dublin by Palm-Sunday.[1]

1014

Niál's Saga, c. 157; Gíslason's Njála, vol. i, pp. 891-898[2]

Earl Sigurd, Hlodve's son, prepared to go from the Orkneys. Flosi offered to go with him; [but] the earl did not

[1] Gormflaith was pleased with the bargain, but sent Sigtrygg to get more help. "She said that two vikings were lying off the west of Man, and had thirty ships; 'and [are] so valiant that nothing withstands them. One is called Uspak, the other Brodir. Thou must go to them; and let nothing be lacking to get them on thy side, whatever they may ask'" (c. 155, p. 885). Sigtrygg found them off Man; he induced Brodir to join him before Palm-Sunday, by promising to him also Gormflaith's hand and the kingdom. Uspak would not join him. "Uspak had ten ships, and Brodir twenty. Uspak was a heathen, and the wisest of all men" (c. 155, p. 887). Brodir was an apostate and a sorcerer. Ominous portents showed Uspak that Brodir was doomed. Uspak went to Connaught and told Brian everything; and Brian collected his forces for the week before Palm-Sunday. Uspak was baptized (c. 156; pp. 887-891).

[2] Also in R.S. **88**, i, 332-334. Jónsson's ed., 408-412. Dasent's c. 156.

This account from Niál's Saga has very little historical value. There are some similar incidents in the account given by Thorstein Side-Hall's son's Saga; Samfund, **29**, 216-217; Möbius, 170-171; R.S. **88**, i, 341-342.

The earliest authority for the death of king Brian is Marianus Scottus, s.a. 1036=1014 (M.G.H., Scriptores, v, 555). He says that Brian was killed on Good Friday, the 23rd of April (therefore in 1014; Good Friday had not been so late since 919).

The Irish authorities for the battle of Clontarf are A.I., s.a. [1014] (with ferial and epact of 1014; O'Conor's year 996), in O'Conor's Scriptores, ii, **2**, 54; C.S. (R.S. **46**, 250-252; Hennessy's year 1012; with a note of the lateness of Low Sunday, which fixes the year as 1014), derived from a lost leaf of Tigernach; A.U., i, 530-536, s.a. 1014 (with epact, and ferial and golden numbers, of 1014; also "the 582nd year" from 432); F.M., ii, 772-778, s.a. 1013=1014; D.A.I., s.a. 1014, in O'Conor's Scriptores, ii, **3**, 60-70; the Annals of Boyle, ibid., ii, **4**, 15-16; the Wars of the Irish with

the Foreigners, R.S. 48, 150-210, 250-262; the A.L.C., R.S. 54, i, 2-14. The Annals of Clonmacnoise, 166-167 (dating the battle erroneously on Good Friday, 22nd March, 1007).

The earliest Irish account of the battle of Clontarf is probably that given by A.I.: in which no definite mention is made of the presence in the battle of any men from Scotland. After naming men killed among the Irish adversaries, this account says: "And a slaughter [was made] of the Foreigners of the west of the world in the same battle."

C.S., in its account of the battle, says: "Foreigners of the world, from those of them who were in Scandinavia and to the west of it [*o Lochlain siar*], collected against Brian and Maelsechlaind; they had with them a thousand men-at-arms."

A.U. (q.v.), i, 530-532: "A military expedition [was led] to Dublin by Brian, the king of Ireland, son of Cendétig, son of Lorcan; and by Maelsechlaind, Donald's son, king of Tara. All the Leinstermen were there to meet them; and the Foreigners of Dublin; and along with these, an equal number of the Foreigners of Scandinavia [*Lochlaind*], namely 1,000 men-at-arms. A bloody battle was fought between them, the like of which has not been found. The Foreigners and Leinstermen were routed at the first; and [their opponents] destroyed them utterly. There fell in that battle, among the hostile forces of the Foreigners, Maelmorda, Murchaid's son, king of Leinster; and Donald, Fergal's son, king of the Fortuatha. And of the Foreigners fell Dugald, Olaf [Cuaran's] son; Sigurd, Hlodve's son, earl of Orkney; and Gillaciarain, Gluniaraind's son, heir to the kingdom of the Foreigners; and Ottar the Black; and Suartgair [= Svartkel?]; and Duncan, Erulb's grandson; and Grisine; and Luimne; and Olaf, Logmann's son; and the leader of the Scandinavian fleet, Brodir, who killed Brian; and 6,000 men, killed or drowned. . . ." (Cf. F.M.; and A.L.C.)

Gluniaraind († 989) was the son of Olaf [Cuaran], king of the Foreigners. See A.U., s.aa. 982=983, 988=989; cf. 979=980. Tigernach, R.C. xvii, 343, 346; 341.

Olaf, Logmann's son, may have been a Hebridean, or a Manxman (cf. the Wars, and D.A.I., below).

Sigurd's death is mentioned also by C.S., F.M., A.L.C., and A.B. He is said to have been killed by Murchaid, in D.A.I. (66), and the Wars (194).

Brodir is called "chief of the Danes" by C.S. (252), D.A.I. (see below), and A.B. The Wars (150), and A.L.C. (i, 4), call him "an earl of York"; the Wars (206), "Brodir, Audgisl's son, earl of York." That Brodir killed Brian is stated by A.U., C.S., F.M., D.A.I. (67), and A.L.C. Cf. A.B. (64), which omit Brodir's name.

Brodir is erroneously called earl of Orkney, in the Annals of Clonmacnoise, 166: "At length, in the year of our Lord God 1007, the 22nd of March —being Good Friday—[Brian] assembled together all his forces, to give battle to the Danes, at Clontarf; and on the other side, Brodir, earl of the island of the Orcades, called together and assembled all the Danes of Denmark, out of all parts and kingdoms that owed them any service, to that place, as general and captain of the Danes, where there was a bloody

battle fought between them, at Clontarf aforesaid. Brodir himself with his thousand men in shirts of mail were slain; the rest of his army were both slain, and drowned in the sea. . . ."

22nd March was not Good Friday between 916 and 1079.

Among those killed on the Irish side (along with king Brian, his son Murchaid, Murchaid's son Toirdelbach, and many others), A.U. (i, 534) and F.M. (ii, 776) name: "Donald, mormaer of Mar in Scotland; the son of Eimin, son of Cainnech." Similarly in A.B. (16), and A.L.C. (12); but these both read "Cainnech Mor." The Annals of Clonmacnoise read erroneously "earl of Dunbar," instead of "mormaer of Mar." C.S. (252), and the Wars (170, 210), call him "Donald, Eimin's son." Cf. S.P., v, 566.

There is a curious account of the battle in the Wars (a late and hardly historical source), c. 87, pp. 150-152:—"Brian made another great military expedition on the festival of St Patrick, in spring [17th March], to attack Dublin and the Leinstermen.

"When the Foreigners [of Dublin] heard that this levy was coming towards them, they sent messengers and scouts on all sides from them, to collect squadrons and forces [*do thinol toreach ocus socraidi cucu*], in order to offer battle to Brian. They invited to them earl Brodir, and Olaf, son of the king of the Scandinavians [*Lochland*]; that is, two earls of Cair [-Ebroic]," i.e. of York, "and of all the north of England; these two were commanders of a fleet, and were outlaws, and pirates, [*danair*] of all the west of Europe; . . . with two thousand . . . pirates of foreign, wonderful Danes . . . And of those two thousand, there was not one pirate or robber without a polished coat-of-mail—strong, toughly-woven, shining—of iron doubly re-smelted, or of cold, unrusting brass, about their sides and their bodies, from head to foot.

"The Foreigners invited to them also Sigurd, Hlodve's son, earl of the Orkneys, and of other islands also; and a levy of fierce, barbarous men—senseless, uncontrollable, unbiddable [*dochisc, dochomaind*]—of the Foreigners of the Orkney and Shetland islands [*insi Orc ocus insi Cat*]; from Man, and from Skye, and from Lewis; from Kintyre, and from Argyle; and two barons from Cornwall [*a Corr Bretnaib*], and Corndabliteoc from the Britons of St Davids.

"They invited to them also Carlus and Ebric, two sons of the king of the French; and Platt, a powerful knight of Scandinavia [*Lochland*]; and Conmael Treitel.

"This fleet came from every quarter to Dublin. There was now an immensely great force in Dublin itself—three battalions, equally large, equally powerful: for there had come to Dublin Maelmorda, the king of Leinster, son of Murchaid, son of Find; and with him a force of Leinstermen, and of the Ui-Cendselaig. These constituted three large battalions."

Cf. D.A.I., 60-62, s.a. 1014. They say (61-62) that the Foreigners of Dublin "divided themselves into three:—the host of the Scandinavians [*Lochlann*] . . .; the second host, Maelmorda, Murchaid's son, king of Leinster, with the Leinstermen; and the third host, with the Foreigner[s]

wish it, since [Flosi] had his journey south to perform.[1] Flosi offered fifteen of his men, to go upon the expedition[2]; and the earl consented to this. And Flosi went with earl Gilli to the Hebrides.

Thorstein Hall's son went with earl [Sigurd][3]; also Hrafn the Red, and Erling from Stroma. The earl did not wish that Hárek[4] should go; but he said that they should tell him the news first.

The earl reached Dublin with all his army, on Palm Wednesday.[5] There Brodir also had arrived, with all his army.

Brodir tried to find by sorcery how the battle would go; and the reply was that, if they fought before the Friday, king Brian would fall, but have the victory; while if they fought before it, they would all fall, who were against him. Then Brodir said that they must not fight before the Friday.

On the fifth day [of the week], a man rode to Gormflaith and her company on an apple-grey horse; and he had a palstave in his hand. He talked long with Brodir and Gormflaith.

King Brian had come to the castle, with his whole army. On Friday, the army went out from the castle; and both forces were drawn up. Brodir was in one wing, and king Sigtrygg in the other. Earl Sigurd was in the middle of the force.

Now it is to be said of king Brian that he wished not to fight upon Friday: and a shield-wall was put up around him; and the army was drawn up there in front. Ulf Disquiet was

of the islands, under Hlodve, earl of the Orkney Islands, and Brodir, chief of the Danes [*taoiseach Danair*], and the Foreigners of Shetland, and of Man, and of Skye [*Sgilicc*], and of Lewis, and of Kintyre; and the Argyles-men, and the Cornwall Britons, and the Britons of St Davids and of Coir-na-liogog, with all their kings; and moreover Foreigners from the land of snow [Iceland?] and from middle Gaethlaige" (Gothland?). The same chronicle (63) says that one third of Brian's army was set to oppose "the Foreigners of the islands."

[1] Flosi had undertaken a pilgrimage to Rome, to obtain absolution for the burning of Niál.

[2] These men all fell in the battle of Clontarf ("fifteen of the burners [of Niál]"; see below).

[3] I.e., to Ireland.

[4] Hárek has not previously been mentioned in the saga. Some passage that spoke of him has evidently been omitted. See below, note.

[5] 21st April, 1014.

in the wing that was opposed by Brodir; and in the other wing, to which Sigtrygg was opposed, were Uspak and the sons of Brian; and in the centre was Toirdelbach; and before him the standards were borne.

Then the ranks fell upon each other.

Then a very hard battle arose. Brodir went through their force, and felled all those that stood in the front: but him weapons bit not. Then Ulf Disquiet turned against him, and thrust at him three times, so hard, that Brodir fell before [the thrust] each time. And he was very nearly unable to get upon his feet. But as soon as he succeeded in standing up, he fled away, into the wood.

Earl Sigurd had a hard battle against Toirdelbach. Toirdelbach advanced so vigorously that he slew all those that were farthest forward; he broke earl Sigurd's ranks as far as the standard, and slew the standard-bearer. Then the earl got another man to carry the standard. Then again there was a hard battle. Toirdelbach struck this [standard-bearer] immediately a death-blow; and one after another, as many as were near.

Earl Sigurd bade Thorstein, Hall's son, carry the standard. Thorstein intended to take up the standard; then Amundi the White said: "Do not thou carry the banner, Thorstein, because all those that bear it are killed."

"Hrafn the Red!" said the earl, "Bear thou the banner."

Hrafn said: "Bear thou thy fiend thyself."

The earl said: "That will be most fitting, that beggar and bag should go together."

Then he took the standard from the pole, and put it between his clothes. A little later Amundi the White was slain. Then the earl too was shot through with a spear.[1]

Uspak had gone about the whole wing; he had been badly wounded, and had previously lost the two sons of Brian.

[1] Flatey-book's Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga (Fl., i, 558; R.S. 88, i, 16, c. 13) says: "And when earl Sigurd came to Ireland, king Sigtrygg and he led their army against Brian, the Irish king; and their meeting was on Good Friday. There was none to bear the raven-standard; and the earl bore it himself, and fell there. And king Sigtrygg fled. King Brian fell, with victory and success."

The incident of the banner stands thus in Thorstein Side-Hall's son's Saga: "There fell three standard-bearers of earl Sigurd. And then the

Sigtrygg fled before him. Then the whole force broke into rout.

Thorstein Hall's son stopped while the others fled, and tied his shoe-lace. Then Toirdelbach asked why he did not run. "Because," said Thorstein, "I cannot reach home in the evening, out in Iceland where I have my home." Toirdelbach gave him quarter.[1]

Hrafn the Red was chased out upon a certain river. He imagined he saw hell there beneath him, and he thought that devils wished to drag him into it. Then Hrafn said: "Thy dog, apostle Peter! has run twice to Rome; and would run a third time, if thou permitted it." Then the devils let him go, and he got across the river.

Now Brodir saw that the men of king Brian were in pursuit, and that but few men remained by the shield-wall. Then he

earl bade Thorstein bear the standard. Then spoke Thorstein: 'Carry thy crow thyself, earl!'

"Then spoke a certain man: 'Thou dost right, Thorstein; because I have lost my three sons through it.'

"The earl took the standard from the pole, and placed it between his clothes. And then the battle went on most boldly. And a little later they heard a voice in the sky: 'If earl Sigurd wishes to have the victory, let him go with his men to Dumaz-bakki.' The . . . [forces?] followed the earl closely; and so it happened then: the earl fell there, in this attack, and many men with him; and at the same time Brodir slew king Brian."

Dumazbakki (possibly "bank of the river Dum") is unidentifiable.

With this account, cf. the Wars of the Irish with the Foreigners (R.S. **48**, 194). That late and untrustworthy source describes the killing of Sigurd by Murchaid, Brian's son.

[1] This incident stands thus in Thorstein Side-Hall's son's Saga: "Then at once" (after Brian's death) "there were great tidings of the deaths of men. Thorstein and some of those who were with him made a stand in the wood. Then spoke a man: 'Why fleest thou not, Thorstein?' He answered: 'Because I cannot get home in the evening, even if I flee.' Quarter was given to Thorstein. And he went back to the Orkneys, and from there to Norway, and came to the court of king Magnus, Olaf's son, and became his guardsman. . . . Thorstein was twenty years old when he was in Brian's battle . . . ." But Magnus, Olaf's son, did not begin to reign till 1035.

According to the unhistorical Dream of Thorstein Side-Hall's son, Thorstein was killed by his thrall, Gilli, who was afterwards tortured to death. "This Gilli was the son of Iathgud, son of Gilli, son of Biadach, son of Kiarval the Old, the king of Ireland, who reigned there long" (Samfund, **29**, 236).

sprang from the wood, and broke through the whole shield-wall, and struck at the king. The page Tadc threw up his hand; and [the blow] took off his hand and the king's head. But the king's blood fell upon the arm-stump of the page, and the stump was immediately healed.

Then Brodir called aloud: "Now let man know to tell man that Brodir has slain Brian."

Then they ran after those that had gone in the pursuit, and told them of the killing of king Brian. Then Ulf Disquiet and Toirdelbach turned back at once; they formed a ring round Brodir and his men, and felled branches upon them. Brodir was then taken captive. Ulf Disquiet cut open his belly, and led him round an oak, and drew out so his bowels; and he did not die before they were all drawn from him.[1] All Brodir's men also were slain.

Then they took king Brian's body, and laid it out[2]; the king's head had grown to the trunk.

Fifteen of the burners [of Niál] fell in Brian's battle. There fell also Halldor Gudmund's son, and Erling from Stroma.[3]

[1] Thorstein Side-Hall's son's Saga says: ". . . Brodir killed king Brian. And Uspak, his brother, took [Brodir], and prised out his bowels, and led him about an oak; and he died so."

This manner of punishment occurs elsewhere in the sagas: it is not here historical. Jónsson points to an instance in the death of Asbiorn Prúdi, in Orms Thättr; F.S., iii, 217-221.

[2] Brian was buried in Armagh. See A.U., i, 534.

[3] Niál's Saga, c. 157 (Gíslason's Njála, i, 898-899; ed. Jónsson, 412-419; Dasent's c. 156):—"On Good Friday, this event occurred in Caithness. A man who was called Dorrad was riding out. He saw people [Valkyrias] ride, twelve together, to a certain bower [*dyngja*], and all go out of sight there. He went to the bower. He looked in at a window that was there, and saw that there were women inside; and they had put up [in a loom] a web. There were men's heads for weights, and bowels of men for woof and warp. There was a sword for batten" (*skeið*; "reed"?), "and an arrow for reed" (*hræll*; "shuttle"?). "They spoke these verses. . . ."

Here follows the "Song of Dorrad" (88 lines of tetrasyllabic verse). It may have been composed in Caithness. See the text with Danish translation in J.S., i, A, 419-421; B, 389-391: with German translation (in the notes), in Jónsson's edition of Njála, 413-417: text, in Gíslason's Njála, i, 899-901: cf. Corpus Poeticum Boreale, i, 281-283.

Designs of old looms are given in Boyesen's Norway (1900), 145, 159.

Niál's Saga (Gíslason, i, 902-903; Jónsson, 417-418) relates other portents seen at the time of the same battle. A vision similar to Dorrad's was seen by Brand, Gneisti's son, in the Faroes. Blood fell on a priest's

stole in Iceland, at Svínafell. A priest at Thvatt-á saw an abyss of the sea beside the altar. "This event took place in the Orkneys, that Hárek imagined he saw earl Sigurd, and some men with him. Then Hárek took his horse, and rode to meet the earl. Men saw that they met, and rode under a certain hill. But they were never seen again; and no trace of Hárek was ever found." Earl Gilli, in the Hebrides, dreamed that Herfinn came to him from Ireland, and told him the result of the battle (8 hexasyllables quoted are translated into German in Jónsson's notes; p. 418). "Flosi and earl [Gilli] talked much of this dream. A week later, Hrafn the Red came there, and told them all the tidings of Brian's battle—the fall of king [Brian], and of earl Sigurd, and Brodir, and all the vikings. Flosi said: 'What tellest thou me of my men?' 'They all fell there,' said Hrafn; 'but Thorstein, thy kinsman-in-law, received quarter from Toirdelbach, and is with him now.'

"Flosi told the earl that he should go away: 'We have our journey south to accomplish.'

"The earl bade him go as he would; and gave him a ship, and all that he needed, and much silver. Then they sailed to Wales, and remained there for a time."

A companion of Flosi, Kol, Thorstein's son, was killed in Wales by Kari, Solmund's son, in vengeance for Niál's death. (Kari, and Dagfinn the White, and Kolbein the Black, had got a ship from Skeggi Yeoman, in Thurso (cf. c. 155—Dasent's c. 154); and "had sailed south by Scotland's firths. Then they met men from the Hebrides; they told Kari news from Ireland,"—i.e., of Clontarf—"and also that Flosi and his men had gone to Wales" c. 158.)

"Then [Kari and his companions] sailed north to Berwick, and laid up their ship, and went up to Hvítsborg [i.e. "White's castle"] in Scotland; and they remained with earl Malcolm for that year [*thau misseri;* 1014-1015]" (c. 158).

Flosi went to Rome in 1014; got absolution from the pope; and gave much money. He was with earl Eric in Norway the next winter (1014-1015); and afterwards returned to Iceland (c. 158).

C. 159 (Gíslason, i, 907-908; Jónsson, 420-421: Dasent's c. 158): "Now it is to be said of Kari, that in the following summer [1015] he went to his ship, and sailed southward across the sea, and began his journey south from Normandy; and went south, and received absolution; and went back by the western way, and took his ship in Normandy, and sailed north across the sea to Dover in England.

"From there, he sailed west round Wales, and so northward by Scotland's firths. And he did not desist from his journeying until he came north to Freswick [*Thrasvík*] in Caithness, to Skeggi Yeoman. Then he gave the merchant-ship to Kolbein and Dagfinn. Kolbein sailed with the ship to Norway, but David remained behind in Fair Island. Kari remained for this winter [1015-1016] in Caithness. In this winter, his wife died in Iceland. In the following summer [1016], Kari prepared to go to Iceland. Skeggi gave him a merchant-ship; they were eighteen on board. They were rather late in being ready, but yet they sailed out to sea; and

1014

Heimskringla, St Olaf's Saga, c. 96[1]

Five years or four after the fall of Olaf Tryggvi's son, earl Sigurd went to Ireland, and left his older sons to rule the lands. Thorfinn he sent to the Scottish king, [Thorfinn's] mother's father.[2] On this expedition earl Sigurd fell, in Brian's battle. And when that was known in the Orkneys, the brothers Sumarlidi, Brusi, and Einar, were taken as earls; and they divided the lands among them, into three parts.

Thorfinn Sigurd's son was five winters old when earl Sigurd fell. When [Sigurd's] fall was made known to the Scottish king, the king gave to Thorfinn (his kinsman) Caithness and Sutherland, and with them the title of earl; and set men to govern the dominion with him.

Thorfinn was precocious in growing up immediately to

they had a long time at sea." They were shipwrecked on the coast of Iceland, near Flosi's place; and were welcomed by Flosi, with whom they became reconciled.

[1] This is c. 99 in Unger's edition. The same passage is in c. 81 of Snorri's St Olaf (Munch and Unger, p. 92; c. 91 in F.S., iv, 213-214); and, somewhat expanded, in Flateybook's Olaf Tryggvi's son (Fl., i, 558; R.S. 88, i, 16, 29, cc. 13-14, 22).

[2] The Flatey Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga (u.s., c. 13): "Five winters after the battle of Svoldr, earl Sigurd went to Ireland, to join the force of king Sigtrygg Silk-beard; and he placed his oldest son over the land. But his son Thorfinn he put for fosterage into the hands of the Scottish king, [Thorfinn's] mother's father . . . " (see above).

The Icelandic Annals derive their dates from the sagas. They place the battle of Svoldrar-vágr (E) and Olaf's death (KOCDA) in the year 1000. Versions O (s.a. 1005), CDE (s.a. 1004), A (s.a. 1002), note the battle of Clontarf thus:—"Brian's battle [in Ireland OEA]"; and CDA add (s.a. 1004):—"Earl Thorfinn, Sigurd's son, ruled [took dominion D] in the Orkneys [for 62 years, C; for 52 years, A]."

These dates seem to have been obtained in this way. Thorfinn died shortly before the death of Harold Hardrádi in 1066; the traditional length of Thorfinn's earldom was deducted from 1066 in order to find the date of the battle of Clontarf. Version C rendered the tradition half a duo-decimal hundred, and two years; version A altered this to half a decimal hundred, and two, but made the change at the wrong end.

It is certain that the battle was fought in 1014, and that Thorfinn died × 1066; therefore he cannot have been earl for more than 52 winters. See below, year ?1065.

full manhood. He was big and strong, [and] an ugly man[1]; and as soon as his age increased, it was evident that he was an ambitious man, hard, and cruel, and very wise. So says Arnor Earls'-poet:

"Skilful to protect the land, valiant in mind also to attack, no man under the clouds has lent himself younger than Einar's brother [Thorfinn]."[2]

1016

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 540, s.a. 1016[3]

. . . Kells was burned.[4]

[1] Fl. reads:—"the biggest and strongest of men, and black-haired." The old Norse translation adds: "sharp in face and in manner" (R.S. 88, i, 16). Versions of Orkneyinga Saga, in MS. A.M. 332 (R.S. 88, i, 28-29; Vigfusson's c. 22) and Fl. (ii, 404) read: "Earl Thorfinn became a great chief; he was the biggest of men [in stature Fl.], [and the strongest A.M.]; ugly [in appearance Fl.]; black-haired; sharp-featured; [and large-nosed; A.M.] and somewhat beetle-browed [*skolbrúnn*]: [and most soldierly Fl.]. He was a great man of vigour; and greedy, both of wealth and of honour. He was lucky in victory, and skilful in battles, and good in attack."

Skolbrúnn means "swarthy," according to Cleasby-Vigfusson, and Zoega; "his brows scowling," according to Dasent. See F. Jónsson's Egil's Saga, 160, note.

[2] This is a half-stanza from Arnor's Thorfinns-drápa. The whole stanza is quoted in Fl., ii, 404; see below, years 1022-1029, note.

Arnor Thord's son was a contemporary of Thorfinn, and knew him personally. For his poems, see J.S., i, A, 332-354; B, 305-327; Vigfusson and Powell, Corpus Poeticum, ii, 184-198.

Cf. Magnus and Olaf's Saga, c. 2, in F.S., vi, 439-440: ". . . as Arnor Earls'-poet says:—'I roused [with verses] the good ships'-companies, when we sat every winter opposite the raven-feeder: the pirate-chief drank ever ale.'

"Here Arnor boasts that he had sat in the lower high-seat, as drinking-companion of earl Thorfinn, when he was with [the earl] in the Orkneys." (The previous passage describes customs of the time. Cf. Frisbók, 256.)

[3] With f.n. and e. of 1016.

[4] Cf. C.S., 256, Hennessy's year 1014=1016; F.M., ii, 786, s.a. 1015=1016.

Subsequent burnings of Kells are recorded in A.U. under the years 1040, 1060, 1095, 1099, 1111, 1166; in A.L.C., also under 1135; in F.M., also under 1036, 1073, 1143, 1144 (three burnings), 1150, 1156, 1170, 1203; in Contin. T., under 1171. Cf. year 1017.

1017

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 540, s.a. 1017[1]

Gillacrist Lorcan's grandson, the king of Caill-Folamain,[2] was killed in Kells.[3]

1018

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 44, s.a. 1018

A great battle was fought at Carham between the English and the Scots.[4]

1018

Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, version E; in Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 131

[Malcolm, Kenneth's son] fought a great battle at Carham.[5] He also distributed many offerings, both to the clergy and to churches, on that day.[6]

[1] With f.n. of 1017, and e. 28 (read 29).

[2] "In Moygoish barony, Westmeath" MacCarthy. Cf. Hogan's Onomasticon, 139.

[3] Cf. F.M., ii, 790, s.a. 1016=1017.

Later violations of Kells are noted in A.U. under the years 1076, 1117, 1176. Cf. year 1019, below.

[4] This is derived from Simeon of Durham. See E.C., 82.

[5] *apud Carrun;* which should mean "at Carron." See E.C., 81-82.

[6] The ruler of Northumbria at this time seems to have been Eadulf Cudel (E.C., 81). He is named as the successor of his brother, earl Uhtred, Waltheof's son.

After earl Uhtred's death, Cnut placed Eric, Hakon's son, who had been earl in Norway, over the Northumbrians (E.C., 81, note; below, year 1055, note. A.S.C., CDE, s.a. 1016; CDEF, s.a. 1017). Eric appears in Cnut's charters from 1018 to 1023 (cf. Kemble's Codex, iv, 3, 6, 17, 20, 23, 27, 29; nos. 728, 729, 735-740. His name is not among the witnesses of no. 741). Cf. Steenstrup's Normannerne, iii, 322; Munch, i, 2, 483. The Icelandic Annals KOCA erroneously place his death in 1013. For Eric's son, Hakon, see years 1029, 1055, note.

Eadulf Cudel appears to have administered the earldom under Eric. See year 1072, note.

The victory at Carham added Lothian to the dominions of the Scottish king. Edinburgh had already been vacated by the Northumbrians in the reign of king Indulf (954×962).

Cnut's taxations of this year (A.S.C.) must have raised the question of England's right in Lothian; probably the Scots conceded it, and were allowed to retain Lothian. But the superiority claimed over Scotland did not extend to the raising of tribute there: i.e., it was not feudal over-lordship. Cf. the notes below.

?996 - ?1018

Rodulfus Glaber, Historiae, II, 3; pp. 29-30, s.a. [996][1]

Moreover, after the portent of Ocean was seen,[2] as we began to say, the tumult of war broke out in the whole region of the western world; in the districts of Gaul as well as in the islands of the Ocean, beyond the sea: namely, of the English, and the Welsh, and also of the Scots. Because, as very often happens, through the faults of the worst of the people, their kings and other princes are immediately aroused, for the destruction of the folk that are subject to them; until [the kings] are led on to the shedding of their own blood. This was done, in the aforesaid islands, until one of their kings by force made himself master of the dominion of the rest.

At last, after the death[3] of king Æthelred ([the king] in the realm of those who are called Danes; and he had also married the sister of Richard, duke of Rouen), his kingdom was invaded by Cnut, the king of the West Angles.[4] And after frequent violent battles, and ravagings of the land, he made an agreement with Richard, taking in marriage his sister, Æthelred's wife; and held the monarchy of both kingdoms.

After this also the same Cnut set out with a very great army to subdue to himself the nation of the Scots; whose king was called Malcolm, [and was] powerful in resources and arms, and (what was most efficacious) very Christian in faith and deed.

[1] *Anno . . . quarto de . . . millesimo* (p. 27). Cf. II, 7, where *septimo . . . de . . . millesimo* stands for 993. Cf. Neues Archiv, xiv, 389.

This passage is also in B.R., x, 14.

For British affairs at this time, see A.S.C., s.aa. 1001-1018; F.W., i, 155-182.

[2] A great whale, like an island, had been seen in November of 1004, at Berneval, near Dieppe: Rodulfus, 27-28.

[3] Æthelred died on 23rd April, 1016 (A.S.C., F.W.; but W.M. says, on 12th March, in the beginning of Lent; incorrectly, since Lent began on 14th February in 1016. But Ash Wednesday was 6th March in 1017; 10th March in 1014).

Icelandic Annals KODE erroneously place Æthelred's death and Cnut's accession to the kingship of England in 1012 (in 1011, A). Cf. Knytlinga Saga, below.

[4] For these affairs, see W.M., i, 212-227. Cnut had been elected by the Danes; Æthelred, by the English. Rodulfus's error may have arisen from the fact that, when Cnut divided the kingdoms of England, he reserved Wessex for himself (ibid., 218); A.S.C. CDEF, s.a. 1014.

And when [Malcolm] knew that Cnut audaciously sought to invade his kingdom, he collected his nation's whole army, and resisted him strongly, so that he should not succeed.

And Cnut shamelessly prosecuted these claims for a long time, and vigorously; but at last, by persuasion of the aforesaid Richard, the duke of Rouen, and of [Richard's] sister, he entirely laid aside all ferocity, for the love of God; became gentle, and lived in peace. Moreover also for friendship's sake, having affection for the king of the Scots, he received [Malcolm's] son from the holy font of baptism.[1]

From this it began to happen that if any hostile necessity pressed upon the duke of Rouen, he brought a numerous army to his aid from the islands beyond the sea. And thus for a very long time the Norman nation and the peoples of the aforesaid islands [were] protected by the truest peace; so that they caused fear to many peoples of other provinces, rather than were themselves in fear of others. . . .

[1] This son of Malcolm, and godson of Cnut, is not known in other sources.

Cnut's unsuccessful war with Malcolm appears to have been that of 1018, in which the Scots obtained the territory of Lothian. See E.C., 81-82.

The sagas imply that Cnut had reduced the Scots to some sort of submission before the year [1025]. See below. The Icelandic Annals say that Cnut claimed the kingdom of Norway in 1025 (CA); fought with king Olaf in Danish territory in 1027 (KOCA); and obtained the Norwegian kingdom in 1028 (KOCA). Cf. below, 1028-1030. Olaf the Holy fled to Gardariki in 1029 (KOCEA); returned to Norway, and was killed, in 1030 (CEA; cf. KO); on Wednesday, 29th July (A). The sagas say that Cnut went from England with forces to Denmark in [1027] (see H., St Olaf, cc. 144-149); cf. Sighvat Thord's son, Knútsdrápa, in J.S., i, A, 250-251; B, 233-234: Vigfusson and Powell, Corpus Poeticum, ii, 136.

A.S.C.'s account of these affairs is enlarged by F.W.; and abridged from F.W. (with a word supplied directly from A.S.C.) by C.M., s.aa. 1027-1031. C.M. says (45):—

"In the year 1027, king Cnut corrupted the Norwegians, who despised their king Olaf, because of his sanctity; and were blinded by great plenty of gold and of silver.

"In the year 1028, king Cnut sailed to Norway with fifty large ships; expelled king Olaf from that [land], and subjugated it to himself.

"In the year 1029, Cnut, king of the English, and of the Danes, and of the Norwegians, returned to England.

"In the year 1030, St Olaf, king and martyr, son of Harold [king] of the Norwegians, returned [to Norway], and was unjustly killed by the Norwegians.

"In the year 1031, king Cnut with great honour set out for Rome; and offered great gifts, in gold and in silver, to St Peter; and obtained from pope John [XIX] that the school of the English [in Rome] should be free."

F.W. and C.M. do not mention the reported submission of Scotland in 1031. The Chronicle of Man, i, 46, s.aa. 1011-1014, copies from C.M., 1028-1031.

When Cnut sent letters from England, in the spring of [1025], to king Olaf at Tönsberg, requesting Olaf to accept his superiority, Olaf is represented to have said in his reply: "'. . . It has now come about that Cnut rules over Denmark and over England; and he has now also subjugated to himself a large part of Scotland . . .'" (H., St Olaf, c. 131; Unger's c. 140). So too Sighvat the Poet, Thord's son (who had been presented to Cnut) is said to have got information to this effect directly from the messengers who carried Cnut's letter to Olaf: "Sighvat made himself acquainted with king Cnut's messengers, and inquired of many tidings from them. They told him all he asked regarding their conversations with king Olaf, and also of their mission's end. They said that [Olaf] had taken their affair unfavourably: 'And we know not' said they, 'from what he has confidence for such action, to refuse to become king Cnut's man, and to go to him. And this would have been his best choice, because king Cnut is so generous that chiefs never deserve so badly of him but that he puts all that aside, as soon as they go to him and do him obeisance. It is now but a short while ago that two kings came south to him from Scotland, from Fife; and he laid aside for them his anger, and gave them all the lands that they had previously had, and great friendly gifts besides.'

"Then said Sighvat: 'Very prominent kings have brought their heads to Cnut, all the way south from the middle of Fife—a purchase of peace. Olaf the Stout has never thus given his head to any man in the world, for this purpose: he has often won victory'" (ibid.). For Sighvat, see J.S., i, A, 269-270; B, 249-250, stanza 15; Corpus Poeticum, ii, 133-134.

A.S.C. DEF, s.a. 1031, say: "In this year, king Cnut went to Rome: and [as soon as he came home, D] in the same year, he went to Scotland; and the Scots' king submitted to him, [and two other kings, Mælbæthe [*Mealbœathe* F] and Iehmarc; EF] [and became his man. But he adhered to that for only a little while" D]. This is the subjugation referred to by king Edward I (below).

One of the "two other kings" may have been a king of Cumbria. Fordun (IV, 41; i, 183) says that Duncan, Crinan's son, while king of Cumbria, refused for a time homage to king Cnut, because he was a usurper. For Iehmarc, cf. a tentative conjecture under ? 1052, note.

Rodulfus Glaber (who wrote 1044 × †1050) implies that warfare did not again break out between the kings, after they had made peace. It seems certain that the hostilities and submission which A.S.C. DEF place in 1031 are the same that Snorri, on the authority of Sighvat, places before 1025; and probable that the agreement between the kings was the conclusion of the strife that existed in 1018, and that resulted in the cession of Lothian.

A.S.C. DEF and F.W., i, 185, say that Cnut went to Rome in 1031; and this is supported by the Knytlinga Saga, which says that Cnut went to Rome after the death of St Olaf (see above). But it is proved by Cnut's letter (given by F.W., i, 185-189, s.a. 1031), and by the biographer of emperor Conrad II (B.R., xi, 3), that Cnut was in Rome on 26th March, 1027, at Conrad's coronation. Cnut went from Rome to Denmark; and seems to have visited England before his invasion of Norway in 1028-1029. He returned to England in 1029. If he invaded Scotland in the year of his return from Rome, it must have been in 1027 or 1028. Since there is no evidence to show that Cnut went twice to Rome (all accounts appearing to describe the same occasion), we must conclude that Chronicles DEF are here inaccurate; and that the preference should be given to Sighvat.

Iómsvíkinga Saga, in Fl., i, 205 (c. 52, in F.S., xi, 162) says that Cnut went to Rome with Henry, Conrad's son; and implies that Henry had already married Cnut's daughter, Gunhild. But Gunhild cannot then have been of marriageable age. Cf. year 1055, note.

Knytlinga Saga, cc. 17-18, in F.S., xi, 201-203: "Then Sven, son of king Cnut and of Ælfgifu, came to Norway; and he was then taken as king, over all the land [of Norway], according to the disposition of king Cnut, his father.

"King Cnut placed Harthacnut, his son, over the Danish empire [*Danaveldi*]: and he was to be king there.

"King Cnut had also a great part of Scotland to govern [*til forráða*]. And he placed there his son Harold, as king over it. And yet king Cnut was over-king of all these [kings]. He was called Cnut the Powerful, or Cnut the Old. He had been the most powerful [*ríkastr*] king, and the most widely ruling, in Danish speech.

"King Cnut set out upon a journey, away from the land; and he went south to Rome. And upon this journey he had so great expense that the number of marks could not be reckoned by any man, and hardly even the number of pounds. He had great quantity of ready money from his own dominions; and he took the emperor's money freely, wherever he wished.

"While king Cnut was on the way to Rome, no man who could approach him required to ask for food; because he gave all sufficient money for their needs.

"King Cnut went from Flanders to Rome. So says Sighvat the Poet:

"'Probably few ring-spenders have so measured on their feet a track to the south [as did] the loftiest [*höfud-fremst*] king.' [See J.S., i, A, 251; B, 234, stanza 11.]

"King Cnut established a hostel that was to entertain [*fæða*] for a night all men of Danish speech who should come there. Far and wide also he made donations of large sums, wherever there were monasteries, or other large religious establishments [*stórir-staðir*].

[c. 18] "*Death of Cnut.* [† 1035]

"But when king Cnut came back to England, to his dominions, he fell ill; and first of the disease called jaundice. He lay long during the summer; and he died in the autumn, on the Ides of November [13th November, 1035], that was in the castle called In Morstr; it is a great

county-town [*höfuð-staðr*]. And he is buried there. He was then 37 years old; and had ruled over England for 24 years [1011-1035; falsely], and over Norway for 7 years [1028-1035].

"It is the talk of all men that king Cnut has been the most powerful and widely-ruling of the kings of the northern lands" (i.e., Scandinavia).

Cnut's death is commemorated on 12th November in the obituaries of Durham; S.S. **13**, 147, 152. That day is also given by A.S.C., CD.

Edward I's letter to pope Boniface VIII, written in 1301, says (Foedera, i, **2**, 932): "After the said Edgar, these kings of England followed in succession:—St Edward, the Martyr; Æthelred, his brother; Edmund, called Ironside, the son of Æthelred; and Cnut. These in their times held the kingdom of Scotland peacefully in subjection to them; with this exception, that in the fifteenth year [1030-1031] of the reign of the aforesaid Cnut, Scotland being in rebellion, the same Cnut led an expedition there, and with little trouble subdued Malcolm, the king of Scotland; and the same Malcolm was made subject to him. [Cf. the chronicles of 1291 in Palgrave, 125, 129.]

"To these, Harold, Cnut's son, and Harthacnut [Harold's] brother, one after the other succeeded as kings of England; and while they so reigned, they held peacefully the kingdom of Scotland in subjection."

For the submission of the Scots to Cnut, see E.C., 82-83; and (among later chronicles) R.W., and M.P., Chronica Majora, s.a. 1033; B.C., 38-39; Richard of Cirencester, ii, 183.

For Cnut's disposition of his dominions among his sons, see s.a. 1035, A.S.C.; F.W.; C.M.; S.D. Cf., s.a. 1035, W.M., i, 227.

In his letter, written [in 1027] on his way from Rome to Denmark, Cnut does not name Scotland among his dominions:—but calls himself "king of the whole of England; and of Denmark; and of the Norwegians; and of part of the Swedes." The suggested emendation of "Swedes" (*Suanorum*) to "Slavs" (*Sclavorum*), i.e. of Mecklenburg, is opposed by the reading of the Estoire de S. Aedward le Rei (written 1236×1272; R.S. **3**, 36), which calls Cnut "king of the English, of Norway, of the Danes; lord of Scotland and of Sweden." Cf. Thorpe's Lappenberg, ii, 212-213, 218; Larson's Canute the Great (1912), 152, 344-347. See Steenstrup's Normannerne, iii, 306, 327-331; Stefansson, Denmark and Sweden, 11-12.

Cnut's biographer names Scotland as one of the five kingdoms under his dominion (E.C., 83, note). Saxo Grammaticus (X; 1886 ed., p. 350) calls Cnut "the possessor of six very powerful kingdoms": and says that he gave England to Harold; Denmark, to Harthacnut; Norway, to Sven, Ælfgifu's son; retaining the other three provinces for himself. But Scotland is not named among his dominions by Saxo; nor by Sven, Aggi's son (Langebek, Scriptores, i, 54-55; iii, 143, where Sven says that Cnut reigned "from farthest Thule to the empire of the Greeks"; iii, 159-160); nor in the Genealogies of Danish kings (ibid., ii, 156-157).

? 1018

Annales Cambriae, MS. B, p. 22, s.a. [1015][1]

Owen, Dumnagual's son, was slain.[2]

1018

Heimskringla, St Olaf's Saga, c. 86[3]

The battle in Ulfreksfiordr.

In the summer when Thorarin sailed with Hrœrek to Iceland,[4] . . . Eyvind Aurochs-horn sailed on western piracy; and he came in autumn to Ireland, to Conchobar, the king of the Irish.

The Irish king and earl Einar from the Orkneys met in autumn in Ulfreksfiordr; and there was a great battle there. King Conchobar had by far the larger army, and he got the victory. But Einar fled with one ship, and came later in the autumn to the Orkneys, in such a fashion that he had lost nearly all his army, and all the spoils that they had taken before. And the earl was greatly ill-pleased with his journey; and he attributed his defeat[5] to the Norwegians that had been in the battle, on the side of the Irish king.[6]

[1] Placed 61 years after 510=954; 82 years before 1097.

[2] Cf. Brut y Tywyssogion, 1010 × 1030 (MS. C's [1015]); R.S. 17, 34.

This Owen was king of Cumbria. He is called "Owen the Bald, king of the men of Strathclyde," by Simeon of Durham, who says that Owen was present on Malcolm's side in the battle of Carham (E.C., 82). If Simeon is right, Owen did not die before 1018.

[3] In Unger's ed., c. 87. The same passage is in Snorri's St Olaf's Saga (Munch and Unger, 76, c. 70; F.S., iv, 178); and in Fl., ii, 91.

[4] For Hrœrek, see H., St Olaf, cc. 36, 74-75, 81-85 (Unger's cc. 34, 73-74, 82-86). He was sent to Iceland after 15th May, [1018] (c. 84; Unger's c. 85), according to the chronology of H. (cf. ibid., cc. 66, 73, 78; Unger's cc. 64, 72, 78). "King Hrœrek came to Iceland" in 1018, according to Icelandic Annals A (Fl., iii, 506).

[5] Fl. and the text of F.S. add here: "principally."

[6] "And those were Eyvind Aurochs-horn and his companions" adds the F.S. text.

1019

Tigernach, Annals, in Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 357, s.a. [1018][1]

The plundering of Kells by Sigtrygg, Olaf's son, along with the Foreigners of Dublin; and they took away innumerable captives, and killed many men there.[2]

1020

Tigernach, Annals, in Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 359, s.a. 1020[3]

Findlaech, Ruadri's son, mormaer of Moray, was slain by the sons of his brother Maelbrigte.[4]

1014 × 1020

Heimskringla, St Olaf's Saga, c. 97[5]

Of earl Einar and earl Brusi.

The brothers Einar and Brusi were unlike in disposition. Brusi was mild, and a very peaceable man; wise, and eloquent, and popular. Einar was obstinate, cold, and unfriendly; ambitious, and covetous, and a great warrior.[6] Sumarlidi was

[1] With f.n. and e. of 1018. This year-section contains events placed under 1019 by the Ulster annals; and there is no year-section for 1019 in Tigernach.

[2] Cf. C.S., 258, Hennessy's year 1017=1019; and F.M., ii, 792, s.a. 1018=1019 (reading: ". . . innumerable spoils and captives, and killed many men inside the church").

[3] With f.n. and e. of 1020; and Golden Number 13 (for which read 14).

[4] Annals of Ulster, i, 546, s.a. 1020 (with f.n. and e. of 1020):— "Findlaech, Ruadri's son, king of Scotland, was killed by his own [people]." So also in A.L.C., i, 20, s.a. 1020.

The Annals of the Book of Leinster (facsimile, p. 26; R.S. 89, ii, 524) read: "Findlaech, Ruadri's son, the king of Scotland" [died]. This stands among the affairs of the second reign of Maelsechlaind, Donald's son [1014-†1022], between events of 1020 and 1021.

Maelbrigte's son, Malcolm († 1029), is also called king of Scotland: Malcolm's brother, Gillacomgain († 1032), is called mormaer of Moray. Cf. year 1040.

[5] In Unger's ed., c. 100. The whole passage appears similarly in Flatey-book's Olaf Tryggvi's son (Fl., i, 558; R.S. 88, i, 16-17, c. 14).

[6] Fl., u.s.: "The brothers Einar and Brusi were unlike in disposition. Einar was a strong man, and ambitious, unfriendly, and a great warrior. Brusi was a mild man, very composed, humble, and eloquent. Sumarlidi was liker to Brusi in disposition. . . ."

like Brusi in disposition; and he was the oldest of the brothers, and lived the shortest: he died of disease.

After [Sumarlidi's] death, Thorfinn laid claim to his share of the Orkneys. Einar replied that Thorfinn had Caithness and Sutherland, the dominion that earl Sigurd, their father, had had before; and declared that that was much more than a third part of the Orkneys; and he refused Thorfinn a share. But Brusi,[1] for his part, granted a division; "And I will not," said he, "covet to have more land than the third that I possess freely."[2]

Then Einar took under himself two parts of the islands. He became then a powerful man, and had many men. He was often on warfare in the summers, and had a great levy in the land; but very unequal were his takings in this piracy. Then the farmers began to dislike the labour; but the earl persisted rigorously in all his exactions, and would hear no man speak against them. Earl Einar was the most overbearing man.

Then there was famine[3] in his dominion, from the labour and expense that the farmers had. But in that part of the land that Brusi had, there was good harvest and easy life for the farmers. [Therefore[4]] [Brusi] was popular.

1016 × 1020

Heimskringla, St Olaf's Saga, c. 98[5]

Of Thorkel, Amundi's son.

A man was called Amundi, powerful and rich. He lived in Hrossey, in Sandvík, on Hlaupandanes.[6] His son was called Thorkel; and he was the most accomplished of all men in the Orkneys. Amundi was the wisest man, and by far the most esteemed, in the islands.

One spring, when earl Einar raised a levy yet again, as he was wont, the farmers murmured against it, and brought it

[1] ". . . was willing to grant it, and . . ." Fl.

[2] ". . . covet more dominion than the third that I have of right" Fl.

[3] "great famine" Fl.

[4] From Fl.

[5] In Unger's ed., cc. 101-102. The same passage is in Snorri's St Olaf's Saga (Munch and Unger, 92-93, c. 82; F.S., iv, 215-218); and in Flateybook's Olaf Tryggvi's son (Fl., i, 559-560; R.S. 88, i, 17-19, cc. 15-17).

[6] Perhaps Sandside in Deerness.

before Amundi, and begged him to say something on their behalf to the earl. [Amundi] answered, "The earl is unyielding"; and he said that it would not bestead to make even one request to the earl about this. "My friendship with the earl also, is good as things are; but I think it would be exposed to danger, if we should disagree, considering the dispositions of us both. I will have nothing to do with it" said Amundi.

Then they spoke of this with Thorkel. He was reluctant to do it; and yet at last he promised,[1] at the men's instigation. Amundi thought that he had promised rashly. But when the earl held an assembly, then Thorkel spoke on behalf of the farmers, and begged the earl to spare the men in these exactions; and he declared the necessity of the men. And the earl answered well, and said that he must hold Thorkel's words in high honour: "I had intended now to have out from land six ships; but now I shall have no more than three. But thou, Thorkel, ask not such a boon again."

The farmers thanked Thorkel well for his support.

The earl went on piracy, and came again in the autumn. And in the following spring, the earl gave the same summons as he was wont, and held an assembly with the farmers. Then Thorkel spoke again, and asked the earl to spare the farmers. Then the earl answered wrathfully, and said that the farmers' lot should be the harder for his talking. Then he became so angry and frantic that he said that they should not both meet unhurt next spring in the assembly. And then he dismissed the assembly.

And when Amundi learned what Thorkel and the earl had said to each other, he begged Thorkel to go away. And he went over to Caithness, to earl Thorfinn. Thorkel was there for a long time afterwards; and he was devoted to the earl, who was young; and therefore he was called Thorkel Fosterer. And he was a famous man.

Many were the men of [Orkney] who fled from their odal lands in the Orkneys, away from the dominion of earl Einar. Most of these fled over to Caithness, to earl Thorfinn; but some fled from the Orkneys to Norway, and some to diverse lands.

But when earl Thorfinn grew up, he sent a message to earl

[1] "Yet he promised his assistance" Fl.

Einar, his brother, requiring of him the dominion that he considered he owned in the Orkneys; and that was a third of the islands.

Einar was slow to diminish his land. And when Thorfinn learned that, he got ready an army from Caithness, and went out to the islands. But when earl Einar was aware of this, he collected an army, and intended to defend the lands. Earl Brusi also collected an army, and went to meet them, and acted as mediator between them. This was agreed between them, that Thorfinn should have a third of the lands in the Orkneys, as he owned by right. But Brusi and Einar laid their parts together, [arranging that] Einar alone should have the administration of them [1]; and if one of them should die before the other, the one of them that lived longer should take the lands, after the other. But this agreement was thought not to be just, because Brusi had a son (who was called Ronald), but Einar was son-less.

Then earl Thorfinn set his men to protect that dominion which he had in the Orkneys [2]; while he was most often in Caithness. Earl Einar was most often in the summers in warfare, about Ireland and Scotland and Wales.

1020

Icelandic Annals, version K (Storm's Islandske Annaler, p. 16), s.a. 1020 [3]

The slaying of earl Einar Wry-mouth.[4]

1021

Icelandic Annals, version C (Storm's Islandske Annaler, 106), s.a. 1021 [5]

Earl Thorfinn and earl Brusi, Sigurd's sons, gave the Orkneys into the power of king Olaf.[6]

[1] *Skyldi Einarr hafa einn forrœði fyrir theim.* To this, Snorri's St Olaf's Saga adds: "and the land-defence" (the F.S. text reads, "in land-defence").

[2] Here this passage ends in Fl.

[3] With dominical letters of 1020. C adds the paschal letter of 1020.

[4] Cf. versions OC, s.a. 1020 (57, 106); A, s.a. 1019 (Fl. iii, 506). C adds: "in the Orkneys."

[5] With dominical and paschal letters of 1021.

[6] Similarly in version A, s.a. 1021 (Fl., iii, 506).

1018-1021

Heimskringla, St Olaf's Saga, cc. 98-102[1]

One summer, when earl Einar was plundering[2] in Ireland, it happened that he fought in Ulfreksfiordr with Conchobar, king of the Irish, as was written before; [and] that earl Einar had a bad defeat, and much loss of men. The next summer following, Eyvind Aurochs-horn went east from Ireland, intending to go to Norway; but since the wind was sharp,[3] and the sounds unnavigable,[4] Eyvind turned in to Ásmundarvágr,[5] and lay there some time storm-stayed. And when earl Einar learned that, he led a great army there, and took Eyvind, and caused him to be slain[6]; but gave quarter to most of his men. And they went east to Norway in the autumn, and came to king Olaf, and told him of the killing of Eyvind. The king replied but little to this; and from that it appeared that he thought it great murder, and done much in his despite[7]: and in most things was he of few words, when he thought them contrary to his liking.[8]

[1] In Unger's ed., cc. 103-108. The same passage is in Snorri's St Olaf's Saga (Munch and Unger, 93-99, cc. 82-88; a less trustworthy text is in F.S., iv, 218-229); and in the Flatey-book's St Olaf's Saga (Fl., ii, 176-182; R.S. 88, i, 19-27, cc. 17-21).

[2] The Fl. version begins thus:—"*Section of the Orkneymen.* Einar, earl in the Orkneys, [was] a great warrior: he was thought no ordinary man. He plundered . . . ."

This was in 1018.

[3] "There was a storm blowing" F.S.; "The wind was sharp, and [there was] a great storm" Fl.

[4] Literally, "the currents unnavigable"; perhaps the Pentland Firth is meant. In Snorri's St Olaf, "the currents strong."

[5] This, according to H.'s Olaf Tryggvi's son, c. 47 (Unger's c. 52), was in Rognvaldsey, or South Ronaldshay: but it seems in reality to have been the bay in the south-east of Hoy, part of the name Ásmundarvágr ("Asmund's Bay") surviving in the name of Walls (which is derived from *vágr*, with English plural termination).

[6] In 1019.

[7] "and an offence against him" reads F.S.

[8] For the relations between St Olaf and Eyvind Aurochs-horn, Cf. Heimskringla, St Olaf, c. 62 (Unger's c. 60): "*Origin of Eyvind Aurochs-horn.*

"There was a man named Eyvind Aurochs-horn, who belonged to East Agdir: he was a great man, and of noble kindred. He went every summer on warfare; sometimes west beyond the sea, sometimes into the

Earl Thorfinn sent Thorkel Fosterer[1] out to the islands to collect his revenues. Earl Einar laid much to Thorkel's charge the enterprise by which Thorfinn had brought forward a claim to the islands. Thorkel went hastily from the islands, and over to Caithness. He said to earl Thorfinn that he had been made sure of this, that earl Einar had intended to kill him, if his relatives and friends had not brought him news of it.

"Now," said he, "I shall have but this chance, to let my meeting with the earl be such that things are decided between us; or this other choice, to go farther away, and to some place over which his power is not."[2]

The earl advised this, that Thorkel should go east to Norway, to king Olaf:—"Thou shalt be highly esteemed," said he, "wherever thou comest, among high-born men. But I know both your dispositions, thine and the earl's, that you will be aiming at each other in a little while."

Then Thorkel made ready, and went in autumn to Norway, and then to king Olaf. And he was there for the winter[3] with the king, in great affection. [The king] had Thorkel much in speech with him; he thought (as was the case) that Thorkel was a wise man, [and] a great leader. It appeared to the king from [Thorkel's] talk that he gave very different accounts of the earls, and was a great friend of Thorfinn, but was strongly opposed to earl Einar. And early in the spring, the king sent

eastern way, or south to Friesland. He had a twenty-benched cutter, and well manned. He had been at Nesiar, and given aid to king Olaf; and when they parted there, the king had promised him his friendship; and Eyvind [promised] his assistance, wheresoever [the king] should wish to have power.

"Eyvind remained for the winter [1016-1017] with king Olaf at the Yule-banquetting, and received good gifts from him there." (The same passage, with little variation, is in Snorri's St Olaf's Saga, ed. Munch and Unger, 49; F.S., iv, 122; and Fl., ii, 54.)

The battle of Nesiar was fought on Palm Sunday, 25th March, 1016 (H., St Olaf, cc. 45, 48; cf. Icelandic Annals KOE, s.a. 1016; CA s.a. 1015). Eyvind was with Olaf in the winter 1016-1017, and went on piracy in the east in the spring of 1017 (H., c. 65). He returned to Norway in the autumn; "then king Olaf had been for three winters king in Norway" (H., c. 66).

[1] "his foster-father" Fl.

[2] "and where he may never have power over me" Fl.

[3] I.e., 1019-1020.

a ship west beyond the sea, to earl Thorfinn; and a message that the earl should come east to the king. And the earl did not postpone this journey, because friendly words went with the message.

[c. 99] *The slaying of earl Einar.*

Earl Thorfinn went east to Norway, and came to king Olaf; and he got there a good welcome, and remained there long during the summer.[1] And when he prepared to go west, king Olaf gave him a long-ship, large and good, with all its tackle.

Then Thorkel Fosterer prepared for his journey with the earl; and the earl gave [Thorkel] the ship that he had brought east with him in the summer.[2]

The king and the earl parted[3] with much affection.

Earl Thorfinn came in the autumn to the Orkneys. But when earl Einar learned that, he brought out many men, and lay on board ship. Then earl Brusi went to meet the two brothers, and bore peace between them[4]; and it came about that they made an agreement, and bound it with oaths. Thorkel Fosterer was to be in peace and friendship with earl Einar; and it was arranged that each of them should provide for the other a feast, and that the earl should visit Thorkel first, in Sandvík.

But when the earl was there at the feast, there the most abundant provision had been made; [yet] the earl was not cheerful. There was a large hall,[5] with doors at both ends. On the day when the earl was to go away,[6] Thorkel was to go with him to a feast. Thorkel sent out men [by night] to examine the road by which in the day-time they should go. And when the scouts returned, they told Thorkel that they had found three ambuscades, and armed men; "and we imagine" said they, "that there will be treachery."[7] But when Thorkel

[1] I.e., summer of 1020.

[2] "in the summer" not in Fl.

[3] "the best of friends" adds Fl.

[4] The text in F.S. reads instead: "and begged them to make peace."

[5] "in which they drank" adds the text in F.S.

[6] "and prepare," adds Fl.

[7] The text in F.S. adds: "because the men were all with weapons, as if they were ready for battle."

learned this, he delayed the household,[1] and collected his men. The earl asked him to make ready, and said that it was high time to ride. Thorkel said that he had much to attend to. Sometimes he went out, and sometimes in. There were fires upon the floor.[2] Then he went in by one of the doors, and after him a man who was called Hallvard (he was an Icelandic man, and a native of Austfirdir): he shut the door behind him. Thorkel walked farther in,[3] between the fire and the place where the earl sat. The earl asked: "Art thou not yet ready?" Thorkel answered: "Now I am ready." Then he heaved a blow at the earl, and struck him on the head. The earl fell forward on the floor. Then the Icelander said: "Here have I seen the worst of all resource,[4] that ye draw not the earl from the fire." Then he thrust with an axe-point[5] and put it under the earl's neck-bone, and jerked him up upon the daïs.[6] Thorkel and his companion went out quickly by the other door, [opposite] to that by which they had come in. There stood Thorkel's men outside, fully armed. But the earl's men attended to [the earl]; and he was then dead, yet they all held their hands from avenging him. This too influenced them, that it had taken place unexpectedly; and no man had expected this deed of Thorkel, because they all imagined that it would be as had been previously arranged, that there should be friendship between the earl and Thorkel.[7] Also most men within were weaponless, and many others had till then been good friends of Thorkel; it happened too through the fate, that for Thorkel a longer life was destined. And after he came out,[8] Thorkel had no less an army than the earl's men had.

Then Thorkel went to his ships, and the earl's men went away. Thorkel sailed out the same day, and eastwards to sea

[1] Here the F.S. text inserts: "and he suspected that he was not invited thence to ale, as was pretended."

[2] The F.S. text adds: "And men sat there beside them, and drank."

[3] "along the hall" adds Fl.

[4] *alla versta fanga-ráðs.* Cf. Munch and Unger, 276.

[5] *keyrði til spörðu* (an Irish axe, or bill).

[6] "upon the bench" F.S.

[7] "because . . . Thorkel" not in Fl.

[8] "After he came out" not in Snorri's St Olaf. The whole sentence ("And after . . . had") is not in Fl.

(although it was then after the winter-nights[1]); and he came safely to Norway, and went at once, as quickly as he could, to king Olaf; and he got there a good welcome. The king approved this deed. Thorkel was with him for the winter.[2]

[c. 100] *The agreement between king Olaf and earl Brusi.*

After the fall of earl Einar, earl Brusi took that part of the land that earl Einar had had before; because it was known to many men upon what terms the brothers Einar and Brusi had made their alliance. But Thorfinn thought it most just that each of them should have half of the islands; yet that winter Brusi had two parts[3] of the lands. In the following spring,[4] Thorfinn claimed these lands from Brusi, declaring that he wished to have an equal share with Brusi: but Brusi did not consent to this. They held an assembly and conferences to support their causes. Then their friends went [between them] to settle the dispute; but it appeared that nothing would satisfy Thorfinn except to have one half of the

[1] I.e., after the beginning of winter (which was reckoned by the Icelanders to begin in the middle of October): therefore after 14th October, 1020.

[2] I.e., 1020-1021. Cf. H., St Olaf, c. 106 (Unger's c. 112): "When the summer [1020] was gone, the king came south, and turned in past Trondhjem, to Nidaróss; and he sat there over the winter. And that winter Thorkel Fosterer came east from the Orkneys, when he had slain earl Einar Wry-mouth. That autumn there was a bad season of corn in Trondhjem. . . ." Similarly in Snorri's St Olaf (Munch and Unger, 102; F.S., iv, 233-234), and Fl., ii, 184.

That winter king Olaf forcibly re-converted the people in and above Trondhjem to Christianity.

[3] "for two winters Brusi had both parts" Fl., ii, 178 (a false reading).

[4] Spring of 1021. Cf. H., St Olaf, c. 111 (Unger's c. 117): "Olaf had then been seven winters king in Norway. That summer came to him the earls of the Orkneys, Thorfinn and Brusi: king Olaf made himself master of those lands, as has been written above. That summer, king Olaf went about the two Mörer, and into Romsdal in the autumn." Similarly in Snorri's St Olaf (Munch and Unger, 105; F.S., iv, 239); Fl., ii, 187. He confirmed Christianity in these districts. He occupied himself during the autumn in forcibly Christianizing the people of Gudbrandsdalene.

Olaf the Holy, Harold's son, was born in 995 (Icelandic Annals KBCDEA), became king in 1014, and reigned from 1015 (KOEA; 1014, C) to † 1030 (OCEA); he fell in the battle of Stiklastadir.

Olaf had put a stop to viking-raids in Norway: see H., St Olaf, c. 181 (Unger's c. 192).

islands[1]; and he said besides that Brusi needed not to have more than one third part, considering the disposition that he had. Brusi said: "I was content" said he, "to have the third part of the lands, which I took in inheritance after my father; also none claimed it against me; but now I have taken another third part in inheritance after my brother, according to rightful agreements. And though I seem unequal to contending with thee, brother, yet will I attempt something other than to consent to lose my dominions,[2] as things now are." Thus they ended this conference.

But when Brusi saw that he should not have strength to stand on an equal footing with Thorfinn, because Thorfinn had a much larger dominion, and support from the king of the Scots, his mother's father, then he resolved to go east from the land, to king Olaf; and he had with him his son Ronald. [Ronald] was then ten winters old.

And when the earl met the king, [the king] received him well. But when the earl brought forward his errand, and told the king all the state of affairs between him and his brother, and begged the king to grant him strength to hold his dominions, [and] offered in return his perfect friendship, the king spoke, and began first to say that Harold Fairhair had made himself master of all the odal-lands in the Orkneys[3]; that ever since then the earls had had those lands in fief, but never independently: "and this in token," said he, "that when Eric Bloodaxe and his sons were in the Orkneys,[4] the earls were subject to them; and when Olaf, Tryggvi's son, my kinsman, came there,[5] earl Sigurd (thy father) became his man. Now I have taken all inheritance after king Olaf. I will give thee this choice, that thou become my man—then will I give thee the islands in fief: then shall we try, if I lend thee my support, whether it help thee better; or the Scots' king's

[1] "but Brusi did not . . . islands" omitted by the F.S. text.

[2] Here the F.S. text reads: ". . . 'to consent to lose [my dominions], with paltriness of spirit, and cowardice. I will also not think of contending with thee, brother, since I am without support, such support as thou hast from the king of the Scots, thy mother's father.' Then earl Brusi took to his journey, and went east from the land . . ."

[3] See H., Harold Fairhair, c. 32; above, year 894 ×.

[4] See years 934-957, note; 956.

[5] "came there" not in Fl. This was in 995.

protection, thy brother Thorfinn. But if thou wilt not take this choice, then shall I look after the possessions and odal-lands that our kinsmen and ancestors have owned out there in the west."[1]

The earl considered these speeches within himself, and took them before his friends, and sought counsel which course he should choose: whether he ought thereupon to make this agreement with king Olaf, and become his man; "but the other course is unclear to me, what my lot may be at our parting, if I say no to it; for the king has made manifest the claim he lays[2] to the Orkneys; and considering his ambition, and the fact that we have come here, there will be little for him to do to make of our choice what seems to him best." And although the earl thought there were defects in both courses, he took then the choice of laying all in the power of the king—both himself and his dominion. Then king Olaf took from the earl power and authority over all the earl's inherited lands; then the earl became his man, and bound the contract with oaths.

[c. 101] *Agreement between the earls and king Olaf.*

Earl Thorfinn learned that Brusi, his brother, had gone east to king Olaf, to seek protection from him. And because Thorfinn had gone before to king Olaf, and had made there friendship for himself, he thought that he had the ground well prepared there; and he knew that he should have many supporters of his cause; yet he expected that there would be more, if he came there himself. Earl Thorfinn took this counsel, and prepared as quickly as he could, and went east to Norway, and intended that there should be as little interval as possible between Brusi's arrival and his, and that [Brusi's] errand should not have come to an end before Thorfinn came to the king. But it happened differently from what the earl had intended; because when earl Thorfinn came to king Olaf, the whole agreement between the king and earl Brusi was finished and done. Also earl Thorfinn did not know that earl

[1] "the possessions that I and my ancestors have had, there in the west" F.S.

[2] "the claim that he thinks he has" Snorri's St Olaf's Saga, and Fl. The F.S. text reads:—"the claim to the lands that he thinks he owns in the Orkneys."

Brusi had given up his dominion, before he had come to king Olaf. And as soon as they met, earl Thorfinn and king Olaf, then king Olaf raised the same claim to the dominion of the Orkneys as he had made to earl Brusi; and required the same thing of Thorfinn, that he should yield to the king that part of the lands which he had previously owned. The earl replied well and quietly to the king's words, and said that he thought the king's friendship was of great importance. "And if thou, lord, shouldst think that thou neededst my support against other chiefs, thou hast fully won it already: but it is not fitting for me to give thee homage, because I am already an earl of the king of the Scots, and am his vassal."

But when the king found an evasion in the earl's answers to the arguments he had previously raised, the king said: "If thou, earl, wilt not become my man, then the other alternative is that I set over the Orkneys such man as I will; and I desire then that thou give me oaths not to lay claim to the lands, but to leave in peace from thee whomsoever I set over the lands. And if thou wilt have neither choice, then whoever rules the lands must think that dispeace will be to be expected from thee: then must thou not think it strange, though dale should meet with hill."[1]

The earl replied, and begged him to give him time to consider this question. The king did so; [and] gave the earl a while[2] to discuss this choice with his men. Then [Thorfinn] asked that the king should allow him to put off [his answer] till next summer, and let him go first west beyond the sea, because his counsellors[3] were at home, and he was but a child, considering his age. The king bade him choose then.[4]

Thorkel Fosterer was then with king Olaf. He sent a man

[1] I.e., "though the natural consequences ensue." This is, according to Vigfusson, "a proverbial expression, meaning 'that as they had made their beds, so they must lie'" (Orkneyinga Saga, i, 24, note). It is implied that obstacles would be placed in the way of Thorfinn's departure. Storm translates the phrase:—"though valley follow after hill"; the translator in Oldnordiske Sagaer, iv, 206, "that force is met by force." Fl. reads, "that valley should come against hill." Cf. Laxdœla Saga, c. 37, s.f.

[2] "and permission" add Snorri's St Olaf's Saga, and Fl. The F.S. text reads: "a good while for consideration, and permission to discuss this with his men."

[3] "his best counsellors" F.S.

[4] "one of the two" adds Fl.

secretly to earl Thorfinn, and bade him not to think of parting with king Olaf at the present time (whatever he might have in his mind) on such terms that they should not be in accord, seeing that he had then come into the hands of the king. From such admonitions[1] the earl thought he perceived that there seemed to be only one choice, to let the king have his way then.[2] He thought it undesirable to have no prospect of getting his heritage for himself, and giving an oath that the dominion should be possessed in peace by those that were not born to it. But because his departure seemed to him unclear, he made the choice to go to the king's hands, and become his man—as Brusi had done.

The king found that Thorfinn was much more proud-minded than Brusi, and that he bore worse this tyranny.[3] The king trusted Thorfinn less than Brusi. The king saw that Thorfinn would expect support from the king of the Scots, although he should break this covenant[4]; the king discerned, in his wisdom, that Brusi went reluctantly through the whole agreement, and declared that only to which he intended to adhere; but in the case of Thorfinn, when he had decided which course to follow, he went gladly through all the terms, and made no evasions about what he had decided in the first instance.[5] But the king suspected that the earl would reject some of the conditions.[6]

[c. 102] *The departure of earl Thorfinn.*

When king Olaf had considered within himself all this

[1] These 3 words are not in Fl.

[2] "to let the king alone rule all" Fl.

[3] *þynding*. The text in F.S. reads: "The king thought that [Thorfinn] bore ill all authority; and therefore he trusted earl Thorfinn less than Brusi, to hold the agreement."

[4] "although he took this covenant" F.S.

[5] "about what the king had decided in the first instance" Snorri's St Olaf's Saga. The F.S. text reads: "about what the king had required of him in the first instance, and he had decided upon"; Fl. reads, "about what the king had required of him on the first evening."

[6] *en that grunaði konung, at jarl myndi gera eptir sumar sættir:* perhaps "had imagined that the earl would have rejected." Fl. reads: "suspected that he would intend to reject" (*munde ætla at gera eftir*). The F.S. text reads *at hann mundi eptir ætla at gera sumar sættirnar:* "that he would neglect to fulfil some of the conditions."

agreement, he caused [trumpeters] to blow for a numerous assembly, and had the earl summoned there. Then the king said: "Our covenant with the earls of Orkney will I now reveal before the people. They have now consented to my possession of the Orkneys and Shetland; and both have become my men, and bound all this with oaths. And I will now give it to them in fief: to Brusi, a third part of the lands, and to Thorfinn another third part, as they had before. But the third part that Einar Wry-mouth had, that I count as having fallen into my hands, because he slew Eyvind Aurochs-horn, my body-guard's-man and companion and dear friend. I will do with that part of the lands as seems good to me. This will I also determine,[1] with you two,[2] my earls, that I will that you make terms with Thorkel, Amundi's son, for the killing of Einar, your brother. I will that this decision should be with me, if you will consent to it." And this went like the rest, the earls agreed to everything that the king said. Then Thorkel went forward, and pledged himself to take the king's doom in this case. And so this assembly was dismissed.

King Olaf adjudged compensation for earl Einar as for three landed-men; but because of his guilt, a third of the payment was deducted.

Then earl Thorfinn asked the king for leave to depart. And as soon as it was obtained, the earl prepared to go, as quickly as he could. And when he was quite ready, it happened one day when the earl was drinking on his ship that Thorkel Amundi's son came before him suddenly, and laid his head upon the earl's knee, and bade him do with it as he would. The earl asked why he did so. "We are already men reconciled, by the king's doom; and stand thou up, Thorkel." He did so. Thorkel spoke: "The peace that the king made will I abide by, in the case between me and Brusi; but in what concerns thee, thou alone shalt decide.[3] Though the king have reserved for me my possessions or right of residence in the Orkneys, yet I know thy disposition, that my way to the islands is barred unless I go under your[4] surety, earl. I will

[1] "stipulate" in Snorri's St Olaf, F.S., and Fl.
[2] "brothers" add Snorri's St Olaf, and Fl.
[3] "whatever has already been said about it" adds F.S.
[4] "full" adds F.S.

promise you this," said he, "that I come never to the Orkneys, whatever the king may say about it."

The earl was silent, and slow in speaking. He said: "If thou wilt rather, Thorkel, that I adjudge in our case, rather than accept the king's judgement, then this must be the beginning of our agreement, that thou shalt go with me to the Orkneys, and be with me, and never part from me, unless thou have my leave and permission to do so: thou shalt be bound to defend my land, and to do all the deeds that I will have done,[1] so long as we both are alive." Thorkel answered: "That shall be in your power, earl, like everything else that I can undertake." Then Thorkel went up to him,[2] and pledged himself[3] to the earl to do all that he had decided upon. The earl said that he would have to speak later about compensation-money; and then took an oath from Thorkel. Then Thorkel betook himself at once to the journey with the earl. The earl went away immediately, as soon as he was ready[4]; and king Olaf and he never saw each other again.

Earl Brusi remained there behind, and made ready more at leisure. And before he went away, king Olaf had a conference with him, and spoke thus: "It seems to me, earl, that I shall have in thee a man of trust, there in the west beyond the sea: my intention is that thou shalt have two parts of the lands to rule over, as thou hast had before. I wish thee not to seem a smaller man, or less powerful, now that thou hast become my vassal, than thou wert before. But I will make firm thy faith in this wise, that I wish Ronald, thy son, to remain here behind with me. I think that since thou now hast my support, and two parts of the lands,[5] thou canst well defend thy rights against Thorfinn, thy brother."

Brusi accepted with thanks his having two parts of the lands.[6]

[1] "that I will lay upon thee" F.S.

[2] "went a second time to the earl" F.S.

[3] From here to the end, this passage appears also in MS. Arn. Mag. 332 (R.S. 88, i, 27-28).

[4] "as soon as he got a fair wind" F.S.

[5] "'that thou shalt have two parts of the lands to rule over, and therewith my support, so that thou mayest . . .'". F.S. (omitting "as thou hast . . . of the lands," through homoioteleuton).

[6] "instead of one third" adds Snorri's St Olaf's Saga.

Brusi remained a little while after that, before he went away; and he came in the autumn west to the Orkneys. Ronald, Brusi's son, remained behind in the east with king Olaf. He was the most handsome of all men, with long hair and golden, like silk; he grew early big and strong: he was the most accomplished of men, both because of his wisdom, and his courtesy.[1] He remained long after that with king Olaf.[2]

This said Ottar the Black, in the elegy that he composed upon king Olaf:

"The Shetlanders are reckoned to thee as thy subjects: thou holdest with fitting firmness to the empire of the good sovereign-kings [of Norway]. There had existed in the east no[3] danger-greedy youth that had forced under his sway the islands in the west, until we got thee."[4]

[1] "eloquence" Snorri's St Olaf's Saga; "valour" F.S.; "all accomplishments" Fl.

[2] Cf. F.S., v, 190.

Ronald Brusi's son followed Olaf from Norway to Gardariki in 1029, and returned with him to Norway in 1030. Ronald was present at the battle of Stiklastadir, in which Olaf fell. Cf. Ágrip, c. 25 (F.S., x, 399); F., 178, 181, 183, and the shorter St Olaf's Saga, 64, 58, 95; and H., St Olaf, cc. 180-181 (Unger's cc. 190-191), with the added chapter in MS. J2 (Jónsson's ed., iii, 493; Unger's c. 245).

After Olaf's death, Ronald went to Gardariki with Olaf's 15-year-old brother, Harold Hardrádi; and passed some winters with him there (H., MS. J2, u.s.; Hardrádi, cc. 1-2; Unger's cc. 1-3. Cf. F., 217; O.S., c. 23, R.S. 88, i, 36-37 (MS. A.M. 332); Fl., ii, 408-409). See below, 1036 × 1046.

[3] "had not existed . . . a" in Snorri's St Olaf's Saga and Fl.

[4] "before thou didst come" MS. A.M. 332, and Fl. These read *náði* and *náðut* instead of *nöðum*; erroneously.

F.'s version of H.'s St Olaf (Jónsson's ed., i, 159):—"King Olaf laid under himself first the kings of Norway; and he took taxes in the Orkneys, and Shetland, and the Faroes. So said Ottar . . ." (here follow the verses translated above). Similarly (but with the Faroes omitted) in the shorter St Olaf's Saga, 35, c. 48.

St Olaf, king of Norway, in 1016 had found that Christianity was not well kept in Orkney and Shetland (H., St Olaf, c. 58; Unger's c. 56). For his method of suppressing Odin-worship and enforcing Christianity, see H., St Olaf, c. 73. Cf. the shorter St Olaf's Saga, 23, c. 32.

1021 - 1029

Heimskringla, St Olaf's Saga, c. 103[1]

Of Brusi and earl Thorfinn.

When those brothers, Thorfinn and Brusi, came west to the Orkneys, Brusi took two parts of the lands to rule, and Thorfinn, a third part. [Thorfinn] remained ever in Caithness and in Scotland, but placed his men over the islands. Then Brusi alone had the land-defence over the islands. And at that time they were exposed[2] to warfare, because Northmen and Danes plundered greatly in western piracy; and they came often by the Orkneys, when they went westward or eastward; and they made head-land raids. Brusi spoke to Thorfinn, his brother, because he made no war-provision for the Orkneys or Shetland, although he took taxes and dues from all his share. Then Thorfinn offered him the choice that Brusi should have a third part of the lands, and Thorfinn two parts, and [Thorfinn] alone make war-provision for them both. And although this division was not made at once, yet it is said in the earls' sagas that this division did take place—that Thorfinn had two parts, and Brusi one third—when Cnut the Powerful had laid Norway under himself, and king Olaf had gone from the land.[3]

[1] Unger's c. 109. The same passage is in Snorri's St Olaf's Saga, 100, c. 89; F.S., iv. 229-230, c. 98. It is also in Fl., ii, 182; and MS. A.M. 332 (R.S. 88, i, 28).

[2] "much exposed" R.S., Fl.

[3] "and yet not before king Cnut had laid the Norwegian sovereignty under himself, and king Olaf had perished" F.S. I.e., not before 1030. See year 1018, note.

"This was when Cnut had dominion in Norway, and Olaf had fled from the land" R.S.; i.e., 1028 × 1029. After this, MS. A.M. 332 diverges from the Heimskringla version.

The Orkneyinga Saga (i, 28-29; Vigfusson's c. 22), in MS. A.M. 332; and Fl. (ii, 404), read: "[King Olaf, Harold's son, received no homage from earl Thorfinn, from the time when they parted after the agreement made between earl Brusi and the others [1021-1029]. Fl.] . . . [Thorfinn] was five winters old, when Malcolm, the Scots' king, his mother's father, gave him the name of earl, and Caithness as his dominion [as was written above, A.M.]; and [he] was fourteen winters old, when he took out levies from his land [and plundered in the territory of other chiefs. Fl.].

"Thus says Arnor Earls'-poet:—'The ruler, foot-reddener of crows, made red in battle the sword's edges, before he was fifteen winters old. Able to defend the land, and (battle-greedy) to attack; no man under the

1025

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 554, s.a. 1025[1]

Flandabra, the successor of Iona, . . . slept in Christ.[2]

clouds has lent himself younger than Einar's brother.'" Cf. year 1014, note at end.

This would place Thorfinn's first muster of troops in 1023.

But Cnut made himself master of Norway in [1028]; and Olaf left Norway in [1029] (13 winters after the battle of Nesiar; F., 178); and fell in the battle of Stiklastadir, on 29th July, [1030] (see H., St Olaf, cc. 171, 181, 235; Unger's cc. 181, 191, 248).

Snorri, following Sighvat, retracts an eclipse of 31st August, 1030, to the day of the battle of Stiklastadir (H., St Olaf, cc. 226, 227, 235). From tradition, or some Life of St Olaf, Snorri erroneously states that Harold Hardrádi's fatal expedition of 1066 took place 35 years after St Olaf's death (H., Hardrádi, c. 80).

The A.S.C. place Cnut's expedition to Norway in 1028: "In this year king Cnut went [from England, DEF] to Norway with 50 ships" CDEF; "and drove out king Olaf from that land, and reduced to himself all that land" DEF: and his return in 1029: "In this year king Cnut came [home DE] again to England" DEF. A.S.C., version C, says, s.a. 1030:—"In this year king Olaf was slain in Norway by his own people; and he was afterwards holy . . . "; versions DE:—"In this year king Olaf came again into Norway; and that people gathered against him, and fought with him; and he was there slain."

Theoderic, c. 19 (Storm's Monumenta, p. 42): "The blessed Olaf perished on the fourth day before the Kalends of August, which was then the fourth day of the week, in the year from the Lord's Incarnation 1029, as exactly as we have been able to discover"; i.e., Wednesday, 29th July. But the 29th of July was a Tuesday in 1029; a Wednesday in 1030.

St Olaf was translated, as a saint, in 1031 (Icelandic Annals, KOCA).

Brusi died before 1036 (see below, p. 584). The time when Thorfinn obtained two thirds of the islands was therefore between 1029 and 1036.

Cf. Flateybook's Olaf Tryggvi's son (Fl., ii, 404; R.S. 88, i, 29): "The Scottish king died when the brothers Brusi and Thorfinn had been reconciled." This would place the agreement between them in or before 1034.

[1] With f.n. and e. of 1025.

[2] F.M., ii, 808, s.a. 1025: "Flandabra, successor of Iona of Columcille, . . . died."

Flandabra's death stands first in the year-section in A.U. and F.M.; the death of Maeleoin Ua-Torain, successor of Derry, stands 3rd in A.U.; 2nd, in F.M.; and 2nd, in A.L.C.,' i, 26, s.a. 1025. Reeves believed Maeleoin to have been the chief abbot of the Columban order (Adamnan, 398). But surely Flandabra held that honour.

1026

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 366; s.a. [1026][1]

Maelruanaid Ua-Maeldoraid, king of the Cenel-Conaill, went on a pilgrimage across the sea.[2]

1027

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 558, s.a. 1027[3]

Dunkeld in Scotland was completely burned.[4]

1028 - 1030

Theoderic: Historia de Antiquitate Regum Norwagiensium, in Storm's Monumenta, p. 31

Meanwhile[5] king Cnut allured to himself all the chiefs of Norway, by giving them much, and promising them more, if they would remain loyal to his nephew, Hakon, whom he had brought with him [to Norway].[6] And after taking hostages

[1] 2 years after 1024.

[2] Similarly in C.S. 264, Hennessy's year 1024 = 1026; and the F.M., ii, 810, s.a. 1026 (but F.M. read "lord" instead of "king"). A.U., i, 556, s.a. 1026 (with f.n. and e. of 1026), and A.L.C., i, 28, s.a. 1026 (with incorrect f.n. and e.), read: "Maelruanaid Ua-Maeldoraid went upon a pilgrimage."

A.I., Scriptores, ii, 2, 58. O'Conor's year 1009 = 1026 (with ferial and epact of 1026): "Maelruanaid Ua-Maeldoraid, king of the north [of Ireland, went] upon a pilgrimage, to Clonfert of Brendan; and he went from there to Iona of Columcille; and from there, to Rome of Latium."

Tigernach, 367, s.a. [1027]; C.S., 266, Hennessy's year 1025 = 1027; and F.M., i, 812, s.a. 1027, read: "Maelruanaid Ua-Maeldoraid [lord of Cenel-Conaill F.M.] died upon his pilgrimage."

For Maelruanaid, see A.U. and F.M., s.aa. 1010-1013 = 1011-1014, and 1024; C.S., Hennessy's years 1009, 1011, 1012 (= 1011, 1013, 1014); T., 364, s.a. 1024; A.I., O'Conor's year 993 = 1011.

[3] With f.n. and e. of 1027.

[4] Similarly in A.L.C., i, 28, s.a. 1027; which add "in this year."

[5] While Olaf took refuge (1029-1030) with Iarizleif, king of Gardariki (in Novgorod, 1016-1054). For these events, cf. above, years ?996 - ?1018, note.

[6] Hakon was the son of Eric, Hakon's son (who had ruled in Norway under the king of Sweden), and of Gytha, Cnut's sister (H., Olaf Tryggvi's son, c. 90—Unger's c. 97). According to the Icelandic Annals, Hakon had ruled in Norway from 1012 (CA) to 1015 (KO; 1014, CA); and (under Cnut) from 1028 - †1029 (KOCA). Hakon had abjured the kingdom in the

from those whom he thought least to be trusted, he returned to England.

Then after a year, Hakon went to England, to fetch his wife. But while he was returning, he was caught by a storm, and compelled to enter the Charybdis in that part of the sea that is called the Pentland Firth, beside the Orkney islands: and there he was swallowed up in the depths of the whirlpool, with all his company.[1]

beginning of St Olaf's reign (Theoderic, Storm's Monumenta, 27; F. 146-147; H., St Olaf, c. 30).

Snorri doubts the truth of this story of Hakon's death. He takes it from a different source. H., St Olaf, c. 184 (Unger's c. 195): "Earl Hakon went from [Norway] that summer; and west to England. And when he came there, king Cnut received him well. The earl had a betrothed girl there in England; and he had gone on purpose to fetch her; and intended to hold his wedding in Norway. And he was procuring in England the supplies that he thought would be the most difficult to obtain in Norway.

"The earl prepared in autumn for the homeward journey; and was ready rather late. He sailed into the sea, when he was ready.

"But of his voyage, this is to be said, that the ship was lost; and none escaped. And some men say that the ship was seen off the north of Caithness, one evening, in a great storm; and the wind was blowing out to the Pentland Firth. Those that will follow this, say that the ship would have been driven into the whirlpool" (*í svelginn;* i.e. the Swelkie, off the northern end of Stroma). "But this we know with certainty, that earl Hakon was lost at sea; and nothing came ashore that had been upon the ship. In the same autumn, the merchants told the tidings (so carried about the land) that men thought that the earl was lost; but all knew this, that he came not that autumn to Norway; and the land was then rulerless."

An improbable story appears in the Ágrip, c. 20 (F.S., x, 396): "Then had this father and son, Eric and Hakon, ruled the land for 14 winters, with the title of earl; and Svein, Hakon's son. But St Olaf gave to him (Hakon) the Hebrides, as some say; and supported him so, that he was in possession of them: and he was king there, so long as he lived" (i.e., 1015-1029).

[1] Knytlinga Saga, c. 17; F.S., xi, 201: "Earl Hakon, Eric's son, was lost in England's sea one winter before king Olaf the Holy fell" (i.e., in 1029).

A.S.C., C, after noticing St Olaf's death, s.a. 1030, says: "and before that, in this year, Hakon the doughty earl perished at sea."

Cf. F.W., i, 184-185, s.aa. 1029, 1030: ". . . And after the festival of St Martin [11th November, 1029], [king Cnut] sent into exile, as if for the purpose of an embassy, the Danish earl Hakon, who had in marriage the noble matron Gunhild, the daughter of [Cnut's] sister, and of Wyrtgeorn,

1029

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 369, s.a. [1029][1]

Malcolm, king of Scotland, the son of Maelbrigte, son of Ruadri, died.[2]

1032

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 564, s.a. 1032[3]

Gillacomgain, Maelbrigte's son, the mormaer of Moray, was burned, along with fifty of his men.[4]

1033

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 566, s.a. 1033[5]

The son of the son of Boite,[6] son of Kenneth, was killed by Malcolm, Kenneth's son.[7]

king of the Winidi : because he feared either to be deprived of his life, or expelled from his kingdom, by him.

[s.a. 1030] "The aforesaid earl Hakon perished in the sea. But some say that he was killed in the island of Orkney. . . ." Wyrtgeorn is the Anglo-Saxon form of Vortigern, a Welsh name ; and Winidi might possibly mean "the people of Gwynedd." It is perhaps more likely that he was king of the Wends ; and that Florence has blundered over the spelling of his name.

For Hakon cf. year 1055, note ; for his father Eric, see also year 1018, note.

[1] With e. of 1029 ; and f.n. 3 (for which read 4).

[2] To the same effect in A.U., i, 560, s.a. 1029 (with correct f.n. and e.) ; F.M., i, 818, s.a. 1029 ; A.L.C., i, 30, s.a. 1029 : but these all omit the words "king of Scotland." Malcolm is apparently mentioned in the Additions to the Book of Deer, no. 2. See below, before 1131.

For Ruadri, cf. year 1020. For Malcolm's brother, see below.

[3] With f.n. and e. of 1032 ; and the marginal note "bissextile."

[4] So also in A.L.C., i, 32, s.a. 1032.

Gillacomgain was the husband of Gruoch, who afterwards married Macbeth. Cf. years 1057 ; 1058, note. See below. Gillacomgain appears to have been the brother of Malcolm, Maelbrigte's son, who claimed the kingdom of Scotland († 1029). Their cousin (and rival ; see year 1020), Macbeth, appears to have inherited their claim to the throne. See year 1040.

[5] With f.n. and e. of 1033.

[6] *Mac mic Boete. Boete* may be an Irish form of the name *Boethius* (cf. *Bui(t)te* of Monasterboice ; and *Baite*).

[7] I.e., by king Malcolm II of Scotland. Boite was the father of Gruoch

1034

Marianus Scottus, Chronicle, in M.G.H., Scriptores, vol. v, p. 556; s.a. 1056 = 1034[1]

Malcolm, the king of Scotland, died, on the seventh day before the Kalends of December.[2] Duncan, his daughter's son, succeeded him, for five years and nine months.[3]

1034

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 374, s.a. [1034][4]

Malcolm, Kenneth's son, the king of Scotland, the honour of all the west of Europe, died.[5]

(*filia Bodhe*; St Andrews, 114); and through her, the grandfather of Lulach, Gillacomgain's son (*nepos filii Boide*; Chronicle of the Kings, version E, 131; see above, pp. 520-521). See years 1040, 1058.

Dunbar thinks that Boite's father was Kenneth III († 1005; Malcolm II's cousin). In that case, Boite's grandson was probably a child in 1033. It is possible that Boite may have been a son of Kenneth II, and brother of Malcolm II.

This feud seems to have begun in 999. See that year, above. It led to the usurpation of the kingdom by Macbeth. See year 1040.

The marriages of Gruoch united two parties hostile to Malcolm II:—her own party, the descendants of Kenneth; and her husbands' party, the Moray family that claimed the kingdom of Scotland. For the history of these affairs, see the genealogical tables given under year 1040, note.

[1] Also the 10th year of the emperor Conrad II. This passage does not appear in the Cottonian MS.

[2] I.e., on 25th November.

[3] The ninth month was not completed. See year 1040.

The Chronicle of Melrose, 46, s.a. 1034, reads: "Malcolm, the king of the Scots, died; and Duncan, his grandson, succeeded him." This is copied (inexactly) by the Chronicle of Man, i, 46, s.a. 1017 = 1034.

[4] Placed 3 years after 1031.

[5] Similarly (omitting "all") C.S., 270, Hennessy's year 1032 = 1034; and, omitting "the honour . . . Europe" (with f.n. and e. of 1034):—A.I., 63, O'Conor's year 1017 = 1034; A.U., i, 568, s.a. 1034; A.L.C., i, 34-36, s.a. 1034.

1005-1034

Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, version D; Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 152

Malcolm, Kenneth's son, a most victorious king, reigned for thirty years. And he died in Glammis,[1] and was buried in Iona.[2]

1005-1034

Berchan's Prophecy, stanzas 179-184; Skene's Picts and Scots, pp. 99-100

Afterwards, a warrior, fortunate (poets tell it), wrathful-hearted, who will make war, will take high Scotland[3]; and his name is the Aggressor.[4]

Men of the world will be of pure colour[5] because of him (the prophecy of an angel, whom I serve).[6] A heavy-battler

[1] So in DF; but G reads *Glaities;* I, *Slines.*

[2] Similarly in versions FGI (175, 302, 289); but GI add "island."

K reads (206): "This Malcolm reigned nobly for 30 years, and was victorious." N (306): "Malcolm, a glorious king, [reigned] for 30 years, and was buried in the island of Iona." For the unexpanded versions, see above, p. cxxxix. Version E notes the length of his reign, and adds an account of the battle of Carham. See year 1018.

The Duan Albanach reads (Skene's P. & S., 63): "Thirty years—make the verse abound with assonance—Malcolm was king of Moin" (*Monaidh*). For the meaning of the cheville, *breacaid rainn*, cf. Thurneysen, Irische Texte, iii, 131. The four half-lines all assonate. For the locality of Moin, cf. the note upon Berchan, below.

Malcolm II's 30th year was not completed. See year 1005.

[3] For *geabhadh* reading *geabha;* and for *árd* reading *áird*, as the verse requires. The epithet is alliterative.

[4] *a[n] Forranach.* This refers to Malcolm II.

[5] For *dathlana* reading *dath-ghlain*, as the verse requires. This metaphor seems here to mean "will flourish." Cf. stanza 194, under year 1093.

[6] *Aingil ga ttu tharingire*, rhyming with *de.* The same line recurs in stanza 183: *aingil ga ttu tharranguire*, rhyming with *roimhe.* MS. *b* reads in both cases: *aingil ga ttu tairngire.* Cf. stanza 104, *don mhac ga tá tarangaire* "of the son who has the promise."

Gattu should be the 1st-personal form, *catú* "whose I am" (cf. Meyer's MacConglinne, 19, 27, 138). In that case the initial consonant of *tairngire* should probably be unaspirated; and the construction almost requires an additional syllable, which the line will not allow (*don aingel*). A possible emendation would be: *aingil ga dtá a thairngire* "[they are] angels who have the promise of it." But since the reading of the verb is confirmed by repetition, I have attempted to translate it as it stands.

of a strong people, the good king will redden red weapon-points.

Son of a woman of Leinster[1]; Leap-through-battle; the florid one; the Aggressor. Enemy of Welsh[2]; destroyer of Foreigners[3]; voyager of Islay and of Arran.[4]

A son of the cow that grazes upon the country-side of Liffey, red will be the tracks of his swift foraying. A leopard that will eat broad Scotland[5]; with whom will go the very pure Gaels.[6]

Ten battles will be gained by him (the prophecy of an angel, whom I serve). Thirty-five years are his time in the sovereignty of Scotland.

Until the day when he goes to battle, to meet with the parricides,[7] to the swift morning leap of Moin[8]: alas for Scotland, in opposition to them!

[1] This implies that Kenneth II had married an Irish lady, probably of a royal family of Leinster. Cf. the following stanza; and stanza 202, in which Berchan says that Scots (sons of Margaret?) took refuge in Ireland during the reign of Donald Bán (who had probably done the same, during the reign of Macbeth).

[2] According to Fordun, Malcolm II made himself king of Cumbria.

[3] Either the Norwegians, or the English.

[4] This seems to imply that he exacted tribute from the inner Hebrides.

[5] *on chú is as Albain uill;* read *onchú issas* (apparently unelided). For the metaphor, cf. Tigernach's continuator, s.a. [1172]; R.C., xviii, 285.

[6] *Ghaóidhil glan uill.* The metre requires *glan-uill* to be a compound word. It is an inversion, for rhyme's sake, of *oll-glain* "very pure." Cf. an Old-Irish poem on St Patrick, in Archiv für celtische Lexicographie, iii, 303.

[7] Possibly the family of Maelbrigte, whose sons had killed his brother Findlaech (Macbeth's father) in 1020. They might have risen against Malcolm in revenge for the burning of Maelbrigte's son Gillacomgain in 1032; although we are not told that Malcolm was responsible for his death.

Fordun gives a vague account of Malcolm's death (IV, 41-43), in which he says that Malcolm was wounded in suppressing a rebellion of relatives of his predecessors, Constantine and Gryme.

[8] Or "of the moor," or "swamp." For *mona* in the MS. we must read *monaid* (a genitive case of *Moin*), because the word rhymes with *erchomhair* (s.l.) in the following line.

Malcolm is called "king of Moin" (*rí Monaidh*) in the Duan. *Monaid* might possibly be a Pictish nominative (*monid, monith;* see years 728, 729); which might stand for the Mounth, the range of the Grampians. But it is hard to see why a king should have taken his title from a range of mountains, which cannot have been inhabited to any extent. A more probable explanation is suggested by Professor Watson, that the title was

The Gaels will fall in the battle[1]; they will melt away before the Aggressor (?).[2] Alas for whom he reaches; alas for him who goes. I shall expound it to you (it is not a lying tale).[3]

Ireland will be in evil state because of it (the prophecy shall reach to her); along with every one in turn,[4] in every place.

derived from the castle of *Dunmonaidh*, or Edinburgh; since Lothian had been added to the Scottish dominions during this king's reign. This name for Edinburgh, however, seems to lack historical confirmation.

Dun-monaid in early literature seems to stand for Dunadd in Monadh Mhòr, and, poetically, for the kingdom of Dalriata, of which that fortress was the capital. In later literature *magh mhonaidh* and *clár monaidh* appear to mean the kingdom of Scotland. The "king of Moin" was primarily king of Scone, so that if Moin was a district we should expect it to mean the kingdom of Scone.

The Prophecy implies that Malcolm died in Moin. The Chronicles of the Kings say that he died at Glammis. If these traditions are the same, they would place Glamis in the district of Moin; but no confidence can be placed in them.

[1] Reading *chath* for *gcath*.

[2] *dreifid ré sin fóirscanach*. Read *dricfid . . . forranach?* Cf. *go n-driogfaid a mbrígh* in stanza 20; p. 450 of MS. The verb *driog* (probably of Scandinavian origin) means in modern Gaelic, "trickle, distil."

[3] This and the previous stanza seem to mean that Malcolm died of wounds received in the battle; perhaps also that his opponent was killed there. Cf. the account of Fordun, IV, 41; who says that Malcolm was victorious, but wounded; and that he survived the battle for three days.

[4] *ar uair*. Skene (following MS. *b*) erroneously omits *ar*.

PART XXII

Reigns of Duncan, Macbeth, and Lulach. History of Northumbria

1005-1034

Prose and Verse Chronicles inserted in the Chronicle of Melrose, p. 227; s.aa. 1003, 1034[1]

[s.a. 1003] Grim, the king of the Scots, was slain; and after him, "[the same Malcolm reigned for thirty summers. He was in battles a warlike and valiant knight[2]]. A free [death][3] carried off the king, in the village of Glammis: he perished under foot, after laying low the enemy.[4] The daughter of the above-named king [Malcolm] was the wife of abbot Crin[an][5]: Bethoc, worthy of her name."[6]

[s.a. 1034] This Malcolm had no son; but a daughter, who was the wife of Crin[an], the abbot of Dunkeld.[7] And "by her he begot a son, Duncan by name; who for six years was king of Scotland. Macbeth, son of Findlaech, struck him a mortal wound. The king died at Elgin."

[1] With the verse parts (within inverted commas) cf. the Bodleian text, in Skene's P. & S., 180.

[2] Not in C.M.; supplied from Bodleian text.

[3] "A shameful death" (*mors improba*), B.; so read in C.M.

[4] For *prostratis . . . perit*, B. reads erroneously *paratis . . . ruit.*

[5] *Abbatis Crini:* the metre forbids the addition of a syllable.

[6] The reading of B. is corrupt.

The writer probably understands the name to mean "birch-tree" (modern Gaelic *beathag;* Irish *beathóc.* Dinneen, Lane. The middle-Irish *bethe* "birch" was also used as a woman's name: cf. L.L., p. 216).

[7] *abbatis Duncaneli Crini.* Cf. the forms given by the Chronicles of the Kings; below, year 1040. The same person is once called "Cronan, abbot of Dunkeld," by A.U. See below, year 1045, note.

Fordun calls Bethoc "Beatrice," and says that she was the only legitimate child of Malcolm II. She was married, according to Fordun, "to a man of great vigour and power, Crinan, *abthanus* of Dull, and seneschal of the islands." Fordun explains that *abthanus* is not equivalent to *abbas*, but means "chief of the thanes"; his function being that of a steward or chamberlain (IV, 39; i, 181. Cf. i, 187).

There is a district called Appin in the parish of Dull (*abthania de Dul*):

its revenues were 20 shillings, and were reserved for Dunkeld, when the bishop and chapter of Dunkeld conceded Dull to the prior and canons of St Andrews (see St Andrews, pp. 295-297).

The name Appin is derived from the middle-Gaelic *abbdaine* or *apthaine*, which meant "abbacy," and had the transferred meanings "supremacy," and (probably) "abbey-lands." This word was rendered in Latin *abthania*; but the title *abthanus* seems to be Fordun's own invention. His explanation shows that he means by it "Steward of the Appin or *abthania*"; and that he understood *abthania* in some sense akin to "supremacy."

There were no Stewards of Appin in Fordun's time. But the High Stewards of Scotland were "of Breton origin, descended from a family which held the office of Senescal or Steward of Dol, under the counts of Dol and Dinan, . . . in the 11th century" (Scots Peerage, i, 9).

Fordun seems to have mixed up the *abthania* of Dull with the Stewardry of Dol; and has erroneously assumed that Crinan was an ancestor of Walter, Alan's son († 1177), who became the first High Steward of Scotland in the reign of David. Underneath these confusions there may have been a substratum of fact, which cannot now be ascertained. Crinan is called "Crinan the thane" in the tract De Obsessione Dunelmi (R.S. 75, i, 216). Crinan may have been the son of Duncan, the abbot of Dunkeld, who died in 965.

According to Fordun (IV, 40; i, 182), Malcolm II had made Duncan king of Cumbria. This is supported by F.W., who calls Malcolm III "son of the king of the Cumbrians" (E.C., 85). Owen was king of Strathclyde in 1018 (E.C., 82). See year 1018, above.

For Duncan's sons, Malcolm Cendmor and Donald Bán, see Fordun, IV, 44-45 (i, 187-189). Fordun says that Duncan had, immediately upon his accession to the kingdom of Scotland, given Cumbria to Malcolm. (In reality, Cumbria seems to have been ruled by Maldred.) Malcolm (he says) fled to Cumbria, when Macbeth became king of Scotland; and afterwards to Siward, the earl of Northumbria, his mother's relative: while his brother, Donald, went to the islands.

For Duncan's brother, Maldred, see E.C., 81, 96; D.K., 5-6.

On the authority of the Orkneyinga Saga, Dunbar gives Duncan a sister, the mother of Moddan, earl of Caithness. But the Saga's story may here be entirely fabulous. See below, year 1106, note.

The Orkneyinga Saga, cc. 22-23 (MS. A.M. 332, R.S. 88, i, 29-36; Fl., St Olaf, cc. 339-341, ii, 404-408; Hjaltalin and Goudie (1873), c. 5, pp. 17-20), gives a fabulous story, not contained in earlier saga-collections, telling that the Scottish king [Malcolm II], Thorfinn's grandfather, died, after the agreement made between Thorfinn and Brusi [1028×]; and that "then Karl Hundi's son took dominion over Scotland." Karl claimed Caithness (which Malcolm had given to Thorfinn), and wished to place over Caithness the chief who was called Moddan [Matadin?]; he was Karl's sister's son, and had many relatives and friends in Ireland. Thorfinn fought for his right; Karl was defeated at sea, off Deerness; Moddan was killed, in Thurso; Karl was routed at Torfnes, south of Moray Firth (to the south of Oykell, according to Arnor). Thorfinn advanced with great

1034

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 374, s.a. [1034]

Suibne, Kenneth's son, king of the Galwegians, died.[1]

1034

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 568, s.a. 1034

Macc-nia Ua-Uchtain, lector of Kells, was drowned while he came [to Ireland] from Scotland; and Columcille's *flabellum*, and three of the relics of Patrick, [were lost with him]; along with thirty men.[2]

1035 [3]

violence into Fife, while the Scots fled and did not dare to fight. Thorfinn returned to Caithness for the winter; and plundered in the western lands every summer afterwards.

The Thorfinns-drápa of Arnor Earls'-poet, Thord's son, is the authority quoted for this account. Arnor calls Karl Hundi's son "Karl," "king" (*jöfurr*), and "lord of Scotland"; and speaks of the battles of Deerness and Torfnes, and of three other defeats of the Scots; and of ravagings of Thorfinn in Scotland.

For Arnor's verses, see J.S., i, A, 344-348; B, 317-321; Corpus Poeticum, ii, 195-196. If these verses are genuinely Arnor's, they are valuable, since Arnor was Thorfinn's contemporary. Karl may have been a ruler of Sutherland, or of Moray. His father's name (according to the saga), Hundi, means "dog"; it might be a translation of the Gaelic Culen or Matad. It does not seem to be possible to identify Karl with king Duncan, the successor of Malcolm II.

If the story is not entirely fabulous, it is possible that Karl Hundi's son ("churl, son of dog") was an opprobrious name applied by allies of the family of Malcolm II to the usurper, Macbeth. This last supposition is made less improbable by the fact that, during Macbeth's reign, Thorfinn endeavoured to conciliate the Norwegian kings (Magnus, 1046 × 1047, unsuccessfully; Hardrádi, successfully, 1047 × ? 1064, and perhaps 1047 × ? 1050. See below, 1036-1046, note). But since an unsuccessful ruler of Moray could hardly have made himself king of Scotland, it is more likely that Karl may have been an intruder placed over Moray. No solution of this riddle seems to be justified.

[1] Similarly in A.U., i, 568, s.a. 1034; and in A.L.C., i, 36, s.a. 1034.

[2] Similarly in A.L.C., i, 36, s.a. 1034; and so read in F.M., ii, 828, s.a. 1034.

Cf. years 1009, 1040.

[3] In the year 1035, king Cnut died. See years 1055, 1018, notes. For the oaths taken at his death-feast, see Fagrskinna, 83-86.

1040

Marianus Scottus, Chronicle; M.G.H., Scriptores, vol. v, p. 557; s.a. 1062 = 1040[1]

Duncan, the king of Scotland, was killed in autumn, (on the nineteenth day before the Kalends of September,[2]) by his earl, Macbeth,[3] Findlaech's son; who succeeded to the kingdom, [and reigned] for seventeen years.[4]

1040

Marianus Scottus, marginal addition in the Palatino-Vatican MS.; in M.G.H., Scriptores, vol. v, p. 558; s.a. 1079 = 1057[5]

Duncan reigned for five years: that is, from the mass of St Andrew[6] to the same, and beyond, to the Nativity of St Mary.[7]

Then Findlaech's son reigned for seventeen years, to the same mass of St Mary.[8]

[1] Also the 1st year of emperor Henry III.

[2] I.e., on 14th August. This date is added in the margin of the Vatican MS.

[3] *a duce suo Macbethad:* perhaps "his general." This is the correct spelling of Macbeth's name (literally "son of life"; "one of the elect"). The chroniclers constantly confuse it with *Macheth*. Cf. year 1157, note.

The word *Bethu* ("life") occurs as a man's name in the Book of Leinster, 321, column 5.

[4] This passage is not in the Cottonian MS. (Waitz).

The Chronicle of Melrose, 47, s.a. 1039, says simply: "Duncan, the king of the Scots, died; and Macbeth usurped to himself his kingdom."

[5] These notes were written before 1079. See year 1057, note.

[6] 30th November, 1034.

[7] This should mean 8th September, 1040; but probably, as below, the day of the Assumption is meant: i.e., 15th August, 1040.

[8] This should mean 8th September, 1057; but in the same notes (see below, year 1057) Marianus says that Macbeth was killed in August: therefore probably the day of the Assumption, 15th August, 1057, is meant.

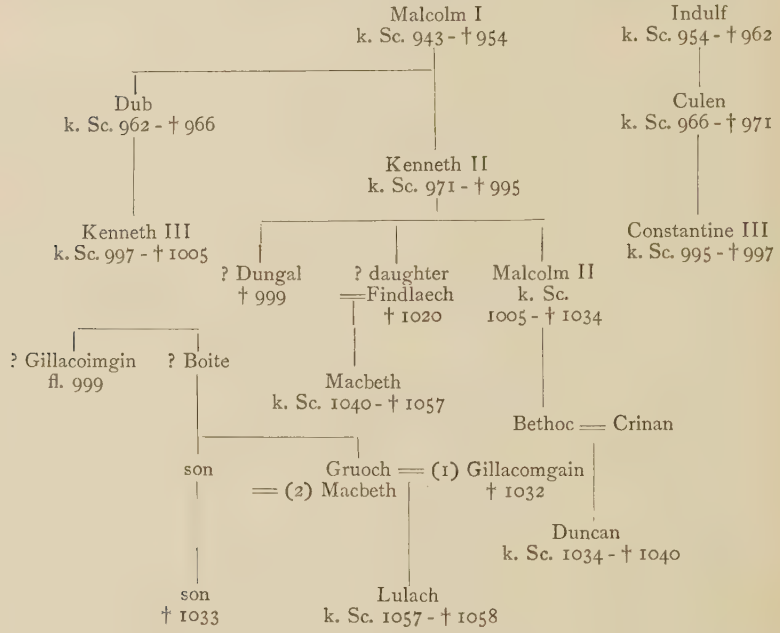
The Chronicle of Huntingdon calls Macbeth a nephew (*nepos*) of Malcolm II. Its evidence is hardly sufficient to establish this relationship. See year 1054, note. Cf. R. O'Flaherty, Ogygia (1685), 489. D.K, 6-7.

If Boite had been the son of Kenneth II, not of Kenneth III, Macbeth's wife would have been the niece of Malcolm II. See year 1033, note.

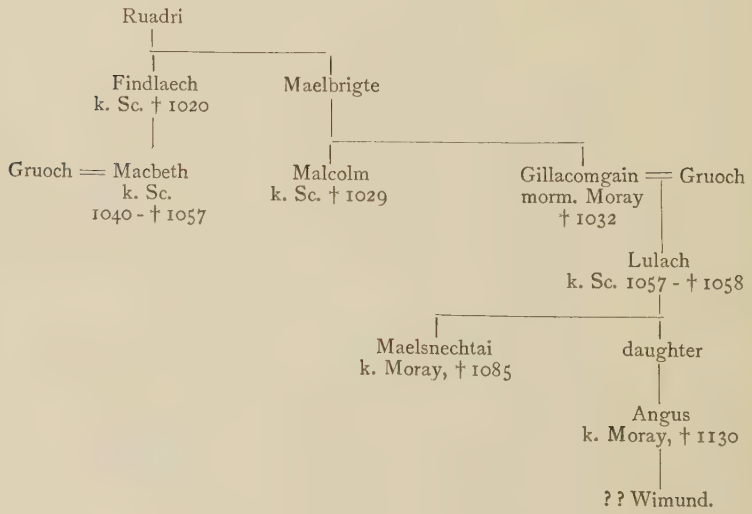
Macbeth's immediate claims, by descent and by marriage, to the kingdom of Scotland, will best be shown by genealogical tables.

(1) The descendants of Kenneth.

Malcolm I and Indulf were great-grandsons of Kenneth, Alpin's son.



(2) The family of Moray.



1040

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 379; s.a. [1040][1]

Duncan, Crinan's[2] son, sovereign of Scotland,[3] was slain by his subjects, at an immature age.[4]

1040

Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, version D; Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 152

Duncan, son of Cr[in]an[5] the abbot of Dunkeld, and of Bethoc, daughter of Malcolm, Kenneth's son, reigned for six years. And he was killed by Macbeth, Findlaech's son,[6] in Bothngouane[7]; and was buried in the island of Iona.[8]

[1] This year-section is placed between years dated 1039 and 1041. This passage is copied by C.S., 272; Hennessy's year 1038=1040. A similar passage appears in A.U., i, 576, s.a. 1040; and is copied by A.L.C., i, 40, s.a. 1040.

[2] "Critan's" C.S.

[3] *airdrí Alban.* "King of Scotland" (*rí Alban*) in A.U. and A.L.C.

[4] "at an immature age" not in A.U., A.L.C.

These words are contradicted by Berchan (below). They cannot have been strictly true; because Duncan had three sons. His pedigree (see above) suggests that he should have been of middle age. He was apparently of the same generation as Gruoch, Macbeth's wife.

[5] *mac Cran*, D; *mac Trim*, F; *mac Trini*, G; *filius Crini*, I; *mac Kryn*, K.

[6] *a Maketh mac Fyngel*, D. See above, p. cxl, note.

[7] *Bothngouane*, D; *Bothgauenan*, F; *Bothergouenan*, G; *Bothgouanan*, I. I.e. *both-inna-ngobann?* Stated to be Pitgaveny, near Elgin (cf. D.K.): but this is uncertain. Balnagowan has a somewhat similar name.

On 21st April, 1235, king Alexander II endowed a mass-chaplaincy in Elgin cathedral, for the soul of king Duncan; giving 3 marks yearly from the firma of the royal borough of Elgin (Moray, no. 36). This probably implies that Duncan I had been killed within the diocese of Moray.

[8] This passage appears similarly in versions FGI (175, 302, 289). But FI omit "reigned"; F omits "the island of."

K (206) omits the places of death and of burial, and reads "son" instead of "daughter." N (306) reads: "Duncan [reigned] for 5 years; and he was killed; and was buried in the island of Iona."

Duncan's reign is omitted by E.

The Duan Albanach reads (Skene's P. & S., 63): "Six years of Duncan, pure [and] wise."

1034-1040

Berchan's Prophecy, stanzas 187-190; Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 101

After [the Aggressor], without delay, a king whose name is the Man of many diseases[1] will take [Scotland]. The king will not be young, but will be old,[2] who will crush[3] the hostages of the Gaels.

During the time of the Man of many diseases, of many melodies, Scotland will not venture [to raise] the standard of red gold,[4] which arouses battle. He will be an old man, lasting well.[5]

Joy to Scotland, which he will take; but short is the time in which she will enjoy him: five years and a half (a bright space) over Scotland in sovereignty.[6]

Afterwards a king diseased, whose name is the Man of many diseases, will take [Scotland].[7] He will die of that disease: this will be his high history.

1040

Annals of Ulster, vol. i, p. 576, s.a. 1040[8]

. . . Maelmuire Ua-Uchtain, Columcille's successor, . . . slept in Christ.[9]

[1] *an t-ilghalrach:* perhaps erroneously attracted to the epithet of the succeeding king. Possibly read *ilghalach* "of many exploits"? Cf. *galach*, in Irische Texte, iii, 346; Saltair na Rann (1883), ll. 8121, 8340.

[2] A similar redundant statement occurs in stanza 200 (see year 1094).

This statement seems to be a contradiction of Tigernach, who says that Duncan died at an immature age. But Berchan's authority is not good.

[3] *shuithfes for;* read *suaithfes for* "will knead," as in stanza 134. MS. *b* (followed by Skene) reads erroneously *fuithfeas.*

[4] *ni leimthar . . . meirge déigh óir*: for *deigh* read *deirg* (*dearg* in MS. *b*). "The standard of red gold" is possibly a circumlocution for fire? For Berchan's use of the verb, cf. stanza 77: *ní léimhthar leis in ferann.*

[5] *bidh he an seanoir somharthain*, rhyming with *cath.* Read therefore *bidh seanoir* (or *bidh he seann*) *so-mharthanach?*

[6] This seems to be the reign of Duncan, who was king for 5½ years and 82 days.

[7] *an t-illghalrach.* This cannot be Macbeth, who did not die of disease; but may possibly be Lulach. In that case the stanza has been displaced; it should stand after stanza 193. For Lulach's reign see below, 1057-1058.

[8] With f.n. and e. of 1040; and the marginal note "bissextile."

[9] Cf. F.M., ii, 836, s.a. 1040: "Maelmuire Ua-Uchtain, the successor of

1038-1041

Simeon of Durham, Historia Regum, vol. ii, p. 198

After the death of his brother, [Ealdred,][1] Eadulf [Uhtred's son] was made earl of the Northumbrians. He, being exalted with pride, ravaged the Britons [of Cumbria] with sufficient ferocity.[2] But in the third year afterwards, when he had come in peace to Harthacnut,[3] to be reconciled, he was killed by Siward, who had after him the earldom of the whole province of the Northumbrians; that is, from the Humber as far as the Tweed.[4]

1045

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 385; s.a. [1045][5]

A battle [was fought] between Scots, upon a united expedition[6]; and Crinan, abbot of Dunkeld, was killed in it; and many along with him, namely nine score fighting men.[7]

Columcille and of Adamnan, died" (i e., abbot of Kells and of Raphoe. Cf. charter no. 4 in the Book of Kells).

A previous head abbot of the same name died in 1009. The present Maelmuire was certainly a relative of the former one; and possibly a son. Cf. year 1034, for another member of the family. See Reeves, Adamnan, 397, 398.

The next recorded successor of Columba is Murchaid Ua-Maelsechlaind, for whom see year 1055.

[1] See year 1072, note.

[2] Similarly Siward (1041 × 1055), Gospatric (in 1070; E.C., 92), and Waltheof (1072 × 1075), attempted to subdue Cumberland and Westmoreland. See years 1055, 1072, notes.

[3] Therefore 1040 × 1042. A.S.C. CD place Eadulf's death in 1041; and F.W. (i, 195) names Siward "earl of the Northumbrians" in 1041. But the tract De Northymbrorum Comitibus says that Eadulf was killed by Siward "in the reign of Edward" the Confessor (1042 × 1066). See year 1072, note.

[4] For Siward, see year 1055.

[5] The year-section stands between years dated 1044 and 1046; and is distinguished by f.n., e., and golden number, of 1045.

[6] *ar aenrían* "on one road" Stokes, who adds the note: "Perhaps an idiom for . . . 'among themselves'" (as in A.U.).

The same expression occurs in the continuation of Tigernach, 272, referring to an expedition led by several kings for one object. The phrase appears to be a corruption of an older phrase *for óen-róen. Róen* "road" was used in the transferred sense of "military expedition" (cf.

1036-1046

Snorri's St Olaf's Saga, c. 270[1]

King Magnus the Good, son of the holy king Olaf, reigned over Norway, as was said before. Then was with him earl Ronald, Brusi's son. At that time, earl Thorfinn, Sigurd's son, Ronald's father's brother, ruled over the Orkneys.

Then king Magnus sent Ronald west to the Orkneys,[2] and requested that Thorfinn would let [Ronald] receive[3] his patrimony. Thorfinn let Ronald have with him a third-part[4] of the islands; because [Ronald's] father Brusi, had so had, upon his dying day.

English "field"); see Oengus, May 27, June 19. Cf. the Egerton Tochmarc Ferbe, Irische Texte, iii, 2, 552, where *i n-aenraen . . . no a turcomrac* is translated by Windisch "auf einem gemeinsamen Wege oder in Versammlung" (ibid., 556). *For aenraen* would probably mean "upon a united expedition," or "in a mass-levy": the implication here being that an army was composed of different elements, which divided into hostile parties.

[7] *nae xx laech;* "laymen" Stokes (literally).

Cf. A.U., i, 584, s.a. 1045 (with f.n. and e. of 1045): "A battle [was fought] between Scots, among themselves; and in it fell Cronan, the abbot of Dunkeld." Similarly also in A.L.C., i, 46, s.a. 1045. Cronan was a more familiar name to Irishmen than Crinan.

This Crinan seems to have been the father of king Duncan. See year 1034. Duncan's grandson, Æthelred, also was an abbot of Dunkeld. See year 1093, note.

This warfare was doubtless a rebellion raised against Macbeth. It may have been the same attempt against him, in which the Northumbrians took part; and which the Annals of Durham place in 1046. See E.C., 84.

[1] Munch and Unger, p. 244; F.S., v, 141.

[2] F. (201) places this event between [1036] († Sven) and [1042] († Harthacnut); and says that Magnus the Good "sent Ronald, Brusi's son, west to dominion in the Orkneys; and gave him the name of earl. And in his days occurred the disagreement between Ronald and Thorfinn, [Ronald's] father's brother, as is told in the Earls' Saga."

Magnus had ruled over Norway during the winter in which Sven died (1035-1036); while Sven was in Denmark with Harthacnut. The Icelandic Annals (KOCA) place the death of Sven Ælfgifu's son in 1036.

[3] "requested that Ronald should receive" F.S.

[4] The Orkneyinga Saga (c. 26) says that Ronald got two-thirds of the islands, on condition of aiding earl Thorfinn, who "had at that time great contentions [*deilur*] with the Hebrideans and the Irish." Cf. below.

The islands thus divided into three parts were the Orkneys and Shetlands only (O.S., c. 30).

Thorfinn had then married Ingibiorg[1] Earls'-mother, the daughter of Finn, Arni's son.

Earl Ronald thought that he owned two parts of the lands, as Olaf the Holy had given to Brusi, his father; and as Brusi had had in [Olaf's] days. These were the beginnings of the contention between the kinsmen: and there is a long story about that.[2]

[1] See years ? 1065, 1070, notes.

[2] In Snorri's time, therefore, there existed a saga describing these events.

The vivid story told by the Orkneyinga Saga of the dealings between Thorfinn and Ronald is scarcely historical (R.S. 88, i, 35-56; cc. 23-36, Fl., St Olaf, cc. 342-355; ii, 408-420); except that in contains verses quoted from Arnor Earls'-poet. These verses are the historical nucleus; but the reading is often corrupt, and the meaning obscure. For these, see Nordal's edition of the saga, when it appears.

The Orkneyinga Saga implies that Ronald came to Orkney, and obtained two-thirds of the islands, in [1038], 8 winters before the winter of his death.

According to O.S. (cc. 26-27) Thorfinn and Ronald collected their forces in spring, [1039]; and "in the summer, plundered in the Hebrides, and in Ireland, and widely in Scotland's firths. Thorfinn laid the land under himself, wherever they went." In the summer, they had a great battle in Waterford [Skye]; and were victorious.

For eight winters (1038-1046] they shared the Orkneys; and every summer they went on plundering expeditions, together or separately (c. 27).

One summer (c. 28), [1040 × 1042] Thorfinn plundered in the Hebrides and the west of Scotland. He came to Galloway, and sent a force into England to get cattle. This force was destroyed by the English. At that time, Harthacnut reigned in England and Denmark (c. 29). Next spring [1041 × 1042], Thorfinn collected levies in Orkney, Caithness, Scotland. Ireland, and the Hebrides; and invaded England, gaining victory in two battles, and in other fighting. He returned to the Orkneys for the winter.

Kalf Arni's son fled from Norway (c. 30), to Thorfinn, who had married Ingibiorg, a daughter of Finn, Kalf's brother. [For Finn and Kalf see year ? 1050, below.] Thorfinn wished to take again from Ronald Einar's third of the islands. Thorfinn collected forces from the Hebrides and from Scotland. His whole dominions at this time were a third of the islands; Caithness, and a great part of Scotland; and all the Hebrides (R.S. 88, i, 45; Fl., ii, 413). Ronald fled to Norway; and king Magnus gave him forces, and sent by him a promise of pardon to Kalf if Kalf would aid Ronald against Thorfinn.

The forces of Ronald and of Thorfinn met in the Pentland Firth [in 1046?] (c. 31). Kalf did not fight. Thorfinn, finding himself in difficulty,

They fought a great battle in the Pentland Firth. Kalf, Arni's son, was then with earl Thorfinn. Thus said Biorn Gullbrár-skáld[1]:

"We have learned, Kalf! how thou didst follow Finn's kinsman-in-law in battle; and how thou didst quickly put to sea swift ships, against the earl.

"Impetuous one, bloodthirsty, remembering the feud! Thou didst overcome the courage of Brusi's son; and thou wert of use to Thorfinn."[2]

begged Kalf to help him. Kalf joined the fight, and Ronald was defeated. Ronald fled to Norway.

Thorfinn took possession of all the islands (c. 32). He sent Kalf to rule the Hebrides. In the beginning of winter [1046], Ronald returned with a picked force, in one ship. He surprised Thorfinn in Pomona (c. 33); and burned down the house in which he was. But Thorfinn and his wife escaped, without being seen. Thorfinn rowed over to Caithness, and was believed to be dead. Before Christmas [1046], Thorfinn surprised Ronald in Papa Stronsay (c. 34); and burned down the house in which he was. But Ronald escaped. Search was made along the sea-shore. Ronald was found, and killed, by Thorkel Fosterer. His death was concealed; and Thorfinn surprised his followers in Kirkwall. Thirty men, mostly of king Magnus's body-guard, were put to death; one was sent back to Magnus.

Ronald was buried in Papa Westray (c. 35). Thorfinn took all the islands. Magnus was at war with Sven, Ulf's son, king of Denmark.

Harold Hardrádi, Sigurd's son, reigned with Magnus in Norway [1046-1047] (c. 36). Thorfinn went to Magnus, and by a ruse gained peace; but terms of atonement were postponed. The body-guardsman who had been spared by Thorfinn claimed atonement for his brother. Thorfinn escaped to sea. Magnus died, leaving the realm to Harold [1047].

After the death of Magnus, Thorfinn made friendship with Hardrádi (c. 37; Fl., c. 356, ii, 420-421). He seems to have acknowledged Hardrádi's overlordship (1047 × 1057; perhaps × ? 1050, q.v.) during the reign of Macbeth, who had ejected from the Scottish kingdom the family of Malcolm II, Thorfinn's ally. Cf. Adam, below, years 1047 × 1066.

[1] Cf. the quotation in Snorri's St Olaf, 185, c. 173 (F.S., v, 17; H., St Olaf, c. 177; Unger's c. 187; Fl., ii, 311), introduced thus: "This says Biorn [or Biarni] Gullbrárskáld, in the poem that he made upon Kalf Arni's son . . ." The poem is called Kálfs-flokkr, in Snorri's St Olaf, 236, c. 254 (F.S, v, 123; H., Magnus the Good, c. 14, Unger's c. 15; Fl., ii, 374). For the poem, see J.S., i, A, 393-396; B, 363-365.

[2] There are a few different readings in F.S. See J.S., i, A, 396; B, 365, stanza 8: where (I find) the latter part is translated somewhat differently.

The metre decides in favour of the reading of the last line as it stands in Munch and Unger's text. Cf. Fl., ii, 421-422, 439-440 (O.S., c. 38).

Arnor Earls'-poet claimed to have been present in this battle. See R.S. 88, i, 47 ; Fl., ii, 415 ; J.S., i, A, 355 ; B, 326, stanza 5.

Ronald Brusi's son and Finn Arni's son had been with St Olaf at Stiklastadir ; Kalf Arni's son had been among those who killed St Olaf there. See F., 178-182, 217.

For Kalf Arni's son, see below, year ? 1050.

Morkinskinna, Magnus the Good's Saga, p. 44 : "Now when they had ruled the land for two winters [1045-1047] both together—king Magnus and king Harold—they prepared their host in the summer, [to go] south to Denmark ; and they called out the levies from Norway. That was one winter after the fall of earl Ronald, Brusi's son, in the west, in the Orkneys. The kings went with their host south to Denmark."

This was the expedition of [1047] (see below), upon which king Magnus died (see H., Hardrádi, c. 28). Therefore Ronald died in 1046. So also F. (246). Cf. the shorter St Olaf's Saga, 67, c. 89.

Morkinskinna implies that the kingdom of Norway was divided in [1045]. Similarly also the Flatey-book's Magnus and Harold (Fl., iii, 326). F. implies that Magnus reigned alone from [1036] to [1046] (201, 216) ; although it says also (243-244), erroneously, that the kingdom was divided 122 years after the death of Harold Fairhair [† 933].

The facts seem to be that the kingdom was divided in 1046, and that Magnus died in the beginning of the second winter (1047) after the division. Cf. Icelandic Annals KOCPA, s.aa. 1046, 1047 (E, s.aa. 1047, 1048).

Theoderic, c. 28 (Storm's Monumenta, 56), says: "After [Magnus], Harold, brother of the blessed Olaf, reigned for 20 years ; 19 of them alone, one with his nephew Magnus." Similarly, the Ágrip says that Magnus died one winter after Harold's arrival ; and Harold, 19 winters after Magnus (cc. 34, 36 ; F.S., x, 405, 407-408). Since Harold died in 1066, Magnus died in 1047.

The Heimskringla agrees with these, and allows one winter between the division of the kingdom and the death of Magnus (Hardrádi, cc. 25-27). Cf. F.S., vi, 185. So also O.S., c. 36 (Vigfusson's MS. *b*), i, 53. Hemings Thátt r says that Harold was 32 winters old at his accession [i.e., in 1047] ; but also that he reigned for 20 winters [i.e., 1046-1066] (Fl., iii, 400 ; R.S. 88, i, 347).

The dates of the A.S.C. are here confused. Chronicle D says, s.a. 1047 (a year-section parallel to C's 1046, E's 1044, F's 1045): "And Magnus won Denmark." Chronicle D, s.a. 1048 (parallel to C's 1047, E's 1045, F's 1046) : "And Sven also sent hither, [and] asked for aid against Magnus, the king of the Norwegians ; that fifty ships should be sent to his support. But the whole people thought it unadvisable, and it was then prevented, because Magnus had a great force of ships. And [Magnus] then drove out Sven, and won the land, with great slaughter ; and the Danes paid him a great amount of money, and accepted him as king.

"And in the same year, Magnus died."

These two entries (for 1047 and 1048) may refer to the events of one year (1047).

Cf. A.S.C. D, s.a. 1049 (parallel to C's 1048, E's first 1046, F's 1047) ;

1050

Marianus Scottus, Chronicle; M.G.H., Scriptores, vol. v, p. 558; s.a. 1072 = 1050[1]

The king of Scotland, Macbeth, scattered money like seed[2] to the poor, at Rome.

1047 × 1060
? 1047 - ? 1050

Heimskringla, Harold Hardrádi's Saga, c. 45[3]

Finn, Arni's son, dwelt at Yriar in Austrátt.[4] He was then a landed-man of king Harold. Finn had married Bergliót, daughter of Halfdan, son of Sigurd Sow: Halfdan was the brother of king Olaf the Holy, and of king Harold. Thora, king Harold's wife, was brother's daughter of Finn, Arni's son.[5] Finn was the dearest [friend] to the king, and [so were] all the brothers.

Finn, Arni's son, had been for some summers in western piracy.[6] They had then been all together in warfare—Finn, and Guthorm, son of Gunnhild,[7] and Hakon, Ivar's son.[8]

"In this year, Sven came again to Denmark; and Harold, Magnus's father's brother, went to Norway, since Magnus was dead. And the Norwegians received him; and he sent to this land, concerning peace.

"And Sven sent also, from Denmark, and asked king Edward for aid with ships: it should be at the least fifty ships. And all the people opposed it."

[1] Also the 11th year of emperor Henry III.

[2] *seminando distribuit:* possibly with a suggestion of advantage to be reaped? F.W., copying this passage, alters *seminando* to *spargendo* (E.C., 84). C.M., 49, s.a. 1050, copies the passage from Florence.

[3] Unger's c. 46; Fr., c. 51, p. 219. The same passage is in Harold Hardrádi's Saga, c. 64 (F.S., vi, 283).

[4] In North Mærr. For Finn's family cf. H., St Olaf, c. 110 (Unger's c. 116).

[5] Cf. Ágrip, c. 35 (F.S., x, 406). It is there said that Finn "lived in the east, in Ránríki" (Alfheimar).

[6] Fr. reads falsely, "in eastern piracy."

[7] "Daughter of king Sigurd Sow" adds Harold Hardrádi's Saga (F.S., vi, 283).

[8] Finn made peace for Harold with the people of Trondhjem, and with Hakon Ivar's son; and claimed in return pardon for Kalf, his brother (H., cc. 45 ff; F.S., vi, 283-286). See below.

Hakon was great-grandson of earl Hakon (H., Hardrádi, c. 39). After

1047 × 1060
? 1050

Heimskringla, Harold Hardrádi's Saga, c. 51 [1]

Peace between king Harold and Kalf.

Kalf, Arni's son, had been in western piracy ever since he went from Norway; and often [2] in the winters he had been in the Orkneys with earl Thorfinn, his kinsman-in-law.

Finn, Arni's son, [Kalf's] brother, sent word to Kalf, and had him told of the special agreement that king Harold and he had made, that Kalf should have permission to reside in Norway; and his possessions, and such grants as he had had of king Magnus. And when this message reached Kalf, then he prepared at once for his going: he went east to Norway. . . .[3]

earl Orm's death, Hakon became earl of the Uplands, and married Ragnhild, Magnus the Good's daughter (H., c. 50). He was dispossessed (in 1064) by king Harold, because he had assisted king Sven to escape from the battle of Nizá, in 1062 (ibid., cc. 64, 72, 74).

[1] Unger's c. 53, Fr., p. 223. So also in Magnus the Good's Saga, F.S., vi, 293.

[2] "most often" F.S.

[3] Kalf, Arni's son, had been with those who killed king Olaf in 1030 (H., St Olaf, c. 228—Unger's c. 240; Theoderic, Storm's Monumenta, p. 39; Ágrip, c. 29). For his relationship to St Olaf and Harold Hardrádí, see H., Hardrádi, c. 45; Olaf Tryggvi's son, c. 60; and below, year 1070, note. After having been on friendly terms with Olaf's son, Magnus the Good, he fell into disfavour, owing to the part he had played in the battle of Stiklastadir; and he had to flee from Norway. His exile is placed 1036 × 1042 in F., 197 (× 1040, 216); 1036 × 1040 in H., Magnus, cc. 13-15. "Then he sailed west beyond the sea, and dwelt there long; [he] plundered about Scotland, and about Ireland, and the Hebrides" (H., Magnus the Good, c. 14 (Unger's c. 15); Fr., p. 176. Snorri's St Olaf, Munch and Unger, 238; F.S., v, 127. Cf. Magnus the Good's Saga, in F.S., vi, 37).

For Kalf's visits to Thorfinn, cf. above, 1036 × 1046. He seems to have been placed over the Hebrides in 1046.

The next summer after Kalf's return to Norway (according to H., Hardrádi, c. 52), king Harold invaded Denmark; Kalf was in his company, and fell there. Finn blamed king Harold for having contrived his death. This invasion is dated by F. Jónsson in 1051; because in the next summer is placed the plundering expedition of king Margad and Guthorm into Wales. See below, year ? 1052.

Finn left Norway, and went over to king Sven in Denmark. He was taken prisoner there by Harold in the battle of Nizá (in 1062), and

1047 × 1061
? 1052

Heimskringla, Harold Hardrádi's Saga, c. 54[1]

Of Guthorm, Gunnhild's son.

A son of Ketil Calf and Gunnhild, in Hringu-nes, was called Guthorm; sister's son of king Olaf and king Harold. Guthorm was an accomplished man, and early of mature appearance. Guthorm was often with king Harold, and was there in great affection and in the counsels of the king; because Guthorm was a wise man. He was the most popular man.

Guthorm was often on warfare, and plundered much in the western lands. He had a great company.

He had asylum and a winter-seat in Dublin, in Ireland, and was in great affection with king Margad.[2]

pardoned. He returned to king Sven (H., Hardrádi, cc. 63, 66; Unger's cc. 65, 68. Ágrip, c. 35; F.S., x, 407).

Finn's daughter, Ingibiorg, married Thorfinn, earl of Orkney: and afterwards king Malcolm III. See below, years ? 1065, 1070, notes.

[1] Unger's c. 56.

[2] "Maddad" Fl., ii, 379, falsely.

Part of this passage stands in Snorri's St Olaf (Munch and Unger, p. 241): "A son of Ketil Calf and Gunnhild of Hringunes was called Guthorm—sister's son of king Olaf the Holy. Guthorm went into western piracy in Ireland, and was there in great affection with king Margad. . . ." Similarly in F.S., v, 135; and to the same effect in Fl., ii, 379. Cf. Acta S. Olavi, in Storm's Monumenta, 133-134: ". . . [Guthorm] was allied with Margodius, the king of Dublin, and had joined with him in a friendly union. . . ."

These authorities, continuing, describe how the Irish king and Guthorm went on a plundering expedition in Wales, and quarrelled in Anglesey Sound over the spoils. They fought, and Margad was defeated and killed, through the miraculous intervention of St Olaf, upon the eve (28th July) of St Olaf's day.

Chapters 54-57 of the Heimskringla's Hardrádi (Unger's cc. 56-59), though attributable to Snorri, are not in the Frisbók. They describe miracles of St Olaf. In c. 58 is described an invasion of Jutland by Harold, in the summer [1061] before the battle of Nizá.

According to G. Storm (Kongesagaer, 493), the Margad who was overthrown by Guthorm was Echmarcach, "king of Dublin 1035-1038, and 1046-1052." F. Jónsson, connecting the Heimskringla's story of Margad's death with the conclusion of Echmarcach's reign, dates Margad's defeat in 1052.

There are difficulties in the way of identifying the two names. In later Middle-Irish, nouns ending in aspirated *d* sometimes changed that consonant into *ch* (since nouns with these endings formed vocative and

genitive cases with terminal consonants that sounded alike); but Irish *ch* did not normally become ð in Icelandic. Echmarcach ("horse-rider"?) may have been an Irish name: Margad was not a Scandinavian name. Conceivably, *markað* "market" may have been a Scandinavian nickname, and the source of both forms.

The name occurs below, year ? 1182.

The loss of an Irish fleet that is recorded in [1051] by the Annales Cambriae is placed off South Wales, not in Menai Strait; and perhaps resulted from storm, not from defeat. Echmarcach's defeat in 1061, according to Irish Annals, took place apparently in Man, not in Anglesey.

If Margad was Echmarcach, the Heimskringla implies that he was still king of Dublin when he was defeated by Guthorm: i.e., 1046 × 1052; or, if he was restored after the death of his rival, Ivar, 1054 × 1061. In either case, Echmarcach was not killed in the battle; but died at Rome, in 1065.

One of the kings who submitted to Cnut (above, 547-548; 1018 × ? 1025) is called Iehmarc. This name does not appear to be English, Scandinavian, or Welsh; but bears some resemblance to Echmarcach. Iehmarc is associated, probably in alliance against Cnut, with Malcolm, king of Scotland, and a king *Mælbæthe* (A.S.C. E) or *Mealbœathe* (F); which can hardly have been the same name as Macbeth (*Macbeothen* A.S.C. D, 1054), but should stand for Pictish **Mael-béde* "devotee of Bede." Mælbæthe was presumably a leader of men from the east of Scotland; Iehmarc, of men from the south-west. It is not impossible that Iehmarc may have been the son of the king of Waterford and Dublin.

A *Melbethe*, a Cumbrian, was the physician of Waltheof, Gospatric's son (Wetherhal, 386).

In the end of the 10th century, a Scandinavian kingdom had been established in Wales. See Olaf Tryggvi's son's Saga, F.S., i, 155-156, 183-184; and Jómsvíkinga Saga, Joleik's ed., 28 66, 108; F.S., xi, 49-99, 156. Cf. Annales Cambriae, MS. B, s.aa. [972, 983, 988-990, 996, 1002].

When Griffin or Grufud became king of North Wales in 1039 (cf. A.U., s.a. 1039), he tried to make himself king of South Wales also; and the king of that district, Higuel or Howel, Edwin's son, joined the Scandinavians against him. Cf. the Annales Cambriae, MS. B, s.aa. [1039, 1041, 1042, 1044, 1046].

In [1048], the same chronicle says (R.S. **20**, 25; 94 years after 510=954, and 49 years before 1097): "The whole of the southern land [of Wales] was deserted [*deserta est*]." In [1051], ibid. (3 years after [1048]): "The fleet of Ireland perished in the southern part" [of Wales]. "Perished" may mean "was shipwrecked," rather than "was destroyed." The Brut y Tywyssogion reads (Red Book of Hergest, ii, 267; R.S. **17**, 42): "1050 years was the age of Christ, when a fleet from Ireland perished [*ballawd*] on the way to South Wales."

The dates of the Annales Cambriae may here be 1 or 2 years too early. Events recorded under [1046], [1056], [1061], [1065], took place in 1047, 1058, 1064, 1066.

For the involved history of Dublin at this time, see the Irish Annals.

Echmarcach's father, Ronald, Ivar's grandson, king of Waterford, was

1054

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 395; s.a. [1054][1]

A battle [was fought] between Scots and English; and in it many soldiers[2] fell.

killed in Dublin by Sigtrygg, Olaf's son, in 1035 (A.U.; F.M.; A.L.C.). Sigtrygg went across the sea [to Wales] in 1036; and Echmarcach became king of Dublin (T.; D.A.I.). In 1037, Waterford was burned by Diarmait, Maelnambó's son (A.I.; T.; F.M.). Ivar [Harold's son] succeeded Echmarcach in Dublin, in 1038 (T.; D.A.I.).

In 1042, Sigtrygg, Olaf's son, the king of Dublin, died (A.I.; T.; F.M.). In 1046, Echmarcach was made king there, after the expulsion of [Ivar] (F.M.; of Harold, according to T. and D.A.I., probably erroneously). Diarmait and the Foreigners of Dublin were defeated by Donald, Brian's son, in 1048 (T.; C.S.; D.A.I.).

In 1052, Diarmait harried the province of Dublin: Echmarcach crossed the sea [to Wales], and Diarmait succeeded him as king of Dublin (T.; C.S.; F.M.; D.A.I).

Diarmait seems to have reigned, with interruptions, until his death in 1072 (see that year, below).

In 1054, Ivar, Harold's son, king of the Foreigners, died (A.U., A.L.C).

Tigernach (R.C., xvii, 402), s.a. 1061, says: "Murchaid, son of Diarmait, son of Maelnambó, went into Man [*a Manaínd*], and took tribute out of it; and defeated Ronald's son" [Echmarcach]. Similarly in D.A.I., O'Conor's year 1061; F.M., s.a. 1060. (Probably Man is meant; as also in the Ulster annals above, year 987.)

Echmarcach seems to have gone upon a pilgrimage to Rome in 1064; and to have died there in 1065 (in 1064, according to A.I., A.U., A.L.C.).

Marianus Scottus, in M.G.H., Scriptores, v, 559, s.a. 1087 = 1065, says: "Duncan, Brian's son, king of Ireland; and Echmarcach, king of the Rinns [?; *innarenn*], men not ignoble among their own [people] came to Rome, and died." The Rinns were in Roscommon county: in the barony of Boyle (MacCarthy); in the parish of Ardcarne (Hogan).

(For Duncan's deposition, pilgrimage, and death at Rome, see T., s.a. [1064]; C.S., Hennessy's 1061 = 1063; A.U., F.M., A.L.C., s.a. 1064. His pilgrimage is noted by A.I., O'Conor's year 1047 = 1064; and by the Annals of Boyle, s.a. [1065].)

It seems fairly legitimate to conjecture that the battle of Menai Strait described in the saga was in reality a defeat of Echmarcach in South Wales; and that this defeat took place after he had crossed the sea, in 1052; on July 28th. But it is also possible that the saga's story is a confused account of Echmarcach's defeat in 1061. It may refer to some unrecorded defeat 1051 × 1061; or it may be entirely fabulous.

[1] The year-section is placed between years 1053 and 1055; but for f.n. 6, read 7; and for e. 17, read 18.

[2] *moran do miledhaib.*

1054

Annals of Ulster, vol. i., p. 594; s.a. 1054[1]

A battle [was fought] between men of Scotland and English; and in it fell three thousand of the men of Scotland, and one thousand five hundred of the English, including Dolfin, Finntur's son.[2]

1054

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 50-51

In the year 1054, Siward, the earl of the Northumbrians, by king Edward's command entered Scotland with a great army; fought a battle with the king of the Scots, Macbeth, and put him to flight; and appointed Malcolm king, as the king had commanded.[3]

[1] With f.n. and e. of 1054.

[2] Similarly in A.L.C., i, 52, s.a. 1054.

For this battle, see E.C., 85-86. Dolfin seems to have been a supporter of Malcolm against Macbeth. He may have been a relative of Malcolm. A great-grandson of Crinan bore the name: Dolfin, Gospatric's son. See E.C., 96; and below, year 1072, note.

Stokes suggests that the name Finntur may have been an inversion of Thorfinn (Transactions of the Philological Society (1890), 427).

[3] This passage is derived, probably through S.D., from F.W.; cf. E.C., 85, note. It is inexactly copied from C.M. by the Chronicle of Man, ii, 48, s.a. 1035; and by the Chronicle of Huntingdon (P. & S. 210), which reads: "In the year of the Lord 1[054], Siward, the earl of Northumbria, entered Scotland, and drove from the kingdom, after he had reigned for fifteen years, king Macbeth, the nephew [*nepotem*] of the said Malcolm [II]. And he restored his kingdom to Malcolm, Duncan's son."

For the relationship between Macbeth and Malcolm II, see year 1040, note; for Siward, year 1055.

The Chronicle of Carlisle, s.a. 1054 (Palgrave, 70): "Siward, the earl of York, by king Edward's command entered Scotland; put to flight the king, Macbeth; and appointed there as king, Malcolm, the king of the Cumbrians." Cf. year 1072, note.

The event is noted also by other chronicles of 1291 (Palgrave, 85, 87, 90, 96-97, 108).

Edward I's letter to Boniface (Foedera, i, 2, 932): "Also St Edward, the king of England, gave the kingdom of Scotland, to be held of him, to Malcolm, the son of the king of the Cumbrians." (Cf. F.W., W.M.)

Langtoft (i, 388-390) says that Macbeth was made prisoner; and that "Malcolm of Cumberland" became king of Scotland, "by gift of king Edward," to whom he is alleged to have done homage. B.S. in R.B.H.,

1055

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, D, s.a. 1055

In this year earl Siward died at York. And he lies at Galmahó, in the monastery that he himself had caused to be built, and to be consecrated in the name of God and of Olaf.[1]

And Tostig took the earldom that [Siward] had had.[2]

395, between 1048 and 1066, says:—"Then prince Siward subdued Scotland, beyond the Humber, for the king of England, after slaying Macbeth, the king of [North] Britain. . . ."

This battle has been supposed to have been the same as the traditional battle of Dunsinnan. See P.S.A.S., ii, 93-99; C.C., i, 406-414. For Macbeth's final overthrow and death, see year 1057.

Life of Waltheof, in C.A.N., ii, 109-110: "In process of time, after Siward's many powers and virtues had been proved, it happened that the king of the Scots, Donald by name, was cast out of his kingdom. He insistently asked earl Siward to afford him aid and counsel against his evil-wishers. Yielding to his petition, the earl collected an army in support of the king; and proceeded as far as Dundee, where it was announced to him that his vassals of Northumbria had risen against him and his supporters, to so great purpose that they had killed his son, Osbert Bulax. Compelled to return, the earl was so strongly moved that he struck a most powerful blow upon a mass of rock with an axe that he was carrying in his hand; the traces are evident still.

"And he restored to the king the lands that he had invaded by force and occupied in opposition to the king's enemies; and returned home, and destroyed and slaughtered, with swords and other kinds of tortures, his enemies and evil-wishers."

Probably Malcolm was placed in possession of some part of southern Scotland in 1054.

[1] To the same effect in C, s.a. [1055]; but C reads: "in the monastery at Galmanhó that he himself had previously built, to the praise of God and all his saints." Cf. R.S. 8, 408. Siward's death is noted also by EF, s.a. 1055; and by the Annals of Durham, M.G.H., Scriptores, xix, 508. See H.H., 195-196; Life of Waltheof, C.A.N., ii, 110-111. Cf. C.M., 51; from F.W., i, 212; from A.S.C.

A church of St Olaf exists in the parish of St Olave Mary-Gate, in the north-west of York city. Siward's How is a small hill to the south-east of York.

Gytha, Godwine's wife, and perhaps Siward's grand-aunt, gave a grant of land from her dowry to "the church of St Olaf, king and martyr," 1055 × 1065. Kemble, no. 926.

[2] The earldom of Northumbria was given to Tostig (cf. A.S.C. EF: W.M., i, 245), because, according to H.H, 196, Siward's son Waltheof

was still a child. Cf. Kemble, no. 927. For Waltheof, see years 1071, 1072, note.

Tostig was expelled from the earldom in 1065.

Siward ruled over all Northumbria, from the Humber to the Tweed (S.D., i, 91, s.a. 1042; ii, 198). Cf. year 1076, note. For the lands given by him to his wife Ælfflæd, daughter of Ealdred, son of earl Uhtred, see S.D., i, 219-220.

Some part of southern Scotland was subdued by Siward and placed under Malcolm III in 1054.

Siward may have held Cumbria for king Duncan's son, Malcolm, during the reign of Macbeth. Gospatric held it afterwards (see years 1070, 1072, notes). Waltheof seems to have claimed it in inheritance from Siward; and king David appears to have claimed it in the right of his wife, Waltheof's daughter, Matilda. See year ? 1114.

Siward was earl of Northumbria in the reign of Harthacnut. In the reign of Edward, he became also earl of Huntingdon and Northampton. Cf. N.C., ii, 559-560.

Doomsday Book implies that the earldom of Huntingdon was held successively by Siward, Tostig [Godwine's son], and Waltheof [Siward's son] (Huntingdonshire, s.f.; i, 208). Cf. below, year 1071; and ? 1114, note.

Huntingdon was included in the province of Harold, Godwine's son, in 1051, while Siward was earl of the Northumbrians, according to F.W., i, 205.

A letter of Edward the Confessor is addressed to bishop Ulf, earl Siward, sheriff Ælfric, and all [Edward's] ministers of Huntingdonshire (R.S. **83**, 165; Kemble, no. 903). This implies that Siward was earl of Huntingdon, 1050 × 1052. (Huntingdonshire and part of Northamptonshire were included in the diocese of Dorchester (W.M., i, 101; R.S. **86**, ii, 215), of which Ulf was bishop 1050-1052. Wulfwig was bishop of Dorchester 1053 - † 1067. See A.S.C.)

Another letter of king Edward is addressed to bishop Wulfwig, earl Tostig, sheriff Normann, and all [Edward's] vassals and ministers, [both] clergy and laymen, of the county of [North]ampton (R.S. **83**, 167; Kemble, no. 904). This implies that Tostig was earl of Northampton, 1053 × 1065; but since Tostig did not become earl until after the death of Siward, the charter may be dated 1055 × 1065.

Tostig has the title *nobilis* in 1049 (Kemble, no. 787); *minister*, from 1050 to 1054 (Kemble, nos. 792, 793, 796, 800). In 1054, he witnesses along with earl Siward; in 1055, Siward ceases to witness, and Tostig receives the title "earl" (Kemble, nos. 800, 801). Tostig is still "earl" in 1065 (Kemble, no. 817). He was expelled in 1065 (cf. i.a. R.S. **3**, 421-423).

It may be inferred that Tostig obtained no earldom before Siward's death; that he received the earldom of Northampton in succession to Siward; and therefore that Northampton had been included in Siward's earldom of Huntingdon. These two shires seem to have formed one earldom. See year ? 1114, note.

A predecessor of Siward in the earldom of Huntingdon (while Siward was earl of Northumbria) was Thuri (R.S. **83**, 151, 164-165; charters dated by the editor 1040 × 1042 and 1042 × 1050. See also Kemble's charter no.

797, in which earl Siward and earl Thuri are consenters. It is dated by the editor (iv, 130) 1052 × 1053; but, if it be genuine, it must have been written 1045 × 1051. Cf. Kemble's spurious charter no. 761; iv, 64, 65). Thuri is called earl of the Midlanders (*mediterraneorum*, i.e. Middle Angles of Mercia), during the reign of Harthacnut, by F.W., i, 195. Thuri must, from his name, have been a Dane.

A landholder, Thuri, is mentioned in Doomsday Book, as a tenant of king Edward in Northampton, Oxford, and Warwickshires (i, 224, 159, 241 verso; ss. 18, 33, 17, respectively. Ellis, ii, 246).

Alexander Maufe (R.S. **79**, i, 160-165) says that the earldom had been held, under Cnut, by Thurkil; perhaps the same who was placed over the eastern division of England, from 1017 to 1021 (W.M., i, 218; A.S.C.); and over Denmark, as guardian of Harthacnut, in 1023 (A.S.C.). Earl Ulf, Thorgils Sprakalegg's son, was guardian in Denmark 1026-† 1027 (H., St Olaf, cc. 134, 148, 153; Icelandic Annals KOCE, s.a. 1027). Possibly the name Thuri might have been an abbreviated form of Thurkil. A Thurkil is mentioned, without the title of earl, in Doomsday Book, as a tenant of Edward the Confessor in Huntingdon, Northampton, and several other shires. See Ellis, Introduction to Doomsday Book, ii, 244-245.

The Life of Waltheof (in C.A.N., ii, 107-109) says that Siward killed Tosti, a Dane, who had married a daughter of Godwine, and held the earldom of Huntingdon; and that king Edward [the Confessor] bestowed the honour of Huntingdon upon Siward. All Tosti's vassals were killed by Siward's followers; and in memory of the event a church of the Danes was built beside the place where they had been buried. "Afterwards, when the circles of some years had revolved, it happened that the Northumbrians [*Norrenses*] made war against the king; who hesitated, vacillating, [doubting] what would be best for him to do. But at last, with harmonious mind and purpose, he conferred upon earl Siward Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland; investing the same earl in them. [Siward] pacified that land throughout, and avenged in many ways the insults and injuries that had been inflicted on the king. . . ."

Little reliance can be placed upon this account. Tosti, Godwine's son-in-law, seems to have emerged from a confused tradition of Tostig, Godwine's son. Cf. N.C., i, 461, 587; ii, 558-559.

King Duncan I had, according to Fordun (IV, 44), married a kinswoman of Siward. See year 1040, note. Siward supported the sons of Duncan, during the usurpation of Macbeth. In this warfare he lost his son, Osbarn or Osbeorn (E.C., and above, year 1054, note); and his sister's son, Siward.

Ordericus Vitalis (iii, 404; E.C., 167) speaks of an Edward, Siward's son, [a witness in Dunfermline, no. 1] commander of knighthood and leader of a Scottish army in 1130, as a cousin [*consobrinus*] of king David. He seems to say that Edward, but must be understood to mean that Siward, had been placed in charge of Mercia, 1042 × 1066. The interval of time is so great that we may conjecture that a generation has been missed; and that Edward was a grandson of Siward of Mercia. That Siward may have been Siward Barn (the son of Æthelgar, grand-nephew of Edward Confessor;

O.V., ii, 166); or more probably may have been the Siward, earl Siward's nephew, who was associated with his uncle in the expedition of 1054 against Macbeth, and fell there (E.C., 86).

King David was related to earl Siward through his wife (Siward's grand-daughter), and through his grand-mother, Duncan's wife. Since Edward is called David's *consobrinus*, the suggestion is that Duncan's wife and Edward's ancestress were sisters; and, if Edward was a grandson of earl Siward's nephew, that Duncan's wife was a sister of Siward.

Earl Siward was a Dane (Epitaph of Waltheof, in O.V., ii, 289). He was surnamed with a Danish word, *Digara* (Life of Edward, R.S. 3, 401; *Digera*, W.M., ii, 312; *Diera*, Life of Waltheof, C.A.N., ii, 112); i.e., *hin digeræ* "the stout."

The Life of Waltheof says that Siward's father was Biorn, Ulf's son (C.A.N., ii, 111, 104-105; † 1049, F.W., i, 202; A.S.C., 1046 E, 1049 C, 1050 D. The biographer spells Ulf's name *Ulsius*, which ought to stand for Wulfsige). This Biorn was a brother of Sven, the king of Denmark who sent forces to England to oppose William I. See year 1070, note.

Ulf's father was Thorgils Sprakaleggr (Heimskringla, St Olaf, c. 134; Magnus the Good, c. 22). The Life of Waltheof says that Sprakalegg's father was a white bear (C.A.N., ii, 104, 109, 111; cf. Saxo Grammaticus, 346; see F.W., i, 202). He was more probably Styrbiorn, a son of Olaf, the brother of Eric the Victorious (H., Harold Fairhair, c. 29; Thorpe's Lappenberg, ii, 184). Styrbiorn married a sister of Sven Forkbeard. He died 10 years before † Eric the Victorious (H., Earl Hakon, c. 6).

Gytha, Ulf's sister, married earl Godwine (Adam of Bremen, M.G.H., Scriptores, vii, 325; scholion, ibid., 340; H., St Olaf, c. 152. But F.W., ii, 2, erroneously calls her a sister of Sven, Ulf's son. The Life of Edward, R.S. 3, 392; W.M., i, 245; and the Life of Harold, in C.A.N., ii, 152, call her Cnut's sister, instead of sister-in-law. Cf. N.C., i, 467. W.M. says erroneously that Gytha was not the mother of Godwine's sons). Their daughter, Gytha or Edith († 1074), married king Edward the Confessor.

Godwine's father was Wulfnoth, the son of Æthelmær, brother of Eadric Streona, Æthelric's son, the earl of Mercia, who married Edith, Æthelred's daughter (F.W., i, 160, 161); and who afterwards killed king Edmund Ironside (in 1016). For stories of Ulf and Godwine see Knytlinga Saga, c. 11; F.S., xi, 191-194. Another brother of Eadric Streona was Ælfric, the father of Eadric the Wild, for whom see E.C., 95, note. F.W., ii, 1.

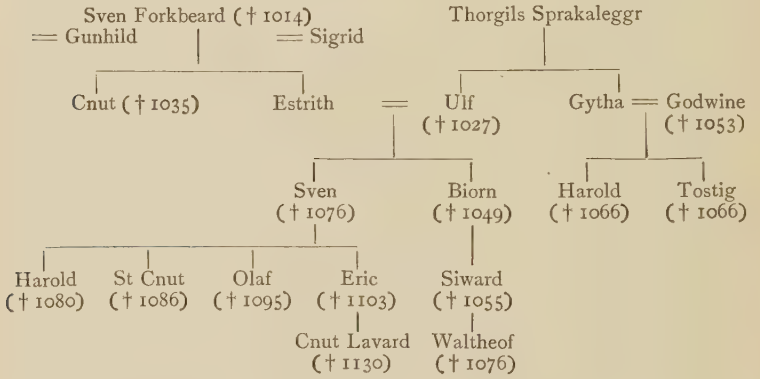
Swegen, Godwine's son, killed Biorn, Ulf's son, in 1049 (A.S.C. C; 1050, D; 1046, E; 1048, F).

Tostig, Godwine's son, married Judith, probably a sister of Baldwin V (called *Insulanus*), count of Flanders († 1067; M.G.H., Scriptores, v, 66). Judith is said to have been a niece of Edward the Confessor (R.S. 3, 404): she was his mother's great-grandniece. Baldwin V's daughter (by Adela, daughter of Robert, king of the Franks), Matilda, married king William I of England (son of Robert, son of Richard II, son of Richard I, dukes of Normandy). Grand-daughters of Baldwin V married St Cnut, king of the Danes; and Philip, king of the Franks.

Harold Godwine's son married Edith, the daughter of Ælfgar, Leofric's

son, of Mercia; the sister of Edwin and Morkere. She had previously been married to Grufud Lewelin's son († 1064; see year 1061, note). Harold's daughter Gytha married "Valdemar, king in Holmgardr: their son was king Harold," according to Knytlinga Saga, u.s., 194. Gytha's husband was Valdemar I, the son of Cnut Lavard (called also Cnut the Duke, and the Holy; † 1130); Valdemar reigned in Denmark 1155-† 1182. "He conquered Slavia, [Mecklenburg,] subdued it, and compelled it to accept Christianity" (Brevior Historia Regum Daniae, in Langebek, i, 18; cf. i, 386-387). Cnut Lavard had previously been prince of the Wends.

The relationships of this time are rather important, and a few of them may be given in a table:



See also year 1072, note.

Cnut's mother was Gunhild, a daughter probably of Miesko, king of Slavonia or Wendland; and sister of Boleslav Chrobri, king of Poland. Cf. year 1070, note. Cnut's stepmother, Sigrid, had previously been the wife of Eric the Victorious, king of Sweden; and was by him the mother of Olaf, king of Sweden. This Olaf's daughter, Estrith or Astrid, in 1019, married St Olaf, king of Norway († 1030); her sister Ingigerd married Iarizleif, king of Holmgardr, in the same year. St Olaf's son, Magnus the Good, was born in 1024.

Earl Eric Hakon's son of Norway married Gytha, a half-sister of Cnut. He was placed by Cnut over Northumbria, 1016-1023 (see years 1018, 1072, notes). Eric's son Hakon married Cnut's niece, Gunhild (see year 1029, note). Gunhild married afterwards Harold, Thorkel's son († 1042). Eric's nephew, Ivar the White, killed earl Ulf in 1027 (see year ? 1065, note).

Cnut's half-sister, Estrith, married also a duke of Normandy, apparently Robert I (Richard I's grandson; the father of king William I), after the death of Ulf (Rodulfus Glaber, IV, 6; p. 108. Cf. Lappenberg, in M.G.H., Scriptores, vii, 325; Thorpe's Lappenberg, ii, 217; N.C., i, 521-523). She was rejected by him 1027 × 1035.

Cnut married Emma or Ælfgifu, in 1017, before August 1st (A.S.C. CDE; in 1017, F). Emma (cf. i.a. W.M., i, 218) had previously married king Æthelred II, and been the mother of Edward the Confessor. Emma

1055

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 396; s.a. 1055[1]

A battle [was fought] between Dubdaleithe, Patrick's successor,[2] and Murchaid Ua-Maelsechlaind, the successor of Finnian and Columcille,[3] in contention over Martry[4]; and the victory was with Patrick's successor and the staff of Jesus.[5] And many fell there.[6]

1055

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 397, s.a. 1055

Maelduin, Gilla-Odrain's son, the bishop of Scotland,[7] and the glory of the Gaels from [their] priests, reposed in Christ.[8]

was the daughter of Richard I, duke of Normandy. (Cf. William of Poitiers; H.N.S., 178, 206. Hoveden, ii, 239.) Emma was a great-grandmother of Margaret, the wife of king Malcolm III. Cf. Turgot, below, year 1093; and year ? 1114, note.

Cnut and Emma's daughter Gunhild married the emperor Henry III († 1056). Cf. year 1018, note. See Life of Edward, R.S. **3**, 395.

[1] With f.n. and e. of 1055.

[2] Abbot of Armagh, 1049-† 1064. He was deposed in 1060 (A.I.); and died "in good penance."

[3] I.e., abbot of Clonard and Kells. Reeves (Adamnan, 399) makes Robartach Columba's successor from 1040 to 1057 (see those years).

[4] *a cosnum Martraigi.* In A.U., *cath Martartaighi.* Martry is in Meath.

[5] This crozier (*bachall-Íssu* or *bachall-Patraic*) appears to have been a relic of Patrick. See A.U., s.a. 788=789; cf. 1012=1013, 1015, 1073, 1101, 1113, 1157, 1166, 1167, 1538.

[6] Similarly in D.A.I., 75, O'Conor's year 1055.

Cf. A.U., i, 596, s.a. 1055 (with f.n. and e. of 1055): "The battle of Martry [was gained] by Dubdaleithe, Patrick's successor, against the son of Loingsech Ua-Maelsechlaind, the successor of Finnian and of Columcille. And in it many fell." Similarly in A.L.C., s.a. 1055.

[7] Maelduin was bishop of St Andrews. See St Andrews, 116; L.C., no. 6.

For the early bishops of this see, consult Bower, VI, 24; i, 339-340. Cf. S.C.S., ii, 323-355; H. & S., ii, **1**, 148, 173-174. E.C., 131, note. See below, years 1093, 1109.

[8] Cf. C.S., 282, Hennessy's year 1053=1055; F.M., ii, 868, s.a. 1055. These call Maelduin "son of Gilla-Andriais"; C.S. omits "from their priests," and "in Christ"; and F.M. reads "died."

1057

Annals of Ulster, vol. ii, p. 2, s.a. 1057[1]

. . . Robartach, Ferdomnach's son, the successor of Columcille, slept in the Lord.[2]

1057

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 398, s.a. 1058[3]

Macbeth, Findlaech's son, sovereign of Scotland, was slain by Malcolm, Duncan's son.[4]

1040-1057

Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, version D; Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 152

Macbeth, Findlaech's son, reigned for seventeen years. And he was killed in Lumphanan, by Malcolm, Duncan's son; and was buried in the island of Iona.[5]

1040-1057

Prose and Verse Chronicles inserted in the Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 47, 227, s.a. 1039

Duncan, the king of the Scots, died; and Macbeth usurped to himself his kingdom.

[1] With f.n. and e. of 1057.

[2] Similarly in A.L.C., i, 54, s.a. 1057. F.M., ii, 872, s.a 1057, noticing Robartach's death, call him the "successor of Columcille and Adamnan": i.e., abbot of Kells and Raphoe.

Cf. year 1055. A Ferdomnach, successor of Columba (at Kells, according to F.M.), died in 1008. Reeves suggests that he may have been Robartach's father.

[3] With f.n. and e. of 1058. Earlier in the same year-section is placed the death of "Lulach, king of Scotland": apparently Tigernach thought that Macbeth was Lulach's suzerain. Perhaps Lulach ruled Moray, under Macbeth.

[4] Similarly in C.S., 284, Hennessy's year 1056=1058. A.U. also place Macbeth's death after that of Lulach. They add to Tigernach's account the words: "in battle" (ii, 4, s.a. 1058, at the end of the year-section; with f.n. and e. of 1058). So also A.L.C., i, 54-56. (MS. A. of A.U. read erroneously "Maelsechlaind" instead of "Malcolm.")

[5] Similarly in versions FGI (175, 303, 289). K (206) omits the places of death and burial. N (306) reads: "Findlaech's son [reigned] for 17 years. And he was killed; and was buried in the island of Iona."

For the traditional cairn and stone of Macbeth (in the parish of Lumphanan), see the Statistical Account, xii, 1083, 1092.

'Macbeth became king of Scotland, for seventeen years; and in his reign there were productive seasons.[1] But Duncan's son, named Malcolm, cut him off by a cruel death, in Lufnaut."[2]

? 1040-1057

Berchan's Prophecy, stanzas 191-193; Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 102

Afterwards[3] the Red king will take the kingdom of high, field-faced[4] Scotland. After slaughter of Gaels, after slaughter of Foreigners, the generous king of Fortriu will take [Scotland].

The ruddy, pale-yellow-haired, tall one,[5] I shall be joyful in him.[6] Scotland will be brimful, in the west and in the east, during the reign of the furious Red one.[7]

For twenty years, and ten years,[8] the sovereign reigning over Scotland[9]; in the middle of Scone he will bleed to death,[10] on the evening of a night, after a wound.[11]

[1] *fertile tempus erat.*

[2] The metre requires this name to be a dissyllable. The passage within inverted commas is in verse in the original: cf. the Bodleian text, in Skene's P. & S., 180. That text omits *tamen*, and reads *Lumphanan.*

[3] After the reign of Lulach, or of a fictitious successor of Duncan. See year 1040.

[4] *dreach-leircc*, rhyming with *dercc:* read *drech-lerc* (*drech-learg* in MS. *b*).

[5] *In ruadh bidh fionn-bhuidhe foda.* The line has a syllable too many: we must omit *bidh* ("will be").

[6] *occu*, rhyming with *foda;* therefore read *occa.*

[7] *an deircc dhasachtaigh.*

[8] *Fiche bliadhan is deich mbliadhna.* If the abbreviations are thus extended, the line has a syllable too many. Possibly read *bliadhna* for *bliadhan.* The true reading may have been *secht mbliadna ocus.*

[9] *for Albain in ardrí ríaghla.* The line has a syllable too many: omit *in.*

[10] *for lar Scoine sceithfidh fuil.* Literally "on the floor of Scone he shall vomit blood."

[11] *iar n-iomargain*, rhyming with *fuil.* Read *imarguin.*

If this king is Macbeth, the place and manner of his death do not agree with other accounts. It is here implied that he was wounded, but brought back to Scone before he died.

Macbeth reigned for 17 years, not 30; and there seems to be little in these stanzas to prove that Macbeth is spoken of. The order of the reigns

1057-1058

Marianus Scottus, marginal additions in the Palatino-Vatican MS.; in M.G.H., Scriptores, vol. v, p. 558; s.a. 1079 = 1057

Findlaech's son was killed in August.[1]

Lulach succeeded, and was killed in March; and Malcolm succeeded him. . . .[2] Lulach reigned from the Nativity of St Mary[3] to the mass of St Patrick, in the month of March.[4]

Since then, Malcolm has reigned for twenty years, to the mass of St Patrick.[5]

1057-1058

Duan Albanach, in Skene's Picts and Scots, pp. 63-64

After Macbeth of renown, seven months in the reign of Lulach.

Malcolm is now king, the son of Duncan, the high-coloured,

is of little account in the existing text of the Prophecy. But this reign does not fit any other king. Malcolm II and David both died in their 30th years; but they were not killed, and they did not die at Scone. If this is Macbeth, it is strange that the composer of the Prophecy should speak so favourably of him, considering that the composer expresses admiration for Macbeth's conqueror, king Malcolm III.

[1] Apparently on 15th August, 1057; see Marianus's notes, translated under year 1040. Fordun (V, 7) says, on 5th December 1056; erroneously.

[2] The notes omitted here are given above, year 1040.

[3] Properly 8th September, 1057; but, since Macbeth is said above to have died in August, the day of the Assumption, 15th August, 1057, appears to be meant.

[4] I.e., to 17th March, 1058. Fordun dates Lulach's death on Thursday, 3rd April, 1057 (incorrectly); V, 8; i, 206. The contemporary Duan Albanach supports Marianus.

[5] I.e., to 17th March, 1078. This note must have been written soon after that day; certainly before 17th March, 1079. Marianus died before the death of Malcolm († 1093).

Cf. Marianus, M.G.H., Scriptores, v, 558, s.a. 1079 = 1057 (and the 1st year of emperor Henry IV): "Malcolm, Duncan's son, reigns over Scotland."

Chronicle of Melrose, 51, s.a. 1056 (beginning with the succession of the emperor): "Malcolm, Duncan's son, received the kingdom of Scotland, by hereditary right." Similarly in the Chronicle of Melrose's inserted folio 13, which adds: "and he reigned for 37 years" (written 1263 × 1264).

of lively countenance.[1] His time none knows, save the Wise one who is wise.[2]

1057-1058

Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, version E; Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 131

Lulach, nephew of the son of Boite,[3] [reigned] for four months and a half.[4]

1057-1058

Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, version D; Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 152

Lulach the simpleton[5] reigned for four months. And he was killed in Essie,[6] in Strathbogie; and was buried in the island of Iona.[7]

[1] *dhata, dhrechbhí.* These are alliterative epithets (for *dh* read *d*). *Data* may also mean "stately" (Marstrander, s.v. *dattae*). Similar epithets are applied by Berchan to Malcolm II.

[2] Here the poem ends. But this verse has been added to it: "Fifty-two kings, thou hearest," (probably we should omit *for* before *caogad*, and supply *in* before *cluine:* "dost thou hear?") "to the son of Duncan of royal countenance," (*drechruire*, an alliterative epithet) "of the descendants of Erc, the loftily pure, in the east, have taken Scotland, learned one."

[3] *nepos filii Boide.* Lulach's mother was Gruoch, daughter of Boite. See years 1032, 1033, 1040. Lulach's father was Gillacomgain, Maelbrigte's son. Cf. above, pp. clvi, 580.

[4] An early insertion (perhaps by the text-hand) in the Chronicle of Melrose, 51, s.a. 1055, reads: "Lulach reigned for four months and a half."

[5] *Lulach fatuus.*

[6] *Esseg*, DFG; *Esseth*, I.

[7] Here the list of kings ends in version D.

This passage appears similarly in versions FGI (175, 302, 289); but I omits "in the island of Iona."

K reads (206): "Lulach the Fool reigned for one month; and he was killed in Strathbogie"; and adds here: "All these kings were buried in the island of Iona."

N reads (306): "Lulach [reigned] for 4 years. And he was killed; and was buried in the island of Iona."

For the account perhaps given of Lulach by Berchan, see year 1040.

For the traditional burial-place of Luath (? Lulach), Macbeth's son, in the parish of Tough, see the Statistical Account, xii, 613.

1057-1058

Verse Chronicle inserted in the Chronicle of Melrose, p. 227; s.a. 1055[1]

The unfortunate Lulach was king for three months: he fell by the arms of the same Malcolm. The man met his fate at Essie, in Strathbogie; thus, alas! through lack of caution, the hapless king perished.

The island of Iona[2] holds these men[3] buried, in peace, in the tomb of the kings, until the day of Judgement.

1058

Tigernach Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 398; s.a. 1058[4]

Lulach, the king of Scotland, was slain, [by Mal]colm, Duncan's son, by treachery[5,6]

[1] Cf. the Bodleian text, in Skene's P. & S., 180.

[2] *Ioua*, in C.M.; *Iona* in Skene's edition of B.

[3] I.e., Lulach and his predecessors, from Kenneth Alpin's son onwards.

[4] Cf. Tigernach above, year 1057. This is the first entry in the year-section.

[5] *Per dolum.*

[6] Similarly in C.S., 282, Hennessy's year 1056=1058. A.U., ii, 4, s.a. 1058:—"Lulach, Gillacomgain's son, sovereign of Scotland, was killed by Malcolm, Duncan's son, in battle." So also in A.L.C., i, 54.

A.U., with Chronicle E (above), show that Lulach was the son of Gruoch by her first husband († 1032). Fland's continuator calls him the son of Macbeth (see above, p. cl); but that is probably an erroneous deduction from the fact that he succeeded Macbeth.

END OF VOL. I.

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